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PART I.—JANUARY

Four Hymns to Gula

BY THE REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

HYMNS to Gula are few and scattered. In the present article some of these are brought together. They are treated in the following order:—

(a) King, *Bab. Magic and Sorcery*, No. 6, ll. 71–95, with the variants there cited and a new variant in Ebeling, *KAR.* 341. A *šu-il-la* prayer.

(b) King, *ibid.*, No. 4, ll. 24 ff. A *šu-il-la* prayer.

(c) Craig, *Religious Texts*, i, 18 (ed. Martin, *Textes Religieux*, p. 70), with a variant in *KAR.* 41. Probably a *kišub*. Bilingual.

(d) K. 232 (= Craig, *ibid.*, ii, 16–18). Perhaps a dedication hymn. Semitic.

Through the kindness of the authorities in the British Museum, especially Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. Sydney Smith, I have had the privilege of collating Nos. (c) and (d), and of the latter I have made a fresh copy. I am further indebted throughout this article to Professor Langdon, for many of the interpretations, restorations, and notes.

(a) KING, No. 6, ll. 71–95

Var. A = *KAR.* 341; varr. B, C, D, and E as in King, *ibid.* (Var. B = King, No. 7, 9–33; var. C = King, No. 37, 7 ff.) Conjectural restorations are printed in ordinary type.

71.¹ *šiptu* ^{iat} *Gu-la* ² *bēltum šur-bu-tum ummu ri-me³-ni-tum* ⁴
a-ši-bat šamê-e ellūti

72. *al-si-ki bēlī* ⁴ *i-ziz-zi-im-ma* ⁵ *ši-me* ^{3-e} ⁶ *ia-a-ti*
 73. *eš-e-ki as-ḥur* ⁷ *ki kīma ulinni ili-ia* ⁸ *u ištari-ia ulinna-ki*
aš-bat
 74. *áš-šum di-in* ⁸ *da-a-ni purussā parā-si* ⁹
 75. *áš-šum bul* ¹⁰ *lu-tu u* ¹¹ *šul-lu-mu ba-šu-ú* ¹² *itti-ki*
 76. *áš-šum e-ti-ra* ¹³ ¹⁴ *ga-ma-la* ¹⁵ *u šu-zu-ba* ¹⁶ *ti-di-e*
 77. ¹⁷ *Gu-la* ¹⁷ *bēltum šur-[bu-tum]* ¹⁸ *ummu* ¹⁹ *ri-mi* ²⁰ *ni-tum*
 78. ²¹ *ina* ²² *ma'-du-ti kakkabāni* ²³ *ša* ²⁴ *ma-mi*
 79. [*bēltu* ²⁵ *ka-a-ši* ²⁶] *as-ḥur-ki* ²⁷ *ib-ša-ki uzna-ia*
 80. *maṣḥata* ²⁸ *muḥ-ri-in-ni-ma li-ki-e* ²⁹ *un-ni-ni-ia*
 81. ³⁰ *lu-uš-pur-ki ana ili-ia zi-ni-i* ³¹ *ištari-ia zi-ni-ti*
 82. ³² *ana ili ali-ia ša šab-su-ma kam-lu itti-ia* ³³
 83. [*ina* ³⁴ *bi-ri* ³⁵ *u* ³⁶ *šutti*] *it* ³⁷ *ta-[na-aš* ³⁸ *ka-nam-ma* ³⁹]
 84. ⁴⁰ [*pal-ḥa-ku-ma* ⁴¹] *a-ta-[nam-dar* ⁴²]
 85. ⁴³ ⁴⁴ *Gu-la* ⁴⁴ *bēltum šur-bu-tum* ⁴⁵ *ina a-mat ki-bi-ti-ki*
[šir-ti ⁴⁶ ⁴⁷ *ša ina É-kūr* ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸ *Enlil* ⁴⁷ ⁴⁸]
 86. *ù an-ni-ki ki-nim* ⁴⁹ *ša [lâ enû* ⁵⁰ *]-ú*
 87. ⁵¹ *ilī šab-su li-tu-ra ištari zi-ni-t[um* ⁵² *li-nu-uh* ⁵³]
 88. *ilu ali-ia* ⁵⁴ *ša šab-su-ma kam-lu [libba-šu itti-ia* ⁵⁵]
 89. *ša* ⁵⁶ *i-zi-za li-nu-ḥa ša i-gu-ga [li-ip-šah* ⁵⁷]
 90. ⁵⁸ ⁵⁹ *Gu-la* ⁴⁴ *bēltum šur-bu-tum* ⁵⁸ *ša-bi-ta-at a-[bu-ti-ia*
at-ti ⁵⁹]
 91. ⁶⁰ *ana* ⁶¹ ⁶² *Marduk šar* ⁶² *ilāni bēl ri-mi-ni-ia [a-bu-ut-ti*
šab-ti ⁶³ *ki-bi-i balāta* ⁶⁴]
 92. *šu* ⁶⁵ *lul-ki rap-šu* ⁶⁶ *ta-ia-ra-tu-ki kab-[ta-a-tum* ⁶⁷]
 93. *gi-mil dum-ki u* ⁶⁸ *ba-la-ti eli-[ia šuk-ni* ⁶⁹]
 94. *nar-bi-ki lu-ša-pi dà-lí-l-ki lud-lul*
 95. *inim-inim-ma šu-il-lá* ⁷⁰ *Gu-la-kam*

¹ Lines 71, 72 form three lines in A. ² BE ¹⁷ *Be-lit i-li*. ³ CE *mi*.

⁴ Here A begins a new line. ⁵ A *me*! ⁶ CE *i*. ⁷ B *aš-ur*. ⁸ A *na*, B *ni*. ⁹ D [*pa*]-*ra-su*. ¹⁰ A *bu-ul*. ¹¹ B omits *u*. ¹² CE *baš-ū*. ¹³ B *eš-ēra*. ¹⁴ A inserts *u*. ¹⁵ B *gamāla*. ¹⁶ B *šūzuba*. ¹⁷ B ¹⁷ *Be-lit i-li*. ¹⁸ ABDE *ša-ku-tum*. ¹⁹ D *um-mu*. ²⁰ D *me*. ²¹ Lines 78, 79 form one line in B. ²² A *i-na*. ²³ *mul-mul* B *mul*. ²⁴ BDE *ša*. ²⁵ Read B. A reads *bēlti*. ²⁶ Read A. B has *ka-[a-ši]*, cf. King, 4, 33 [*bēltu ka*]-*a-ši*. ²⁷ DE seem to read *at-ka-ki*, cf. King, 4, 33. ²⁸ A *maṣḥati*. ²⁹ *li-ki-i*. ³⁰ Line 81 forms two lines in A. ³¹ A inserts *u*. ³² Lines 82, 83 form one line in B. ³³ E *-id*. ³⁴ Read D.

A reads *ana*. ³⁵ Read AD. ³⁶ Read ADE. ³⁷ Read ADE. King has copied *da*. ³⁸ Read DE. ³⁹ Read E. ⁴⁰ Acc. to King, BDE omit line 84. ⁴¹ Read A. ⁴² Cf. KAR. 92, edge *a-ta-nam-da-ru* and CT. xxvii, 36, 10, *i-ta-nam-da-ru*. ⁴³ BE insert in three lines the common eclipse-formula. E precedes this by the line [*ana-ku annannu mār annanni šā*] *il-šū annannu ištār-šū annanni-tum*. ⁴⁴ B ⁴⁵ *Be-lit i-li*. ⁴⁶ D *tū*. ⁴⁷ Restored by King from 4, 43. ⁴⁸ Read A. ⁴⁹ *BAD*, cf. also King, 4, 43. D has traces of *BAD*, see King, 7, 23. ⁵⁰ D *ni*. ⁵¹ Restored by King from 4, 44. ⁵² Line 87 forms two lines in AD. ⁵³ Read A. ⁵⁴ Restoration uncertain, but the sense is clear. ⁵⁵ A *ia*. ⁵⁶ Restored by King from 4, 37. ⁵⁷ A *ša*. ⁵⁸ Restoration uncertain; cf. King, 4, 46 and 47; *pašāhu* is generally used parallel to *nāhu*. The sense is clear. ⁵⁹ A *tū*. ⁶⁰ Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 2, 35 = KAR. 58, Obv. 35. ⁶¹ Line 91 forms two lines in A. ⁶² B *a-na*. ⁶³ *lugal*. A reads *ša*! ⁶⁴ Read A. King has the ideogram for *šabātu*, and reads *šab-t*[*i a-bu-ut-ti*]. ⁶⁵ Cf. King, 4, 49; or restore *liš-me zik-ri*, cf. King, i, 43 (var. 33, 25, *zik-ri-ia*). A has the beginning of *ki* or *liš*. ⁶⁶ A *zu*! ⁶⁷ B *šū*, A *šā*. ⁶⁸ Cf. King, 46, 6. ⁶⁹ B *ū*. ⁷⁰ Cf. Langdon, *PSBA.*, 1918, 108, 17 = King, i, 22; Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 3, 46 = KAR. 58, Obv. 46.

TRANSLATION

Incantation. Gula,¹ lady magnified, mother compassionate,
dweller in the pure heavens,

I have cried to thee, lady; stand forth and hear me!

I have sought thee, I have turned to thee, like the robe
of my god and my goddess thy robe have I clasped.

Forasmuch as to judge a cause, to make a decision—²

75 Forasmuch as to make alive and to bring peace are with
thee,

Forasmuch as to preserve, to spare and to save thou
art able³

Gula, lady magnified,⁴ mother compassionate,

Among the multitudinous stars of heaven

Unto thee, lady, have I turned; my ears are unto thee.

80 Fine meal accept from me, receive my supplication,

Let me send thee to my angry god, my angry goddess,

To the god of my city who is wrathful and incensed
against⁵ me.

By reason of a vision and a dream that have occurred

I am afraid, so that I am cast into gloom.

- 85 Gula, lady magnified, mother compassionate, at the word
 of thy renowned command which in Ekur is Enlil
 And thy steadfast mercy that changeth not
 May my wrathful god be reconciled, my angry goddess
 rest;
 May the god of my city who is wrathful, and whose heart
 is enraged against ⁵ me
 Who is furious, rest, who is enraged, relent!
 90 Gula, lady magnified, one who maketh intercession for
 me art thou,
 Unto Marduk, king of the gods, my merciful lord, make
 intercession for me; command life! ⁶
 Thy protection is wide, thy reconciliation is mighty. ⁷
 A bounty of welfare and of life provide for me!
 Thy greatness verily I will extol, thy praises verily I will
 sing.

95 Incantation of "The Lifting of the Hand" to Gula.

The above hymn seems to be arranged in four almost equal sections, marked by the repetition of the invocation. Lines 83, 84, are an occasional insertion of a type common in prayers of this class.⁸ Here they occur, sometimes with other insertions, in the very centre of the hymn.

The hymn which follows, King, 4, 24 ff., is in part a variant of the last. In King, No. 6, the order of prayers is Anu, Nusku, Sin, Gula, Shamash; in No. 7, Marduk, Gula, Ishara. In No. 4, the order is Ea [= Enlilbanda], Damkina, Ninurta, Gula, the gap at the end of the obverse being partially restored by No. 3. No. 4 corresponds to the rubric of the *bit rimki* series, Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*n, 26, iii, 44-51, and is undoubtedly tablet II of the series; King, No. 41, is tablet I (Anu-Antu-Enlil-Ninlil) and King, No. 1, is tablet III.

¹ Var. "Belit-ili", i.e. "Queen of the Gods", a title of Gula. ² Perhaps better construe this line with the preceding, and tr. "For the sake of judging a cause, of making a decision". Cf. King, 4, 28. ³ Lit. "thou knowest". ⁴ Var. "sublime". ⁵ Lit. "with". ⁶ Or, "may he hear my speech." ⁷ Lit. "weighty". ⁸ Cf. King, 4, 38 ff.; *OECT.* vi, 83, D; *PBS.* i, 2, 23, 6.

(b) KING, No. 4, ll. 24 ff.

The restorations in italics are from the preceding hymn, King, 6, 71-95.

24. *šiptu* ¹⁰¹ *Gu-la bēl-tu šur-bu-tū a-ši-bat šamē-e* [¹¹⁰A-nim ¹]
25. [il-tu]m ² *rim-ni-tum ḡa-i-šat b[a-la-ṭi ³]*
26. [nap]-lu-us-sa taš-mu-ú ki-bit-sa šul-[mu]
27. [al]-si-ki bēltu i-ziz-zi-ma ši-me-i ḡa-ba-[iā]
28. [ana ⁴] di-ni da-ni purussā parā-si šulma(?) ⁵ šullu-mi
29. [ašhur]-ki a-še'-ki ulinna-ki aš-bat kīma ulinni ili-ḡā u
ištari-ḡā
30. [di]-ni di-ni purussā-ḡā puru-si a-lak-ti ši-[mi]
31. [dš-šum] e-ṭi-ra ga-ma-la šu-zu-ba ti-di-[e]
32. dš-[šum] bul-lu-ṭu šul-lu-mu ba-šu-ú it-ti-[ki]
33. bēltu [ka]-a-ši at-kal-ki šum-ki aš ⁶ k[ur(?)]
34. ib-šá-ki uzna-ḡā it-ri-ni-in-ni-ma ilu-ut-ki lut-[ta-id]
35. nīs kāti-ḡā muḡ-ri-ma liḡi-i un-ni-ni-ḡā
36. lu-uš-pur-ki ana ili-ḡā zi-ni-i ištari-ḡa zi-ni-[ti]
37. ana ili ali-ḡā šá šab-su kam-lu libba-šū it-ti-[iā]
38. ina šutti u bi-ri šá ittanaška-n[am-ma]
39. ina lumun attalē ¹¹⁰ Sin šá ina arḡi annanni úmi annanni
šak-na
40. lumun idāti ittāti limnēti lá tábāti
41. ⁷ šá ina ekalli-ḡā u māti-ḡā bašá-a
42. pal-ḡa-ku ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku
43. ina a-mat ki-bi-ti-ki ḡir-ti šá ina É-kūr [¹¹⁰Enlil]
44. ⁷ u an-ni-ki ki-nim šá lá enú-ú
45. i-li šab-su litú-ra ištari-ṭi zi-ni-tū [li-nu-uḡ]
46. ilu ali-ḡā ¹¹⁰ Marduk šá i-gu-ga l[i(?)]-ip-ḡaḡ
47. [šá i]-zi-zu lip[pa-šir] ¹⁰¹ *Gu-la bēltu šur-bu-tū ummu*
[ri-mi-ni-tum]
48. [ana] ¹¹⁰ Marduk bēl(?) [ri-mi-ni-ḡa] māri riš-ti-e šá
[¹¹⁰É-a]
49. [a-bu-ut-ti šab-ti] ki-bi-i [balāṭa]
50. . . . (The rest of the hymn is missing.)

¹ Cf. Zimmern, *Ritualtafel*n, 26, iii, 51. ² Restored by King from 7, 35; or restore *ra-bi-tum*. ³ Cf. King, 9, 39. ⁴ Or *dš-šum*, cf. King, 6, 74, but

King, p. 28, note, says there seems to be room for only one sign and restores *ana*. ² Idg. *dug-gun*, perhaps = *šulmu*, which seems to be the word required here. *dug* = good; *gun* = much. Cf. the parallel passage in iv R. 60, Obv. 37, where the tablet is unfortunately broken. ⁴ *as* for *az*.
¹ ll. 40, 41, and 43, 44, each form one line in King's var. B.

TRANSLATION

- Incantation. Gula, lady magnified, dweller in the heavens
of Anu,
- 25 Goddess compassionate, bestower of life,
Whose regard is acceptance,¹ whose word is peace,
I have cried to thee, lady; stand forth and hear my
speech!
- For the sake of judging my cause, making a decision and
bringing peace
- I have turned to thee, I have sought thee, thy robe have
I clasped like the robe of my god and of my goddess.
- 30 Judge my cause, make my decision, fix my path!
- Forasmuch as to preserve, to spare and to save thou art
able,²
- Forasmuch as to give life and to bring peace are with
thee,
- Lady, in thee have I trusted, thy name have I invoked;
My ears are unto thee. Preserve me, and I will verily
glorify thy divinity.
- 35 The lifting of my hand receive, accept my supplication.
Let me send thee to my angry god, my angry goddess,
To the god of my city who is wrathful and whose heart
is incensed against ³ me.
- By reason of a dream and a vision that have occurred,
By reason of the disaster of an eclipse of the moon, which
in such and such a month on such and such a day
occurred,
- 40 A disaster of omens and signs, evil and not good,
Which are in my palace and my land,
I am afraid, I am gloomy and I am cast into gloom.
At the word of thy renowned command which in Ekur
is Enlil,

And thy steadfast mercy that changeth not,
 45 May my wrathful god be reconciled, my angry goddess
 rest;
 May the god of my city, Marduk, who is enraged, relent,
 Who is furious, be appeased! Gula, lady magnified,
 mother compassionate,
 Unto Marduk, lord of my compassion, first son of Ea,
 Make intercession for me, command life . . .

¹ Lit. "hearing". ² Lit. "thou knowest". ³ Lit. "with".

(c) CRAIG, *RT.* i, 18

Var. *KAR.* 41, from which is restored the beginning of ll. 1-3. Judged by its literary style, this hymn is probably a *kišub*,¹ and is accordingly followed by a Semitic *šu-il-la* prayer, in column II. The last line of the Sumerian in column II is probably to be restored *ú m[à-e]* . . . from *OECT.* 6, 48, l. 6. In that text a rubric designating it a *kišub* intervenes before the commencement of the Semitic *šu-il-la* prayer.

1. [*é*]² [*4.Ni*]³ *n²-si³-in-na⁴* [*ama sag gíg-ga*]-⁵ *ge*
2. [*ilāt*Nin-k]ár-ra-ak um-me [*šal-mat kaḫ-ḫ*]⁶ *a⁶-d[i]*
 Ninsinna,⁷ mother of the dark-headed,⁸
3. [*4.Nin*]-tin-úg-ga *ama sag* [*gíg⁹-g*]⁹ *a-ge*
4. *ilāt* Nintinugga¹⁰ um²-me *šal-mat kaḫ-ḫa-di*
 Nintinugga, mother of the dark-headed,
5. *4.Ba-ú* *tù nam-til-la šub-ba šag*¹¹ *gíg¹²-ga-ge*
6. *ilāt* Bau¹³ na-da-at šī-pat ba-lá-ṭi ana¹⁴ ki-iš¹⁵ lib-bi
 Bau, who casts the incantation of life for the sick heart,
7. *4.Da-mu*¹⁶ *galu kud-da sa dú-dú*¹⁷ *ge*
8. *ilāt* Damu¹⁸ *šá šir-a-na*¹⁹ *bat-ḫa*²⁰ *i-káš-ša-ru*²¹
 Damu, who binds up the man whose sinew is severed,²²
9. *4.Gu-nu-ra*^{22a} *šiti-dū kalam-ma-ge*
10. *ilāt* Gunura²³ *pa-ḫid*²⁴ *da-at ma-a-ti*
 Gunura, the overseer of the land,
11. *4.Ama-šu-maḡ-a*²⁵ *abrig*²⁶ *ḫ-kùr-ra-ge*

12. ¹lat Amašumaḥa ²⁷ ab-raḥ-kát Ê-kùr
Amashumaha, apothecary of Ekur,
13. ²Ama-šu-ḡal-bi ama nig-nam ḡal-la-ge
14. ¹lat Amašuhālbi ²⁸ um-me ²⁹ šik ²-na-at ² napiš-tim ³⁰
Amashubalbi, mother of whatsoever exists, ³¹
15. ²Tù-bé-in ²⁸-tù ³²-ba-šág ² ³³ sukaḥ ² maḡ ḡag Ê-ḡal-
maḡ-ge
16. ¹lat < Tubeintubašag > ³⁴ suk-kal-lu ši-i-ru ³⁵ šá ki-rib
Ê-ḡal-maḡ
Tubeintubashag, far-famed messenger of the heart of
Egalmah,
17. ³⁶sag ḡig sū ḡig ḡag ḡig lipeš ³⁷ ḡig
18. mu-ru-uš ² kaḥ-ka-di muruḡ ³⁸ šin-ni muruḡ ³⁸ lib-bi
ki-iš lib-bi
Headache, toothache, heart-sickness, bowel-sickness,
19. [ḡi ḡi]g ³⁹ á-sḡg sa-ma-ná tura ḡul-g[ál-la] ⁴⁰
20. []: muruḡ i-ni a-sak-ku sa-ma-nu ⁴¹ mur-ḡu
l[im-nu]
Eye-disease, plague, itch (?), evil disease . . .
21. . . . (The rest of the tablet is broken off.) ⁴²

¹ For the meaning of this term, see Langdon, *OECT.* vi, Preface. *Ibid.*, pp. 44-60, a number of *kišub* texts are edited. ² Craig's copy should be amended. ³ Var. *Nin-i-[si-in-na]*. ⁴ Ninisinna and Ninsinna are here translated Ninkarrak, a well-known epithet of Gula and Bau. In *KAR.* 16 (var. *KAR.* 15), ed. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 52 ff., we have a hymn to *Ni-in-si-an-na*, who is likewise translated Ninkarrak. Consequently Ninisinna = Ninsinna = Ninsianna (orig. *Nin-ana-si-an-na*) = "Queen who fills the heavens", i.e. Venus (Istar), and does not mean "Queen of Isin"; cf. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 175, *et passim*. ⁵ Cf. l. 3. ⁶ Cf. l. 4. ⁷ So the Sumerian; the Semitic has "Ninkarrak". ⁸ i.e. "mankind". ⁹ Restored. ¹⁰ V. *lat* nin-ti-úg-ga. ¹¹ V. sag, translated lib-bi "heart"! ¹² The sign in Var. is evidently intended for ḡig. ¹³ V. *lat* Ba-ú. ¹⁴ V. a-na. ¹⁵ The root is *kēš* press, harass, be harassed, be angry; see Langdon, *AJSL.* 34, 207, 208. ¹⁶ Damu is a title of Tammuz as well as of the Earth-goddess; see Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 6 f. *et pas.* ¹⁷ V. *keš-da-ge*. For this use of *ge*, see Langdon, *OECT.* 6, p. 36, n. 1. *dú-dú* = *kašāru* only here. Prb. *du* = "assemble" (*dú* 7 in Langdon, *Sum. Gr.*, p. 210). ¹⁸ V. *Da-mu*. ¹⁹ V. *nu*. ²⁰ V. *ku*. ²¹ V. *i-kāš-gar* (?). ²² So the Sumerian; the Semitic has "Damu who binds up the severed sinew". ^{23a} See Langdon, *Bab. Liturgies*, p. 136. ²³ Var. *lat* gu-nu-ra. ²⁴ Var. *ki*. ²⁵ i.e. "mother of the far-famed might". Var. *lat* Šu-maḡ. ²⁶ Cf. *lat*

abrig in Johns, *ADD.* 828, l. 5. In *BA.* v, 644, 15, Gula of Isin is called *abrig maš* = [*ab-raš-ka-tu gir*]-*tum*. ²⁷ Var. *šū-maš*. ²⁸ See list of corrections in Craig, *RT.* ii, p. ix. Var. *Am-šū-hal-bi*. ²⁹ Var. *umme*. ³⁰ Var. *na-piš-[tim]*. ³¹ So the Sumerian; the Semitic has "mother of the creation of the breath (of life)". ³² Var. *tu*. ³³ Var. *za*. ³⁴ The text omits; Var. has *Tū-bé-in-tu-ba-za*. ³⁵ Var. *gi-ru*. ³⁶ With ll. 17-20, cf. *CT.* 16, 31, 94-6. ³⁷ See *RA.* 17, 100, *lipēš* = *libbi*, but probably does not mean "heart", but rather "bowels" or "womb". ³⁸ Var. *mu-ru-uš*. ³⁹ Restored from *CT.* 16, 31, 96. ⁴⁰ Restoration uncertain. ⁴¹ Sumerian loan-word, cf. Thompson, *Medical Texts*, 1, 2, 10 = "itch", "skin-disease". It is also used for calcium nitrate, a scaly deposit that forms on walls; see *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine*, 17, p. 4. ⁴² Traces of *gūl* occur in the middle of l. 21.

(d) K. 232

OBVERSE

- | | | | | | |
|-----|--|-----------|----|-----------|--|
| 1. | | <i>DI</i> | 2. | | <i>KI</i> |
| 3. | | | | | [<i>nīšē(?) a(?)</i>]- <i>pa-a-ti</i> |
| | | | | | pale-faced peoples, |
| 4. | | | | | [<i>ilū(?)</i> <i>Asar(?)</i>]- <i>lū(?)</i> - <i>dūg</i> |
| | | | | | Marduk, |
| 5. | | | | | [<i>ilū(?)</i> <i>Asar-gir</i>] ¹ |
| | | | | | Marduk(?), |
| 6. | | | | | - <i>ḥat(?)</i> ² <i>a-li-da-at il[āni(?)]</i> ³ |
| | | | | | mother of the gods, |
| 7. | | | | | [<i>mu</i>]- <i>šap-ši-ḥat</i> <i>tu</i> <i>Nanna[ri]</i> |
| | | | | | who appeaseth Sin, |
| 8. | | | | | <i>kāt ili</i> |
| | | | | | who removeth(?) affliction, ⁴ |
| 9. | | | | | - <i>bil(?)</i> - <i>ti ili u šarri</i> |
| | | | | | god and king, |
| 10. | | | | | <i>ra-i-mat</i> <i>tu</i> <i>Utu-gāl-lu</i> ⁵ |
| | | | | | lover of Ninurta, |
| 11. | [<i>na-di-na-at ḥatti</i>] <i>u pa-li</i> ⁶ <i>šá ina šamê-e man-za-as-sa</i> | | | | |

SAL-ŠÁ

Giver of sceptre and hatchet, whose station⁷ in heaven
is . . . ,

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12. [ab-kal-lat ba-ra⁹]-at mul-li-la-at⁹ muš-ši-pat⁹ ili u amēli
Counsellor, seer, purifying priestess, magician-priestess
of god and man,
13. ^{11a1}Nin-tin-ūg-ga be-el-tu mu-šap-ši-hat gi-mir niše mu-
bal-lit-ta-at mīti
Nintinugga, lady who appeaseth all peoples, who giveth
life to the dead man,
14. ^{11a1}Nin-kār-ra-ak be-lit rik-si ār-šá-še-e e-pi-šat nik-ka-si
a-ri-e
Ninkarrak, mistress of the spell ¹⁰ against sorcery, who
casteth up the reckonings of multiplication,¹¹
15. la-ba-at ¹²uz-za-at ù mu-ma'-ir-rat
Crying in rage and directing,
16. ^{11a2}Kūr-rib-ba ¹³ka-ši-da-at ik-šu-ti mu-nak-ki-rat uz-za-
a-ti
Kuribba, conqueror of the violent, opposer of rage,
17. ^{11a1}Me-me ba-nit par-ši ^{11a1}Me-me-šig-ga šá-pi-kat ¹⁴
ir-ši-tim šá-ma-mi

Meme, creatress of ordinances, Memeshigga, moulder of earth and heaven,

18. ^{11a1}*Ama-šu-ḫal-bi um-mu ri-mi-ni-tum mu-šap-si-ḫat zu-um-ri*

Amashuhalbi, mother compassionate, soother of the body,

19. ^{11a1}*Gigim-šig-ga* ¹⁵ *ba-nit kak-ki* ¹⁶ *na-di-na-at šédi dum-ki*

Gigimshigga, creatress of "weapons", giver of a good protecting-deity,

20. ^{11a1}*Lamma-šig-ga šá-pi-kát irši-tim mu-šat-li-mat lamassi dum-ki*

Lammashigga, moulder of the earth, bestower of a good guardian-genius,

21. ^{11a1}*Mah ši-rat ilāni [a-li-kat] pu-ut* ^{11a}*Ašur*

Mah, far-famed one of the gods, who goeth before Ashur,

22. ^{11a1}*Nin-mah* *ilat Nin-tu*

Ninmah, Nintu,

23. ^{11a1}*LUM* *mu-šak-li-mat ta-lit-ti*
 who granteth ¹⁷ offspring

24. *be-lit* *da-ád-me*

Mistress of abodes,

25. *mu-* *ma-ḫa-zi*

Who holy places,

26. [in (?)]-nam-ma-ru i-sar-ru-ru mé
 (erasure) šikaru ¹⁸ (?)

. are made to shine, water and beer flow,

27. *i-ba-'u*

. they come in,

28. *e-liš ú šap-liš*

. above and below,

29. [ma (?)]-ḫa-riš šá-di-id-ma

. in front (?) it is pulled, ¹⁹

30. [I]B (?) KAL da-ád-me

. abodes,

31. [ra-'i-mat] ^{11a}*Utu-gāl-lu*

- lover of Ninurta,
 32. *te-rit*²⁰ *RU ŠÁ ZI* . . .
 Nurse (?)
 33. *ki-rib* *tu-ša-ḥa-am-maṭ*
 The midst of she causes to be set on
 fire (?),
 34. . . . *-šar (?) -ši-* [*šu-ba*]-*ṭ-sa Dū-kug*²¹
 her dwelling is Dukug,
 35. . . . *BIT I* *a-ši-bat šub-ba-a-ti*
 dwelling in sanctuaries²²
 36. . . . *ina (?) NI* *BAD HUR* . .

 37. *DA RA na-šat giz* [*illi (?)*]²³
 bearer of the torch (?),
 38. [*U*]*N (?) I ŠAM ŠI MAT SU*

 39. *NI BIT*

 40. *KI LAM DA*

REVERSE

1. *TI* ^{11a1}*Nin-šig-[ga]*
 Ninshigga
 2. *-ta ir-ši-ta*
 the earth
 3. *SA RI E ŠA* [*R*]

 4. *AM ŠE-GU-N* [*A*]²⁴

 5. [*ri-i*]-*ta u maš-ki-ta*
 She who (?) . . . the pasturage and drinking-place
 6. *na-piš-ti*
 the soul

7. *ba-ri nap-ḥa-ri*
 all
 8. *ŠAD DA LAT (?)*

 9. *HE-NUN* ²⁵ *TUK-KAN* ²⁶ *purussá*
 the decree
 10. *tinūri* ²⁷ *nu-um-mu-ra kuṭ-rin-ni šu-[uṣ-šu-na*
ti-di-e]
 The oven how to fire(?), how to cause incense
 to be smelt she knoweth,

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Reverse



13. *a-šar* ^{11u}*Sin* ^{11u}*Šamaš* ^{11u}*Adad* *i-*
In the place where Sin, Shamash, and Adad.
14. *kan-su-ma ilu u* ^{11at}*iš-ta-ri i-bār-ra*.
God and Goddess are bowed down, beholding
15. ^{11u}*Marduk bēl ne-me-ki i-ŠAT MA* (?).
Marduk, lord of wisdom
16. *ina kut-rin-ni šamni* (?) *šēri* ³⁰*immēri ú-šu-rat*
iššurē ³¹
By incense, oil, , the flesh of lambs, bird-
omens,
17. *ina di-ni u purussi ma-ḥar-šā*
By judgment and decision before her
18. *a-šar sa-li-me šā ḥarrānu u pa-da-nu šu-te-[šu-ra]*
In the place of peace, where way and path are made
straight,
19. . . . *-pat-ti uz-ni-ši-na ár-kát-si-na i-[par-ra-as* (?)
He (?) opens their ears, the r future he decides,
20. *i-nu-šu lib-bi-šá SI* (?) *-te-liš uš-*.
At that time, her heart (?)
21. *dal-ḥa ú-šu-ra-a-te šu-ta-bu-la-te [térēti]*
Confused were the fates, the omens were darkened (?)
22. *ta-mit it-mu-u ta'-it-tum* ³² *piri[štum* ³³ *um-ma]*
An answer they gave, counsel, decision, as follows,
23. *ši-i-ma muš-ta-lat ma-ša-at ma-la-kat*
"She shall be the contemplative, the sufficient, the
counsellor,
24. *uš-ta-pi-íl kil-lat-si-na i-paṭ-ṭar ar-ni*
She shall suppress their ³⁴ shame, she shall annul (their)
sins,
25. *be-lit ri-e-ši ut-nin-ni a-na ši-si-it ḥa-an-da-at*
She shall be the lady of joy and prayer hastening to the
cry (of the people),
26. *i-šim-me taš-lit nišē i-nam-din bul-tu*
She shall hear the imploration of the peoples, she shall
give life,
27. *i-nam-din te-e šá šup-šu-ḥi ši-pat balāṭi*

She shall give the incantation of alleviation and the spell of life,

28. *i-paṭ-ṭar ri-kis nam-ra-ši mu-ru-uṣ ta-as-sùh-ti* ³⁵

She shall loosen the band of disease, the distress of tribulation,

29. *ab-kal-lat ba-ra-at muš-ši-pat mu-us-sa-at ka-la-ma*

She shall be the counsellor, the seer, the magician, the purifier (?) ³⁶ of all things,

30. *sa-ni-ḫat ri'-a-ta a-ši-rat muš-ta-lat*

The establisher of rulership, the musterer, the adviser

31. *sa-ki-pat bêltu ri-me-na-at*

The overwhelmer . . . the lady, the compassionate,

32. *mu-kal-[li-mat ittāti] ṣa-bi-ta-at* ³⁷ *mu-paṭ-ti-rat*

The revealer of signs, the intercessor, the forgiver, ³⁸

33. *[ri-mi-ni-tum šá ta-a-bu* ³⁹ *] na-as-ḫur-šá*

The merciful, whose reconciliation ⁴⁰ is good,

34. *ši-tul* ⁴¹ *šá*

. her counselling,

35. *[⁴²u] I-gi-gi*

. the Heaven-spirits,

36. *-ta-lat*

37. . . . *-lu-ta da-ád-me*

. abodes,

38. *-di-šá*

39. *-lid*

40. *-rat*

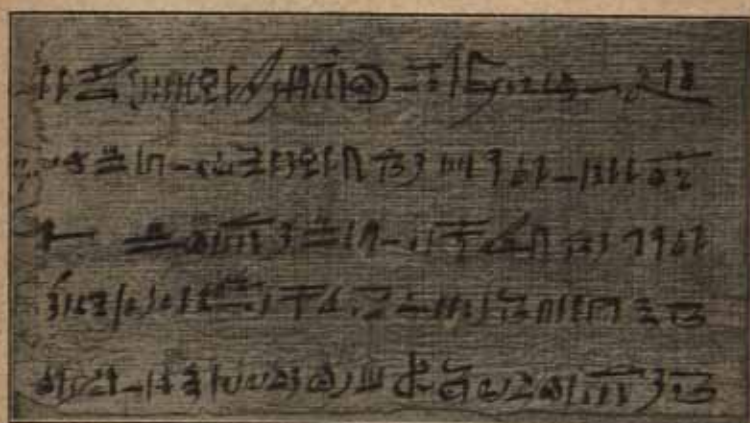
41. . . . (Remainder broken off.)

¹ Prb. *alim* is intended, cf. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, vii, 3 ⁴⁰*Asar-alim*, and vii, 5, ⁴¹*Asar-alim-nun-na* = Marduk. See *ibid.*, note on *alim*. Cf. also *OT.* 24, 27, 26. ² Perhaps the end of another sign. ³ The name of some god may have stood here. ⁴ Lit. "the hand of God". ⁵ This name is also applied to Nergal. ⁶ *palu* = "hatchet" (not "ring") as an emblem of royal power, and is prb. a loan-word from Sumer. *bal* = "hatchet". See Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 130, n. 1. ⁷ The reference is to the Hypsoma of Venus, i.e. Pisces; see Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, p. 149, n. 8. Gula is sometimes identified with Venus; the ⁴²*Gula* identified with Aquarius is not the goddess Gula; see Langdon, *Archiv. für Orientalforschung*, iv, 96, and literature there cited. ⁸ Restored from Rev., l. 29. ⁹ Titles of priests, Muss-Arnolt, 549 and 608. Here we have the feminine forms, which are not in the dictionaries. ¹⁰ i.e. "ritual". ¹¹ *nikkasu*, *nikasu* = reckoning, counting, bookkeeping; the Sumerian is *nig-šid*.

Cf. *YOS.* iii, 17, 4 f. *nikkasa it-ti-šū-nu e-piš*, and *ibid.*, 40, 21, *nikkasa e-pu-uš-ma*. The word appears in Syriac as *niksayyā*, in Hebrew as *n'kasim*. *Aru* is a loan-word from Sumer. *a-ra* = "multiplication"; cf. *SAI.* 8839, *a-ra* = *a-ru*: *šā nikkasi* = "multiplication, applied to reckoning", in *CT.* 11, 36, 9. Cf. Thureau-Dangin, *RA.* 19, 90. Gula is thus confounded here with Nidaba, the goddess of numbers, see Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 151. ¹² *labā* = *labābu*, growl, rage; cf. Zimmern, *Neujahrsfest*, 20, 67, *ta-la-bi-a* "cry out"; cf. *KAR.* 379, 5-9, *il-bi-u*, of oxen and pigs. ¹³ *SAI.* 5374, explains *4Kūr-rib-ba* wrongly as Igigi. It is explained rightly in *CT.* 25, 18, 6, as Ishartum, i.e. Gula; cf. also *CT.* 23, 2, 17, where *4Kūr-rib-ba* = Ninisinna, i.e. Gula. The root *rib* means "excel". ¹⁴ *Šapāku* = to pour out metal into a mould, hence mould (weapons, etc.); cf. Clay, *Gilgamesh*, 162 and 165-7. ¹⁵ The name means "good ghost". ¹⁶ *kakku* "weapon", prob. refers to a sign on the liver and hence = "liver omen". ¹⁷ Lit. "causeth to appear". ¹⁸ Doubtful. ¹⁹ Translation uncertain. ²⁰ *te-rit* = "oracle", but perhaps we have here the feminine of *tīru* guardian, though we should expect *tarītu*. ²¹ The assembly-hall of the gods. ²² Lit. "dwellings". ²³ Restoring GI-I[ZI-LAL]. ²⁴ *Šegunū* is a kind of grain. See Ungnad, *ZA.* 38, 80. ²⁵ Perhaps this is the ideogram *ge-nun* = *nuḥḥu* abundance. ²⁶ *tukkannu* = a leather bag, used for divination. ²⁷ In *CT.* 12, 26, 49b, the sign rendered by *di-li-na* is rendered also by *ti-nu-ur*. In Clay, *Miscel.* 53, 75 = *CT.* 35, 2, 65, the same sign is rendered *di-li-im* = *ti-nu-ru*. Hence *di-li-na* and *di-li-im* both = *tinūru*. Delitzsch, *Sumer. Gl.*, p. 285, under *ninindu*, cites a Berlin syllabary which reads *dili-en*, *dili-na*, *ti-nu-ur*, *tu-nu-ur* = *ti-nu-[ru]*. ²⁸ *adānu* is a denominal verb from *adānu* fixed time, cf. Langdon, *OECT.* vi, 100, 140, note. Perhaps some noun intervened after *iškāti*. ²⁹ A reference to oil-divination. ³⁰ = the liver? ³¹ Lit. "designations made by birds". ³² = *ta'imtum* || *fēmu*. ³³ Restoring *hal-ḥ[al]*. ³⁴ i.e. men's. ³⁵ The sign *NE* has the values *zah*, *ṣah*, *saḥ*, see Ungnad, *ZA.* 38, 80. But it has also the value *suḥ*, cf. Muss-Arnolt 1180a, *ta-as-su-uh-tum* with Boissier, *Choix de Textes*, 176, 2, *ta-as-NE-tum* = *ta-as-suḥ-tum*. ³⁶ Doubtful. ³⁷ Sc. *abūti*. ³⁸ Lit. "blotter out", sc. of (the penalty for) sin. ³⁹ Cf. *OECT.* vi, 81, 12. ⁴⁰ Lit. "turning". ⁴¹ The sign is *lagar*, but the gunufied form, *tul*, is evidently to be read here

Correction: The second-last sign on p. 15, l. 35, should be *id*, the ordinary sign for five.

Additional Note: Scheil, *Sippar*, No. 6, is another variant of a). It duplicates ll. 71-86, and was written for the use of Shamash-shum-ukin. It was edited by Boissier, *Revue Sémitique*, 1898, 143 f., cf. also *ibid.*, 1896, 161, and contains a few unimportant variants.




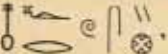
Fragment of Papyrus, B.M. 10447.

[See pp. 199]

Book-keeping for a Cult of Rameses II

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE

(PLATE I)

IN his *Rechnungen aus der Zeit Setis I*, p. 77, Professor Spiegelberg has published, à propos of New Kingdom account papyri in general, a fragment of papyrus, at one time in the Musée Guimet,¹ whose interest lay in the mention of a new place-name  in connexion with the well-known town of Nefrusi, . The occurrence of these two names in a hieratic fragment, B.M. Pap. 10447² (acquired by the British Museum fifty-one years ago) suggested the following synthesis.

TEXT

The text thus reassembled must have occupied a piece of papyrus about 20 in. long with a depth of about $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. The tear down the middle has deprived us of one or more signs in every line but the third. In view of the economy of expression which characterizes Egyptian accounts these can ill be spared. In spite of these lacunæ, however, the meaning of the document is clear, even if the construction is not always so.

TRANSLATION

1. Corn for the great statue of Rameses-Beloved-of-Amen, L.P.H., beloved of Tum in Upper Egypt, in the Ward of Tayatnaherhe in Nefrusi (1) : 800 sacks, *as follows* :—

¹ Its present whereabouts is unknown. Professor Moret, who very kindly searched the archives of the Musée Guimet, but without any success, tells me that it was not in the Musée when he became *Conservateur* in 1906. Professor Spiegelberg has heard nothing of it since he copied it there some time before 1896 (the date of the publication of his *Rechnungen*).

² $7\frac{1}{2}$ by $4\frac{1}{2}$ in. at greatest length and breadth respectively. The papyrus is bleached to a greyish colour. The top, right-hand and bottom edges are unhurt; the left-hand is very ragged as a result of the tear which caused the estrangement of the two fragments.

2. Carried forward (2) from Year 54, by the hand (3) of the scribe Amenemone of this House :

Farmer . . . y, son of Ptahpadi, and
farmer Nebwa', son of Ptahmay ; 400 sacks.

3. Year 55, by the hand of the scribe Horminy of this House in this House ; 400 sacks, as follows :—

What is in the charge of the stable superintendent,
Ha'khay, son of Nekhtminy, for (?) (4) the granary
of Tayatnaherhe—

Farmer Nebwa', son of Ptahmay, 200 sacks.

5. What is in the Ward of Pa'ashpu,(5) in the central district of Nefrusi—

Farmer (?) . . . y son of Ptahpady, on
account of the workmen (?), 200 sacks.

Total 800.

Verso

The great Statue of Rameses-Beloved-of-Amen, L.P.H.,
beloved of Tum.

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

(1) Spiegelberg expresses some doubt as to the meaning of this collocation of place-names. But from the mention of the "*dmy* Pa'ashpu in the centre of Nefrusi" (l. 5) it is clear that *dmy* need not be taken literally as a town, village or even hamlet, but means here a quarter of a town. Tayatna-herhe was therefore either a suburb on the edge of, or more probably a quarter within the town itself, of Nefrusi. That the latter (see the references quoted in Gauthier, *Dictionnaire des noms géographique*, iii, 89), a town of the Oryx nome, somewhere between Shmūn and Kom el-Aḥmar, was of sufficient importance and size to contain within itself separate *dmyt*, one of which had its own shrine to the King, is shown by a phrase in the Carnarvon Tablet. Kamōse there speaks of "cooping up (?) " Teti in Nefrusi¹ and the implication is that it was a sufficiently strong and important place for an army to fall back on. It was still to be reckoned as a stronghold under Piankhy when its walls were overthrown by Namlot.²

¹ Gardiner in *JEA.*, iii, 105-6, and (with Gunn) v, 46.

² Newberry in *PSBA.*, xxxv, 119, note i.

(2) Literally "remainder".

(3) *m drt*, frequently simply "from" (see Spiegelberg, *op. cit.*, 34) seems here to have its literal meaning "by the hand of", indicating the author of the accounts which are the significant contents of the text. The short statement contained in the latter half of the line—"farmer . . . etc."—is simply a digest of longer accounts kept by the scribe Amenemone. This is not clear from the construction of the line—grammatically one would be inclined to assume that *m drt* governed all three persons referred to—but the sense demands it.

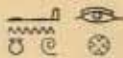
(4) "for" seems to have more point than "of", and is perhaps balanced—as an explanation—by *hr b³k* in the next line.



(5) This name is not known elsewhere. The fact that neither Pa'ashpu nor Tayatnaherhe have occurred in any other inscriptions is in favour of their both being merely quarters of Nefrusi, only known locally. In ll. 4 and 5 the statements "farmer, etc. . . . sacks" are to be taken as summaries of fuller accounts kept throughout the year. There is the same apparent absence of construction as in l. 2 (see note 3 above).

COMMENTARY

The writing is that of a neat Nineteenth Dynasty hand. It was this, rather than the occurrence of the name *R'.ms.sw-mry-imn*, which made Spiegelberg ascribe his fragment to the reign of Rameses II. This identification is confirmed by the high regnal dates mentioned in the B.M. text.

With the exception of the lacunæ caused by the tear the document is complete. It is a finished statement—not a mere jotting, as the careful script and labelling on the back prove—of the corn receipts for two successive years in some small temple or local shrine of Atum which contained a statue of the reigning Pharaoh, Rameses II. It is possible that the Statue of the King was the sole recipient of offerings in the shrine, and that the dedication to Atum referred to a larger temple of that God in the neighbourhood. Certainly Nefrusi had been connected with the worship of Hathor from early

times,¹ and Atum was associated with Hathor of  in the triad of Heroopolis in the Delta.² As the statement of receipts deals in greater detail with the second year than with the first it is likely that the writer of the text was the scribe "by the hand of" whom the second year's tithes were acknowledged, namely Horminy; and the text may be presumed to have been drawn up at the end of the second year, i.e. year 55 of Rameses' reign, as a guide to Horminy's successor for use during year 56.

In view of the terseness of the Egyptian, the form of the account is best shown by spacing the letterpress as I have done in the Translation. It is then immediately apparent that the total of 800 sacks of corn for two years is not only made up of two equal annual amounts, but is subscribed by the same two farmers in each year, and that each farmer is assessed at an equal quota (200 sacks) each year. (This is only stated for the second year, but is implied for the first as well.) Farmer Nebwa's contribution went to the storehouse attached to the shrine or temple of the statue. The other farmer's—his name is lost—was kept in another quarter of the town, apparently for distribution to certain workmen. As these must have been connected in some way with the shrine at Tayatnaherhe it would seem that this was still being built or added to, and our text would therefore be the statement of the total accounts up to date. Spiegelberg, however, was uncertain of the readings  and  (in *bʔk*) in the last part of line 5; the sense is therefore not certain.

Thus analysed the text throws a little light on the common but rather vaguely interpreted word 'hwtj. Gardiner³ has broken away from the non-committal translation of the past, "peasant," "labourer," "fellah," etc., and adopted the more technical term, "tenant-farmer," to express the real

¹ Newberry, *Beni Hasan*, ii, 20.

² Budge, *God of the Egyptians*, i, 354.

³ *Eg. Grammar*, p. 500, "J.24," note 5.

meaning. His justification is the passage in the Siut contracts¹ in which the Nomarch stipulates with the priests of the Temple that in return for certain observances on their part he will give them firstfruits from his estate, and that he will start by causing every *'hwtj* of his to give firstfruits from his (the *'hwtj*'s) *'hwt*. Here, then, *'hwt* is not so much "field"—which would be misleading—as "holding", and the *'hwtj* is a smallholder, renting his land—by payment in kind and certain services—from a person of substance, or the temple, or the King. This is precisely the meaning of Gardiner's "tenant-farmer". *'hwtj* occurs again in a passage from a long inscription published by Gardiner in 1913.² Following a description of a new foundation of the King's at Memphis comes the information³ that it was supplied with priests and temple officials, with land and animals, and with officials who were to look after these last two classes of endowments respectively. Those who were responsible for the land are called *'hwtjw*, and the next sentence, referring back to this description, says that all the *offices* of the temple were filled right well. Clearly then the *'hwtjw* were more than mere "field-labourers" as Gardiner then translated. They were persons who had been installed as tenants in small parcels of land from which they were expected to provide certain revenues to the temple. They were entirely different from the *mrt* mentioned in l. 22 of the same inscription, who, though field-labourers as the context implies, were the personal property of the writer (the owner of the statue)—serfs in fact.

Returning to the Ramesside inscription, everything indicates a similar status for the *'hwtjw* here to those of the two texts just described. The fact that two farmers should supply the total corn provision two years running and at the

¹ Griffith, *Inscriptions of Siut*, etc., vi, 280.

² On a statue of an important official of Amenophis III from Memphis, in Petrie, etc., *Tarkhan I and Memphis V*, p. 33 ff, plates lxxviii-lxxx.

³ Op. cit., pl. lxxx, l. 19.

The Patna Congress and the "Man"

By C. A. F. RHYS DAVIDS

THE substance of the following was given in an address at the Oxford Congress of Orientalists, 1928. It makes no pretensions to do more than put forward a few suggestions concerning the so-called Third Buddhist Council—suggestions which may help when historians are reconsidering the miserably poor materials, which are all we have to throw light on what was the most momentous crisis and decision in the whole history of Buddhism.

"Congress of Patna" (or Pāṭaliputta) is a more suitable term than "council". To picture it, we must recall the factors in our own recent if less momentous ecclesiastical crisis: a council with revisional labours of twenty years, the whole Church of England and the House of Commons. Kern was in error in describing it as a mere "party meeting . . . after the schism",¹ by which he seems to mean "secession", of the Mahāsaṅghikas. If we are to believe Buddhaghosa, this and the other schools or "sects" (*ācariyakulā*) had not seceded from the Saṅgha. They are expressly included in the one Sakya Saṅgha as distinct from teachers and teaching which were "outside this".² It was the very presence of such schools, notably of Mahāsaṅghikas (or Vajjiputtīyas) in the Saṅgha, which contributed to bring about the "Council" and make it so momentous.

The Congress took place during the reign of King, or Emperor, Asoka round about the middle of the third century B.C. Our authorities as to the event are not contemporaneous. They are the *Dīpavaṃsa* and the *Mahāvāṃsa* of Ceylon, and the commentaries on the *Vinaya* and *Kathāvatthu*. These appear to have been written, or to have taken written form,

¹ *Indian Buddhism*, p. 110.

² *Kathāvatthuly*.

between six and seven centuries later. As records of a great work and a great crisis they are one and all meagre, jejune, all but childish. The Ceylon "epics" were the work of "men of letters" more anxious to interest reader and listeners than to recover the true. Buddhaghosa was earnest, but in him the historical sense is totally absent. Kern's damning the records as "full of glaring untruths" is too fierce a bark, but, albeit he too much mixes up event with "story", and Patna with Ceylon, he does bring us to this important statement: "the object of the . . . (congress) . . . was 'to prove that the Vibhajjavādins' . . . were the real and original sect, i.e. 'the Sangha'."

But who were the Vibhajjavādins, or analysts, and whence the name? The four records deliberately affirm that the founder of the Sakya was "Analyst", and hence such were all his right followers. Kern sees in the term an invention of the Ceylon (*Mahāvihāra*) monks. To that I would suggest that at leisure, far from the bustle and stress of the Patna crisis, it is highly improbable that the victorious and hence orthodox majority in the Sangha would have invented such a name. Once victorious, any specific name, serving as a slogan, was unnecessary. So, at the Council of Nicæa, Athanasian fought Arian and won. Thereafter the name "Athanasian" survived only to distinguish an elaborated fixed wording of a creed; the term Arian, Arianism for a large "sect" lingered on. It was not "orthodox", not "authentic", not *the* Church. For me this word "the Analysts", appearing as it does only in the accounts of the Congress, not, I believe, before or after, is a party slogan invented, probably not by the party so named, but by the lay world, interested in a great and long struggle, into which monarchy itself was drawn. So our own English spoke lately of "Revisionist", "Anti-revisionist". Our history abounds in such labels, discarded in the case of the winning side.

Dr. Walleser, in his recent discussion of the term, submits a possible explanation in the idea, much exploited nowadays,

that there had always been in the Sakya two ways of regarding certain terms: either the conventional, or people's meaning, and the meaning of philosophical intuition. And in considering the chief bone of contention at the time in the Sangha, namely, the reality of the "man" (over and above body and mind), he suggests, that the party who were careful to "distinguish" in which of those two meanings "the man" was taken were known as the Dividers or Vibhajjavādins.

Dr. Walleser does not stress the plausibility of this view, and I do not think it can survive historical sifting. Had the distinction been thought out and named: *sammuti-kathā*, *paramattha-kathā*—at any time preceding the Congress, we may be quite sure of one thing: it would, as a potent "silencer", have been brought forward by the orthodox debater (the "Our Speaker") in the opening and most important debate in the Kathā-vatthu, ascribed, as his compilation, to the President Moggaliputta-Tissa. But "Our Speaker" never makes use of it. The first time we meet with it is in the Milindapañho, between two and three centuries later. There, anyway, such double meaning in teaching is not fathered on to the Founder. But some three centuries later we find both doctrine and libelled Father,¹ full grown, not, in the text commented upon, where it *should* have been used, *but was not*; but in the Commentary, i.e. on the Kathāvatthu. It is set forth as the peroration of the comments on that first and momentous debate. Can historical evidence, short of definite narrative, speak more plainly?

It would not, of course, help the "distinction" theory were the Kathāvatthu assigned a more recent date.² Such a hypothesis overlooks the old "Asokan" Pali in the first debate of the book, where *ke* stands for *ko*, and *vattabbe* for *vattabbo*, *vattabham*, archaisms in Buddhaghosa's time, and corrected by him (*Comm.*, pp. 9, 20).

We come then to what I venture to suggest is a sounder

¹ He repudiated a dual way of teaching.

² Cf. *Die Sekten des alten Buddhismus*, by M. Walleser, 1927.

view of the sort of "hustings" term I think Vibhajjavādin was. Let us glance at the situation.

The Founder's message: The Way (through the worlds) for Everyman, Everyman walking as self-guided by inner "dhamma"—a message cruelly "edited" as for the "recluse" only—was not the founding of a church of recluses over against a layworld. Hence he made no arrangements to secure church authority or church doctrine with reference to that world. He and his followers formed themselves (first as teachers) into such a dual body of religious and laymen. But, there being no hierarchy and at first only a moral code, while the laity looked on, criticized, and supported, the monk-world began very industriously to disagree with itself, from the Founder's day onward. With the rise of the Mauryan hegemony, a new broader conception of unity must have stared the now preponderant Sakyan community in the face, at Patna and elsewhere. To this political development they presented a glaring contrast. They were in a fairly chaotic state of disunity. Their ablest divines, if Tissa be not a unique case, had retired from the city monastery in disgust to hill-side viharas. But to win over the patronage of the busy, sagacious king to their support was of great moment. A good shopfront, paying him the compliment of imitating the new political unity, was necessary. The Congress was summoned, and like Cincinnatus or Venizelos, Tissa was induced to come back and preside over the work of unity.

The records of the Congress make three statements, which from their obvious improbability call for criticism. A small highly efficient executive could alone cope with the gigantic task of revision, and of testing members of the Sangha by its results. We are told that the executive numbered a thousand, that the work of "*dhamma-sangahaṇ*"¹ took nine months, and that the expulsions of the monks, not holding views then pronounced unorthodox, preceded the revision by which alone

¹ So Mhv. Buddhaghosa uses this and the traditional term "reciting": *sangīti*.

their orthodoxy could be tested. I would suggest as a truer account that, albeit, as with the League of Nations Council, the full personnel of each general meeting was large, the actual revisers and judges may well have been, *according to precedent*, only eight.¹ The work of revision to be carefully done *must have lasted years*. With plenty of books and writing and typing materials, our own little Prayer Book Revision took twenty years. With plenty of MSS. around, the output of the gentlemen, now compiling an "authentic" version of the *Mahābhārata* at Poona, is one fasciculus per annum. But at Patna there were not even written MSS., nor any but few and awkward writing materials. There will have been repeaters, bhānakas, from different viharas eminent as living-record-viharas: I suggest the six repositories referred to, with a distinctive opening to certain Suttas, in the Samyutta Nikāya, to which I have drawn attention²: Sāvatti, Kapilavatti, Benares, Sāketa, Rājagaha, and Patna itself. And these bhānakas will have come in sections before the judges, according as they were Dīghabhānakas, and so forth, and have repeated, one at a time, some "bhānavāra" or portion of one, something like a Welsh Eisteddfodd. Where they were all in verbal agreement, if this ever was the case, the judges may not have dared to revise, had they wished to. Where there were variant versions, one had to be selected as the standard version; the rest would be either ruled out, or committed to those miscellanies we find in the third and fourth Nikāyas. Thus the Magga will have been finally entered up as "eightfold"; not because there was any inherent necessity for eight, as either logical or exhaustive, or as the one and only version, but because, down the ages, teachers and so, repeaters had elaborated the probably original "thought, word, and deed" of the *really* ancient tradition into variants of these, and finally, of these, eight were selected; the *tenfold* Way, for instance, being relegated to miscellaneous collections.³

¹ As at the second "Council".

² *Kindred Sayings*, iv, Introduction.

³ *Dīgha Summaries*, M. ii, 29, S. and A.V.

And as to the inverted order in time of revision and expulsions, this may have arisen from a preliminary expulsion of those ascetics, who, to get material support, "without entering the Sangha . . . donned the yellow robes" and frequented the viharas. Lacking a duly attested ordination, these intruders could be summarily dealt with. To this extent I judge the order of events in the records correct; but no further. The drastic expulsion of *ordained* monks can only have been carried through when a unified, standardized, authoritative "Word" had emerged as sanction. It was the one traditional sanction handed down in the Sakya as accredited to the Founder's own injunction: "The disciples' Teacher was to be Dhamma and Vinaya."¹ The Founder, did he actually say so, will have meant "your inward monitor (conscience) and your outer code of rules". But Dhamma had come to mean verbalized sets of teachings. And with Dhamma and Vinaya now edited, revised, reworded in a Revised Version, it only remained to get rid of those whose views did not run on all fours with those of the revising committee.

On what did disparity in views chiefly hinge? Let us compare the test-questions put to monks with the contents of the book *Kathāvatthu*. In the book, any acquaintance with it, as well as with its commentary, will leave no doubt as to the paramount importance of the opening debate: "Is the 'man' got at?² ('caught', Hume would have said) in the true and supreme-meaning sense?" Yet not nearly enough significance has been attached to this signpost of the past. It can only mean that the question of the man's real nature, either as a being using the body-mind *khandhas*, or as only those *khandhas*, was the *chief question* at issue in the fight for unity of teaching. Is our teaching to be of man as *attan*, with all that the venerable word implies in ancient Indo-

¹ *Mahāparinibbāna Sā.*

² *Upalabbhati*. Comy.: "known."

Aryan tradition, or *an-attan*? Divorced from their early mentor, the Sāṅkhyā, first analyser of "mind" as *distinguishable* from the "man", the majority in the Sangha had plumped for *anatta*, and had carried out the revision so as to make *this* appear as authoritative as repeaters' versions made possible. But they could not well put the damning test-questions save in terms sanctioned by oldest, most revered tradition, to wit, terms which were already used for wrong views in the Brahmajāla Suttanta, chanted as far back as the First Council. The views, there condemned, which were selected as tests do refer to the nature of the "man", but not as to whether "got at" or unget-at-able. They turn on whether he survives death: that mighty test yesterday, to-day, and for ever. If the "man" survived death—not this death only, of course; the Indian mind was more logical than ours—then *he was divine*, i.e. imperishable, unchanging, not-dukkha. If he did not survive, this was the despised nihilism (*uccheda*).

These ancient wordings sufficed for the expelling. Either view was inadmissible, let alone the other subterfuge views of the Suttanta.¹ But there remained a *third alternative view*, by which it had come to be held, a monk's orthodoxy might be passed. This had come, *during the Congress*, to be popularly known as that of the Vibhajjavādins. Having respect to the great preoccupation about the "man", we may conclude the nickname was because of their view about just that. If only the compiler of the "Man-talk" in the Kathāvatthu had been as clear in *positive* statement of "Our" view, as he was in negating the "Man"-speaker's arguments, we should not now be groping. But if we may conclude positively for him, we may say that his "Analysis" of man's nature had brought him curiously near, save in space and time, to David Hume. Namely, he does not deny that the man exists in *some way*. That came later; in the Milinda,

¹ "Some only survive," and "we don't know anyway" ("Eel-wrigglers"), etc.

and in the commentaries, notably in that on the Kathāvatthu. But, analysing the concrete individual, he only finds the very "man" in the mind. And mind, as his Suttas entitled him to say, is "multiple, many-kinded, manifold,"¹ not a unity. And there he left him. All attempts to explain survival by physical analogies in terms of result belong to later thought. The Vibhajjavādin, following his Abhidhamma as was the vogue, pulled his "man" to pieces as so many dhammas, mental phenomena. *Process in dhammas* belongs to post-Patna Abhidhamma.

This, then, I suggest, is how the historian of Buddhism may rightly interpret this curious name for the new orthodoxy: Vibhajjavādin. I suggest it is no invention of later records, for it is incredible that the Sangha would have called itself by a name without lofty traditional sanction. It does not occur in the (contemporary) Kathāvatthu, but, then, no party names of any kind do occur, so we can disregard that. It was left to the commentary to supply these, and that on the "Five Books" (Abhidhamma, iii-vii) makes no claim to derive from early sources as do those on the Five Nikāyas. Suddenly the name appears and as suddenly disappears. I have suggested why. While the little "Council" had been pursuing its long arduous labours with the coming and going of summoned bhānakas, companies of monks from the corresponding viharas and others will have been mustering at Patna, and, as our young people would say, no end of a hoo-ha was going on in waves of discussion, culminating in a great crescendo as it became known that the revision was nearing completion and the day of the Congress elections drew nigh. So viewed, it is not strange that a catch-word or slogan should have arisen, maybe among the populace, maybe among the king's men (police, army, court), maybe among monks themselves, for the formidable party, now at last become corporate and articulate as such: the party, who saw, in "the man", one who could actually, when analysed,

¹ *Majjhima* ii, 26.

only be traced, beyond his bodily factor, in the manifold of the mind. Rather would it be strange had some such name not been lit upon.

"Man is not to be valued save in terms of body and mind," and as such comes under the category "an-atta":—this, I suggest, is the milestone in Buddhist thought attained at the Patna Congress, and not to be confounded with the further milestone reached in the Milinda questions, or with the yet further milestone revealed in Buddhadatta and Buddhaghosa. The position at Patna was not one of sudden growth. It may be seen at work in the Piṭakas. But how much of what we find in these was work of earlier growth, how much was done *at the Patna revisings*: here is for us a problem at present insoluble. For instance, to which of the two agencies do we owe the substitution of "mind" for the more natural "man" in many passages in the Nikāyas? ¹ Or the timid omission of the "man", the *attan*, the *satta*, in the parable of the Jetavana wood? Surely to compare body and mind to faggots being gathered and borne to burning (as at death) from the wood, and then leave the inference: "the wood remains to blossom afresh, but 'you', 'tunhe', you do not remain, for you *are not*, save in the faggots" is a funny, a sorry jumble unworthy of the august speaker!

Is it odd that we writers on Buddhism have so slurred over all this growing divergence from the time of the Founder's *caveat*, that the "man" was not his body or his mind (spoken when to have denied the "man's" reality had been the teaching of a mad man) to Asoka's day? Is it odd that we feel no jolt as we pass over the intrusions and gaps in the documented teachings, so strangely un-Aryan as to be losing sight, in their chequered history, of the truth that, whatever factors the "man" may be *vibhajja-ed* into, he is, before all, "he", the user of them? the analyser in every analysis? "Jolt," indeed? Have we not rather felt a

¹ E.g. *Majjhima* i, 295; *Samyutta* v, 218; iii, 2.

smoother going in our exploring the Piṭakas, as we noted this "mind" (*manas, citta, viññāṇa*) functioning where, and as, other old documents would have made the "man", the self, functioning? We have commended "Buddhist psychology" as akin to our own, at least to that of yesterday.

"Akin to our own"—that's why we've slurred, that's why there was no jolt. The Analysts at Patna put the very "man"—I don't like "soul"—may I say the "man-in-man"?—behind a curtain as "unget-at-able". But we have done the same. Our new psychology has, not so long ago, weaned itself from its mother philosophy, has analysed mind, *that is, minding*; and has thrown the minder, or must I say the metempirical self, back into the mother's lap. And there it leaves him. Early Buddhism, that is, Sakya was caught by the Sāṅkhyā vogue, in which the "man" was, as a new experiment, distinguished from "mind", and mind analysed. And it "went one better" (or worse), adapting the Sāṅkhyan formula: "This I am not," etc., but negating, where the Sāṅkhyā only accented difference. It is we who have quite unawares, but as the outcome of a somewhat similar cause, followed the Sakya. We, too, have lost sight of the wood for the faggots—ay, our philosophers do not always see it. "I grant your 'man', if you see him as a complex of events" . . . so runs a letter to me from one of them. The Founder of the Sakya told inquirers they could see themselves, if they would, in a mirror. Perhaps if we can see an episode of our own history of ideas in this Buddhist mirror, the way of a new and wiser psychology of our human nature may not be far off.

A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters

By F. W. THOMAS, S. MIYAMOTO, AND G. L. M. CLAUSON

(PLATE II)

IN the India Office Library there exists an extensive and well-written MS. (A) in Tibetan writing and non-Tibetan language, belonging to the collection acquired by Sir A. Stein from the famous hidden library of Tun-huang (Ch'ien-fo-tung); it is described below.¹ In the light of previous experience of such MSS. it was quickly apparent that the language was Chinese; but owing to the known difficulty of restoring Chinese characters from writing representing pronunciation, whether ancient or modern, an interpretation of the text seemed to be for the present practically out of the question.

However, a closer examination showed that many sentences (for the punctuation is rather good) commenced with the syllable *hā . hmye . hyu*; and this suggested that the text was a catechism. The seventh line, beginning *hlug . ñam . | hde . 'ir . ñam . wur . |*, comprises three words recognizable as Chinese for six (*hlug*), one (*'ir*), and Buddha (*wur*); and only an equation of *ñam* to *nyam*, *nem*, is required in order to arrive at the meaning "six remembrances: the first, remembrance of Buddha", which in Sanskrit is *ṣaḍanusmṛtayaḥ | prathamā Buddhānusmṛtiḥ*; and it becomes easy to follow the enumeration of the familiar sextad. The

¹ India Office MS. Tun-huang (Ch'ien-fo-tung), Ch. 9, II, 17: paper scroll, 30 × 440 cm.; II. 290 *recto* + 196 *verso* of good, rather calligraphic, cursive Tibetan writing, the lines being parallel to the breadth of the scroll and each c. 29 cm. wide, the characters varying in size and betraying probably more than one hand; elaborate, but not always correct, punctuation by means of dots, single and double *daṇḍas*, circles, one, two, three, or rarely more in number, etc.; paragraphs and some chapter-divisions indicated; fragmentary at beginning; at the end of the text a colophon mentioning the first volume of a work and invoking a blessing upon all creatures; blank at end, *recto* c. 25 cm., *verso* c. 160 cm.; eighth-ninth century?

obvious suggestion, however, of a version of a *Dharma-saṃgraha* is not confirmed; and it is evident that the MS. contains much matter, partly of a different character and comprising an enumeration of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas; parts only were at once intelligible.

A fortunate chance recalled to mind another MS. (B),¹ containing a Chinese text with interlinear glosses in Tibetan character; and inspection showed that these pointed to another exemplar of the same text. Though both are fragmentary at the beginning, their actual commencing points proved to be not very far apart, the second MS. beginning at line 14 of the first. The presence of the Chinese characters entirely alters the situation; it has been possible to edit the text in the form given below and to furnish a translation.

At first it was proposed to print under each Chinese character the transliterated text as elicited from *both* MSS. This course was suggested by a rather peculiar circumstance, namely that the systems of transliteration followed severally by the two MSS. differ somewhat in almost every syllable. What has necessitated a different procedure is the fact that the correspondence between the two texts is by no means always syllable for syllable; in fact, there are, in addition to some standing differences of phraseology, larger divergences and dislocations; in so much that after about l. 33 of the first MS. the parallel passages cannot be set out without further examination. For a preliminary comparison of the

¹ India Office MS. Tun-huang (Ch'ien-fo-tung), Ch. 80, xi: paper scroll, 27.5 × 22.5 cm.: ll. 128 *recto* of poor Chinese writing in columns parallel to the breadth and each c. 20 cm. wide, with interlineations in small, cursive Tibetan writing, often faint or smudged or intruding upon the adjacent Chinese characters, but with care legible, although there is some difficulty in distinguishing *c*, *b*, and *h*, *c* and *ts*, *chi* and *tsha*, 'a, y- and o-, *ś* and *z*, -n and -r, and so forth. The Tibetan syllables, which are transliterations of the Chinese characters to the left of each, are absent in about 50 per cent of the cases. Chinese writing between ruled lines, two hands, the second beginning l. 80. Fragmentary and smudged at the beginning: the last line gives the title.

two transliterations we give below the two texts of the indicated portion.

In the second MS. the Tibetan transliterations are in general faintly written, often practically indecipherable. Here the other version has sometimes been of service in the establishment of the readings. It should be remarked that the transliterations are in a large percentage of the cases not given in the MS. : this was often due, no doubt, to the fact that the same Chinese character had occurred previously, a natural consequence of the nature of the text ; and accordingly we have been able to make insertions (*in Italics*) in the later recurrences and so establish a practically complete consecution.

The Chinese writing is not very good : naturally, owing to the age of the MS., it shows old and rather cursive forms, and there are also a few errors. Mr. Miyamoto has been able to read the whole with little uncertainty ; and he has provided the translation, which for the most part furnishes to students of Mahāyāna Buddhism its own evidence. To Mr. C. Y. Wang, who is now studying in Oxford, we are indebted for a careful verification of the readings.

At the end of the second MS. there is a colophon giving the title as "Mahāyāna Middle Doctrine, One Volume" = Sanskrit *Mahāyāna-mādhyamika-darśana* ; and this is preceded by an explanation, in the course of which the work is described as "copy extract of explanation, Mahāyāna-Mādhyamika view, by the preacher (= *dharma-bhāṇaka*) Go". The person and his date are unknown : the MS. would belong to about the seventh-eighth century A.D. In case the work is not a translation (from Sanskrit), the divergences of the two texts require some further explanation.

Two more points invite attention. The first concerns the wholesale differences in the transliteration. Partly these appear to be simple differences of system ; e.g. the first MS. has *hdehu*, *hdvahu*, *hkhuñ*, *hlyo*, *wo*, *zo*, *gām*, corresponding

to *de*, *h̄dve*, *khōñ*, *lehu*, *boñ*, *syōñ*, *gvam* of the second. But it is obviously more serious when we find *bañu* in the first = *peñu* in the second, and when in the first we find the Tathāgata, whom we have previously found as *že-le*, represented by *zu-lañu* (= ordinary Chinese *Julai*). Whether the differences are local or of another nature, sinologists will perhaps decide. In case the matter should seem to be one of date, we would plead for priority on the part of the second MS., wherein the Chinese characters have the primacy and which has a general similarity to other Chinese MSS. from the same source, diverted to Tibetan uses during the period of Tibetan rule in the Śa-cu region. The first MS., which is calligraphic, was evidently written for persons prepared to dispense with Chinese characters. It should be added that both MSS. show minor, but numerous, inconsistencies in their transliterations. The Chinese text, which here and there has been corrected or shows signs denoting repetition, change of order, or omission, is also in some places obviously faulty or defective.

The second point regards the circumstance that among an exiguous number of such Tibeto-Chinese MSS. we have two exemplars of the same work. The case might seem accidental. But in connexion with each of the two texts previously published (*JRAS.* 1926, pp. 508-536; 1927, pp. 281-306) we have been confronted with fragments of independent MSS. In regard to a purely Tibetan document another instance has been noted (*JRAS.* 1928, pp. 90-1). I am acquainted, further, with no less than four independent fragments of a *Rāmāyaṇa* text in Tibetan from the same region and with other parallel instances of fragments of Tibetan works. There is probability in the conclusion that in such cases the fragments have not now first come together, but represent MSS. associated together in old times, for comparison or by way of classification, in the Tun-huang Library or in the sources of its collections.

[F. W. T.]

MS. A, ll. 1-14.



MS. B, ll. 1-21.

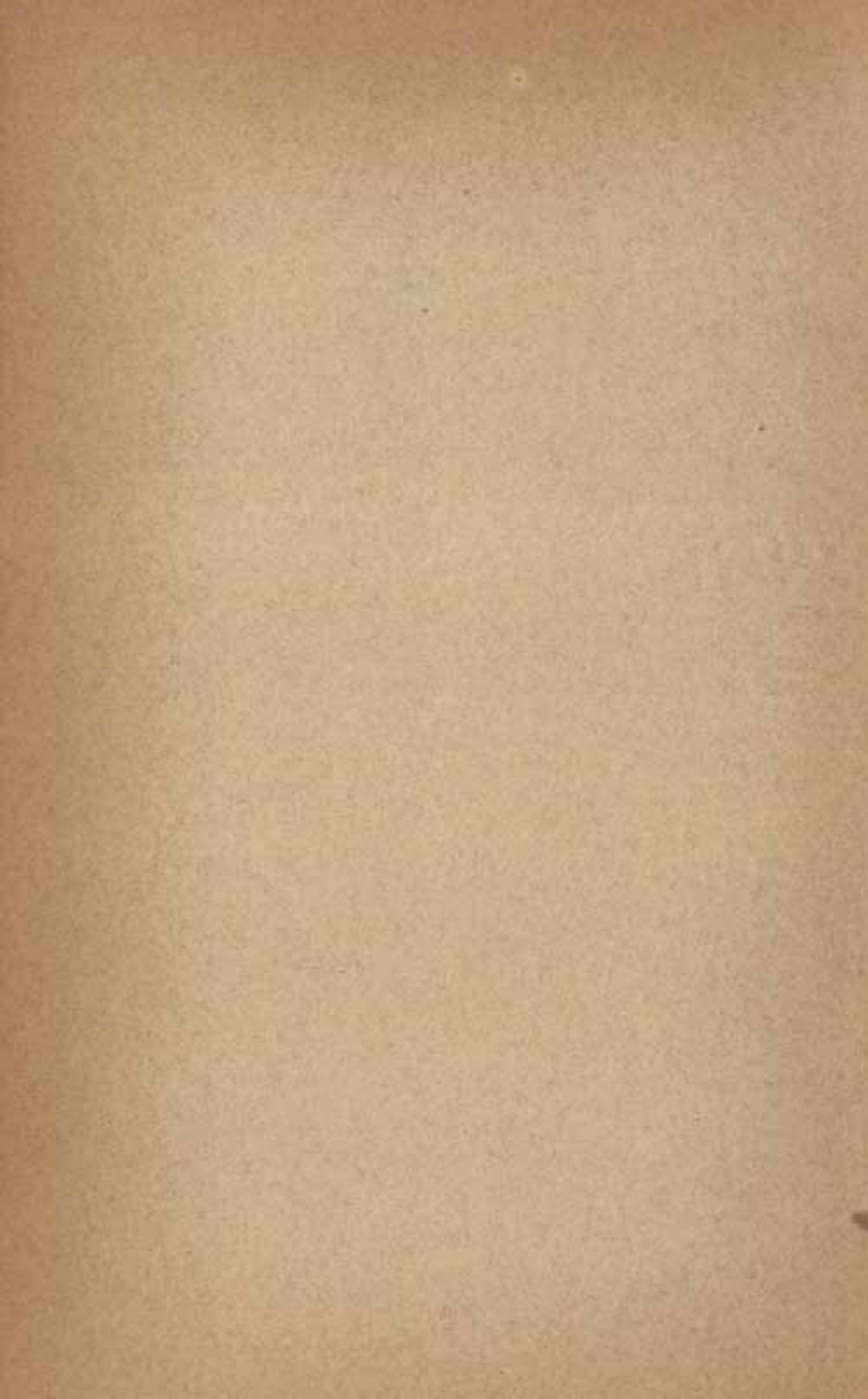
20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2



20 18 16 14 12 10 8 6 4 2

De Śin Cūn Tsoñ Kyen He.

[To face p. 49.]



大乘中宗見解

(DE ŠIN CUN TSON KYEN HE)¹

[1] [外] 四 大 問 何 者 內 四
 [hgve] si d[e]. Bun: [ha] [ja] hdve si

大 答 骨 定 堅 硬 以 爲 地
 de? Tab: [ku]r [žu]g kyen hgehu yi hu di

大 [2] 血 髓 津 潤 是 名 水
 de: hyar [su] tsin [žun] ši mye šu

大 體 之 溫 暖 以 爲 火 大 出
 [de]: [the] tsi (ci?) 'on hdvan hi hu hva [de]: chur

息 入 息 以 [3] 爲 風 大
 [sig] žib sig [hi] hu phuñ de.

何 者 空 識 二 大 答 空 大
 Ha ja khoñ [š]ig [ži] [de]? Tab: khoñ de

者 虛 通 分 也 識 大 者 了 [4]
 ja hu (thuñ) phuñ ya: šig de ja lehu

別 心 也 問 此 四 大 因
 phar [s]im ya. [Bun]: [tshi] si de 'in

內 四 大 感 得 外 四 大 因 外
 [hdve] [si] de gvam tig hgve [si] [de]: 'in hgve

四 大 感 得 內 四 [5] 大
 si [de] gvam tig [hdve] [si] de?

答 因 內 感 外 問 何 者 內
 Tab: ['in] hdve gvam hgve. Bun: ha ja hdv[e]

感 外 答 內 有 骨 定 堅 硬
 gvam hgve? Tab: hdve yihu kor žug kyan hgehu

忘 [6] 相 敢 (sic) 得 外 地 大 內
 boñ syoñ gvam tig hgve di de: hdve

¹ Square brackets indicate obscure, but probably certain, readings: what is in Italics has been supplied from other occurrences in the text; () indicates occurrences in the two Tibeto-Chinese MSS. previously published; () indicates corrections or additions, and small numerals point to transpositions not noted in the MS.

有 津 潤 忘 相 敢 (sic) 得 外 水 大
[yihū] [tsin] zun boñ syoñ [gvam] tig h̄gve sú de:

內 溫 暖 忘 相 [7] 敢 (sic) 得 外
h̄dve 'on [h̄dvan] boñ syoñ gvam tig h̄gve

火 大 內 有 出 入 息 忘 相 敢 (sic)
hva de: h̄dve [yihū] chud [2]ib syig [boñ] syoñ gvam

得 外 風 大 問 何 者 是 五
[tig] h̄gve pu[n̄] de. Bun: ha ja sí [h̄go]

蘊 [8] 答 色 受 相 行 識 是
hun? Tab: ség síhu syoñ heñ síg sí

五 蘊 問 何 者 是 名 色 蘊
h̄go 'un. Bun: ha ja sí [mye] ség 'un?

形 礙 以 色 蘊 何 [9] 者
Hyeñ h̄ge yi ség 'un. Ha ja

受 蘊 答 領 納 爲 受 蘊
síhu 'un? Tab: leñ h̄dab hu síhu 'un.

何 者 相 蘊 思 想 以 爲 想
Ha ja syoñ ['un]? Si syoñ yi hu sy[o]ñ

蘊 [10] 何 者 行 蘊 造 作
'un. Ha ja heñ 'un? Tshehu tsag

以 爲 行 蘊 何 者 是 識 蘊
yi hu heñ ['un]. Ha ja sí síg 'un?

分 別 以 爲 識 蘊 何 [11]
Phun par yi hu síg 'un. Ha¹

問 蘊 者 何 義 答 蘊 者 據
bun 'un ja ha h̄gi? Tab: 'un ja gi

聚 之 義 何 者 名 爲 蔭
su ci [h̄gi]. Ha ja mye hu 'im?

是 名² [12] 覆 蓋 之 義 問
sí mye phu ke ci h̄gi. Bun:

¹ Omit.

² Altered from 蔭 者.

何 者 是 十 八 界 答 六 根 六
 ha ja sí síb par ke? Tab: lug k[in] lug

塵 六 識 是 十 八 界 [13] 問
 chin lug sig sí síb par ke. Bun:

何 者 是 六 根 答 眼 耳 鼻
 ha ja sí lug kin? Tab: hgen zi phyi

舌 身 意 是 爲 六 根 問 何
 sar sin 'i sí hu lug kin. Bun: ha

者 是 [14] 六 塵 答 [色] 聲
 ja sí lug chin? Tab: [seg] sé[n]

香 味 觸 法 是 六 塵 問 何
 hon byi chog phab sí lug chin. Bun: ha

者 是 六 識 眼 識 耳 識 [15]
 ja sí lug sig? H[gy]en [s]ig zi sig

鼻 識 舌 識 身 識 意 識 是 十
 pyi sig sar sig sin sig 'i sig: sí síb

八 界 問 何 者 十 二 入
 par ke. Bun: ha [ja] sim zi [zib]?

答 眼 [16] 入 耳 入 鼻 入 舌
 Tab: hgen zib zi zib phyi zib sar

入 身 入 意 入 色 入 聲 入
 zib sin zib 'i zib seg zib sen zib

香 入 味 入 觸 [17] 入 [法 入]
 hon zib hbyi zib chog zib [phab zib]:

眼 等 六 根 爲 內 六 入 色 等
 hgvan diñ lug kin hu hdve lug zib: seg diñ

六 塵 爲 外 六 入 內 外 二 六
 lug chin hu hgve lug zib: hdve gve zi lug

[18] 爲 十 二 [問 何 者 爲 入]
 hu sim zi. [Bun: ha ja hu zib?]

答 眼 塵 且 對 通 生 識 道 受
Tab: hgen chin [tshya] dve thoñ señ sig dehu sihu

入 愛 憎 名 之 [19] 爲 入
zib 'ihi tsin myi (sic) ci hu zib:

每 聞 道 歸 依 三 寶 何 者
hbe bun dehu ku 'i sam pehu. Ha ja

是 三 寶 答 佛 寶 法 寶 [20]
si [sam] pehu? Tab: phur pehu phab pehu

僧 寶 是 名 三 寶 問 三 寶
sin pehu si mye sam pehu. Bun: sam pehu

有 幾 種 答 有 三 種 問
yihu gi juñ? Tab: yihu sam ju[n]. Bun:

何 者 是 [21] 三 寶 答 一
ha ja si sam pehu (juñ)? Tab: 'ir

體 三 寶 別 想 (相) 三 寶 住 持 三
the sam pehu phar syañ sam pehu chu ch[i] sam

寶 是 名 三 種 問 [22] 何
pehu si mye sam pehu (juñ). Bun: ha

者 一 體 三 寶 答 法 身 體
ja 'i[r] the sam pehu? Tab: phab sin the

有 妙 覺 以 爲 佛 寶 以 (sic) 身
yihu hbye hu ka[g] hi hu phur pehu: phab sin

[23] 體 有 妙 軌 以 爲 妙¹ 法
the yihu hbye hu gu hi hu hbye hu phab

寶 法 身 體 有 離 無¹ 違 爭 土
pehu: phab sin the ['ihu] li hbu wu(hu?) jen si

故 [24] 以 爲 僧 寶 問 云
ko yi hu sin pehu. Bun: hun

何 名 爲 妙 覺 答 妙 者 神
ha mye hu (hbye hu) kag? Tab: hbye hu ja sin

¹ Marked in MS. for omission.

用 不 側 稱 之 [25] 爲 妙 覺
 yon hbu cheg [khyin] ci hu hbyehū : kag

者 以 法 身 體 中 覺 了 性 故
 ja hi phab sin thehi cun kag lehu señ ko

々 云 妙 覺 問 云 何 [26] 妙
 ko hun hbyehū kag. Bun : hun ha hbyehū

軌 答 軌 者 軌 則 之 義 以
 guhi? Tab : gu ja gu tsig ci hgi : yi

法 身 體 中 中 有 妙 軌 持
 phab sin the cun cun yihu hbyehū guhu chi

[27] 義 故 々 云 妙 軌 問
 hgi go go hun hbyehū gu. Bun :

云 何 離 違 爭 答 僧 者 和
 hun ha li [h]u jeñ? Tab : sin ja hva

合 爲 義 [28] 法 身 无 相 故
 hvab hu hgi : phab sin hbu syañ ko

則 无 爭 故 言 體 无 違 爭 名
 tsig hbu jeñ ko hgen thehi hbu wu jeñ mye

之 爲 僧 問 [29] 何 者 爲
 ci hu sin. Bun : ha ja hu

一 體 答 三 寶 名 殊 其 體
 'ir the? Tab : sam pehu mye su khi the

不 異 故 名 一 體 問 [30] 何
 hbu yi ko mye 'ir the. Bun : ha

以 得 知 三 寶 名 殊 其 體 是
 hi tig ci sam [pehu] mye su khi the si

一 答 維 摩 經 云 佛 即 是
 'ir? Tab : yu hba gyeñ hun phur tsig si

[31] 法 々 即 是 衆 是 三 寶 皆
 phab [phab] tsig si juñ : si sam pehu ke

無 爲 相 与 虛 空 等 納 此 義
 hbu hu syoñ yi hu khoñ diñ hda[b]: tshi hgi

[32] 邊 故 名 一 體 問 云
 phyan ko mye 'ir the. Bun: hun

何 名 爲 別 相 三 寶 答 六⁽²⁾
 ha mye hu [phar] syañ sam pehu? Tab: lug

文⁽¹⁾ 化 身 [33] 以 爲 佛 寶 所
 [ch]o[n] hva sin yi hu phur pehu: su

說 言 教 以 爲 法 寶 大 乘 十
 sva[r] hge kehu yi hu phab pehu: de [sin] sib

信 已 上 小 [34] 乘 初 果 已
 sin (yi) (sāñ) (sihu) sin chu gva (yi)

上 以 爲 僧 寶 問 何 名 別
 (sāñ) yi hu sin pehu. Bun: ha mye phar

相 答 一 々 相 殊 [35] 名
 [syañ]? Tab: 'ir 'ir syañ [su] mye

爲 別 相 問 云 何 一 々 相
 hu phar syañ. Bun: hun ha 'ir 'ir [syañ]

殊 答 佛 寶 不 是 法 々 不 是
 su? Tab: phur pehu hbu si phab: phab hbu si

衆 [36] 形 狀 不 同 故 名 別 相
 juñ: heñ tshoñ hbu thoñ ko mye phar syañ.

問 云 何 名 爲 住 持 三
 Bun: hun ha mye hu sin (sic) chi sam

寶 答 泥 龕 [37] 素 像 以 爲
 pehu? Tab: hde kham so syañ yi hu

佛 寶 紙 素 竹 帛 以 法 寶 削
 phur pehu: tsi so ts[i]g pheg yihu phab pehu: thehi

髮 染 依(衣) [38] 以 爲 僧 寶 問
 phar zam [i] yi hu sin pehu. Bun:

何 者 住 持 像 法 令 不 斷
Ha ja chu chi syaṅ (sic) phab? Leñ hbu dvan

絕 故 名 住 持 [39] 問 何 名
tshvar ko mye chu chi. Bun: ha mye

像 法 答 像 法 似 之 法 故
syon phab? Tab: syon phab si ci phab ko

名 像 法 問 此 三 種 三 寶
mye syon phab. Bun: tshi sam juñ sam pehu

爲 [40] 一 爲 異 問 云 何
hu 'ir hu yi? Bun: hun ha

不 一 不 異 答 名 別 故 不 一
hbu 'ir hbu yi? Tab: mye phar ko hbu 'ir:

體 同 故 名 不 異 [41] 問 有
the thoñ ko mye hbu yi. Bun: yihu

不 可 得 无 亦 不 可 得 答
hbu (kha) tig hbu yi hbu (kha) tig? Tab:

離 有 離 无 問 云 何 離 有
li yihu li hbu. Bun: hun ha li yihu:

云 [42] 何 離 无 答 自 性
hun ha li hbu? Tab: tshi syeñ

離 故 問 自 性 共 甚 離 答
li ko. Bun: tshi syeñ khuñ syim li? Tab:

本 性 理 中 有 无 [43] 具 不
bun syeñ li cuñ yihu hbu khu hbu

可 得 問 畢 竟 喙 作 甚 謨
(kha) tig. Bun: pyir keñ hvan [tsa]g sim ma

物 答 法 身 不 自 名 問
bur? Tab: phab sin hbu tshi mye. Bun:

[44] 說 有 四 諦 何 者 是 四
śvar yihu si de: ha ja si si

諦 答 大 乘 四 諦 小 乘 四
de ? Tab : de sin si de (sihu) sin si

諦 問 何 者 [45] 是 大 乘
de. Bun : ha ja si de sin

四 諦 答 知 无 生 是 名 苦
si de ? Tab : kho hbu sen si mye kho

諦 知 集 无 和 合 是 集 諦
de : kho tshib hbu hva hvab si tshib de :

[46] 知 滅 无 滅 是 名 滅
kho hbyer hbu hbyer si mye hbyer

諦 以 无 二 法 得 道 是 名 道
de : yi hbu zi phab tig dehu si mye dehu

諦 問 何 [47] 者 小 乘 四
de. Bun : ha ja (sihu) sin si

諦 答 生 死 果 爲 苦 諦 煩
de ? Tab : sen si gva hu kho de : phan

惱 業 爲 集 諦 [48] 寂 滅 理
hde hgeb hu tshib de : tshi[g] hbyer li

爲 滅 諦 戒 定 惠 爲 道 諦
hu [hbyer] de : ke den hve hu dehu de.

既 言 生 死 果 何 者 生 死 因
Gi hgen sen si gva. Ha ja sen si 'in ?

[49] 答 集 是 生 死 因
Tab : tshib si sen si 'in.

問 記 (sic) 言 生 死 果 亦 合 有 無
Bun : gyi hgen sen si gva yi [hvab] yihu hder-phan

因 果 何 者 是 [50] 無 因 果
'in gva : ha ja si hbu 'in gva ?

答 寂 滅 理 爲 果 戒 定
Tab : tshig hbyer li hu gva : ke den

惠 爲 因 問 諸 經 之 中 先
hve hu 'in. Bun: cu kyeñ ci cuñ sen

[51] 因 後 果 何 故 此 四 諦
'in hiñu gva: ha ko tshi si de

中 先 果 後 因 答 舉 理 而
cuñ syan gva hiñu 'in? Tab: gu li hgyar

言 則 合 [52] 先 因 後 果 此
hgen tsig hwab sen 'in hiñu gva: tshi

四 諦 法 佛 初 成 道 時 爲 五
si de phab phur chu tseñ deñu si hu hgo

俱 倫 比 丘 等 [53] 初 聞 法
Khu lin (hlyi) (hkhgyeñu) dñi chu bun phab

要 恐 難 悟 解 且 進 視 果 後
yehu khuñ hñan hgo he: tshya dzin si gva hiñu

視 因 於 理 无 狀 [54] 問 說
si 'in: i li hbu soñ. Bun: svar

有 五 乘 何 者 是 五 乘 答
yihu hgo siñ. Ha ja si hgo siñ? Tab:

天 乘 梵 乘 聲 聞 乘 緣 覺
hde siñ bam siñ señ bun siñ yuan kag

[55] 乘 諸 佛 如 來 乘 是 五
si[n] cu phur [ž]u le siñ: si hgo

乘 天 乘 五 戒 十 善 得
siñ. Hde siñ? Hgo ke sib san tig

生 六 欲 天 是 [56] 名 天 乘
señ lug yog hde: si mye hde siñ.

[何 者 十 善] 答 身 三 口¹ 四
[Ha ja sib san?]. Tab: siñ sam si

意 三 是 名 十 善 亦 名 十 惡
i sam si mye sib san: yig mye sib 'ag.

¹ "Mouth."

問 何 者 是 [57] (身) 三 業
Bun: ha ja si. (sin) sam hgeb?

不 殺 不 盜 不 婬(淫) 何 者 意
Hbu bur hbu dehu hbu yim. Ha ja i

三 業 不 食 不 瞋 不 癡
sam hgeb? Hbu tham hbu chin hbu chi.

何 [58] 者 口¹ 四 業 惡 口¹
Ha ja si hgeb? 'A[g]

兩 舌 妄 言 綺 語 不 遠 此
lyon sar bon hgen khi hgu hbu wen tshi

業 有 其 五 種 十 善 [59] 一
hgeb yihu khi. Hgo jun sib san? 'Ir

人 十 善 二 天 十 善 三 聲 聞
(zin) sib san: zi hde sib san: sam sen bun

十 善 四 緣 覺 十 善 五 菩 薩
sib san: si yuan kag sib san: hgo san phusar

十 [60] 善 問 何 者 梵 乘
sib san. Bun: ha ja bam sin?

答 修 四 无 量 心 生 得 色
Tab: sihu si hbu lyon sim sen tig seg

界 四 禪 天 [61] 名 梵 乘
ke si zan hde mye bam sin.

問 何 者 四 无 量 心
Bun: ha ja si hbu lyon sim?

答 慈 悲 喜 捨 名 四 无 量 [62] 心
Tab: tshi pyi hi sa mye si hbu lyon sim.

問 何 者 慈 能 乘 悲 能
Bun: ha ja tshi? Nin sin. Pyi? Nin

¹ "Mouth."

拔 苦 慶 彼 得 樂 名 之 爲 喜
phar kho. Kheñ byi tig lag mye ci hu hi.

[63] 平 等 持 心 名 之 爲 捨
Pheñ diñ tig sim mye ci hu sa.

問 何 者 聲 聞 乘 因 聲
Bun: ha ja señ bun śiñ? 'In señ

悟 道 得 [64] 名 聲 聞 問 何
hgo dehu tig mye señ bun. Bun: ha

者 緣 覺 乘 悟 十 二 因 緣 名
ja yvan kag śiñ? Hgo śib zi 'in yvan mye

緣 覺 乘 [65] 問 緣 覺 人 證
yvan kag śiñ. Bun: yvan kag (zin) jin

悟 与 聲 因 有 何 差 異 以 爲
hgo yi pun bu (sic) 'in yihu ha tsha yi yi hu

兩 乘 答 [66] 維 證 悟 同
lyon śiñ? Tab: yu jin hgo thon

少 有 差 異 分 爲 兩 乘 何 以
sehu yihu tsha yi: phun hu lyon śiñ ha yi

聲 聞 之 人 [67] 須 值 佛 說 四
señ bun ci (zin) su chi phur svar si

諦 法 悟 其 道 冥 緣 覺 人 出
de phab hgo khi dehu li yvan kag (zin) chur

无 佛 世 [68] 獨 悟 非 常 故
hbu phur se thog hgo phyi son: ko

有 差 異 證 因 緣 法 也 答
yihu tsha yi. Jin 'in yvan phab ya? Tab:

无 明 行 識 名 [69] 名¹ 色 六
hbu mye heñ seg (sic) mye mye seg lug

入 觸 受 愛 取 有 生 老 死 此
tib cho[g] śihu 'e tshu yihu señ lehu si tshi

¹ Marked in MS. for omission.

是 順 何 者 逆 觀 [70] 答
si sun. Ha ja hgig kvan? Tab:

死 衆 生 々 緣 有 々 缘 [取] 々
[si] cuñ señ señ yvan yihu; yihu yvan [tshu]; tshu

[缘] 愛 々 缘 受 々 缘 觸 々 缘
[yvan] 'e; 'e yvan šiḥu; šiḥu yvan chog: chog yvan

六 入 [71] (六) 入 缘 名 色 々
lug zib; (lug) zib yvan mye seg; mye seg

缘 識 々 缘 行 々 (缘) 无 明 々
yvan sig; sig yvan heñ; heñ (yvan) hbu mye; hbu mye

(缘) 一 念 不 覺 此 十 二 因
(yvan) 'ir nyam hbu kag: tshi sib zi 'in

[72] 缘 何 者 缘 因 果 過 十
yvan. Ha ja yvan 'in gva kva sib

二 支 因 无 明 行 現 在 十 二
zi ci? 'In hbu mye heñ hyan tshe sib zi

支 果 [73] 問 何 者 如 來 乘
ci gva. Bun: ha ja zu le sin?

答 六 波 羅 蜜 名 佛 乘
Tab: lug pa la hbyir mye phur sin.

問 何 者 是 六 波 羅
Bun: ha ja ši lug pa la

[74] 蜜 答 一 布 施 二 持
byir? Tab: 'ir pu ši zi chi

戒 三 忍 辱¹ 四 精 進 五 禪 定
ke sam si tseñ dzin hgo san deñ

六 智 惠 是 [75] 六 波 [羅] 蜜
lug ci hyve ši lug pa [la] hbyir.

何 者 布 施 得 名 波 羅 蜜
Ha ja pu ši tig mye pa la hbyir?

¹ "Endure taunts" = "sufferance."

答 布 施 之 時 不 見 受 [76] 者
Tab: pu si ci si hbu kyen h̄zuhu (sic) ja

不 [見] 施 者 不 見 所 施 財 物
hbu kyen si ja hbu kyen su si tshe bur

得 名 波 羅 蜜 何 者 持 戒
tig mye pa la h̄byir. Ha ja chi kye

波 羅 [77] 蜜 不 見 持 戒
pa la h̄byir? Hbu kyen chi ke

不 見 他 破 戒 不 見 所 持 戒
hbu kyen (thah) pa ke hbu kyen [s]u chi ke

法 得 名 波 羅 (蜜) 何 者
phab tig mye pa la [h̄byir]. Ha ja

[78] 精 進 不 見 他 解 怠
tson dzin? Hbu kyen (thah) ga de

不 見 自 修 行 得 名 波 羅 蜜
hbu kyen tshi sihu hen tig mye pa la h̄byir.

何 者 [79] 禪 定 不 見
Ha ja san den. Hbu kyen

他 亂 意 不 見 所 證 理 得 名
(thah) lvan 'i hbu kyan tha su cin li tig mye

波 羅 蜜 何 者 [80] 智 惠
pa la h̄byir? Ha ja ci hyve?

不 見 自 智 惠 他 愚 癡
Hbu kyen tshi ci hyve phu kya[n] (sic) h̄gu tsha

不 見 所 有 惑 得 名 智 [81] 波
hbu kyen su yihu hog tig mye ci pa

羅 蜜 問 何 者 引 前 麤 引
la h̄byir. Bun: ha ja 'in? Tshyan tsho yin

後 々 細 淨 前 々 麤 答 前
hihu: hihu se tshen tshyan tshyan tsho. Tab: tshyan

五 [82] 如 盲 後 一 如 道
hgo zu meñ: hiñu 'ir zu deñu.

問 何 者 擅 土 攝 於 六 資 生
Bun: ha ja than do sab 'u lug tsi señ

无 怖 法 此 中 [83] 有 一 二
hbu 'ihu phab tshi cuñ yihu 'ir zi

三 名 曰¹ 脩 行 住 答 擅 能
sam mye (siñu) heñ chu? Tab: than do (sic)

攝 其 六 問 云 何 波 羅
sab khi lug. Bun: hun ha pa la

[84] 蜜 中 前 劣 後 勝 云 何
hbyi cuñ tshyan lyvar hiñu siñ? hun ha

此 中 乃 能 攝 勝 答 且 初
tshi cuñ (hneñi) niñ sab [siñ]? Tab: tshya chu

表 視 門 中 [85] 作 如 是 說
byeñu si [mo]n cuñ dzag zu si svar:

俱 能 悟 其 六 波 羅 蜜 三 事
khu niñ hgo khi lug pa la hbyir dar sam si

體 空 之 時 无 勝 [86] 問 何
khoñ kho ci si hbu siñ Bun: ha

者 一 二 三 答 資 生 攝 一
ja 'ir zi sam? Tab: tsi señ sab 'ir

攝 二 法 攝 三 問 何 者 資
sab zi phab sab sam. Bun: ha ja tsi

生 [87] 答 油(唯) 有 信 心 能 施
señ? Tab: yi yihu sin (sic) sim niñ si

財 物 名 爲 資 生 也 問 何
tshe bur mye hu tsi señ ya. Bun: ha

者 无 畏 施 由 [88] 持 戒
ja hbu 'u si? Yihu chi ke

¹ "Is called."

思 (忍) 轉 施 財 之 時 一 切 衆 生
 si zin [zig] tshe ci si 'ir tshe cuñ señ

无 有 畏 具 問 何 者 是
 hbu yiñu 'u khu. Bun: ha ja si

[89] 法 施 答 精 進 禪 定
 phab si? Tab: tsoñ tshin san den

智 惠 攝 三 合 一 切 衆 生 得
 cig hyve sañ sam hab (sic) 'ir tshe cu[n] señ tig

其 解 脫 [90] 故 名 法 施
 khi ga thar ko mye phab si.

問 聞 說 三 毒 答 貪 瞋 癡
 Bun: bun svar sam thog. Tab: tham chin chi

是 名 三 毒 問 此 貪 [91] 瞋
 si mye sam thog. Bun: tshi tham chin

癡 何 因 如 生 答 由 貪 不
 chi ha 'in zu señ? Tab: 'ihu tham hbu

得 故 生 瞋 々 之 緣 以 故 生
 tig ko señ chin: chin ci khig yi ko señ

癡 由 [92] 此 如 生 問 貪
 chi: yiñu tshi zu señ. Bun: tham

者 是 何 義 答 染 着 境 界
 ja si ha hgi? Tab: zam jag keñ ke

名 之 爲 貪 瞋 [93] 者 何
 mye ci hu tham. Chin ja ha

義 答 增 汗 (憎 汚) 境 界 名 之 爲
 hgi? Tab: tshin 'o keñ ke mye ci hu

瞋 癡 者 何 義 答 於
 chin. Chi ja ha hgi? Tab: 'i

[94] 緣 不 了 之 名 爲 癡
 yvan hbu lehu ci mye hu chi

- 何 故 得 名 爲 毒 答 此
Ha ko tig mye hu thog? Tab: tshi
- 貪 瞋 癡 爲 毒 [95] 毒 中 无
tham chin chi hu thog: thog cuñ hbu
- 過 此 毒 答¹ 且 如 世 間 之
kva tshi thog. Tab: tshya zu še ken ci
- 毒 能 雖 害 一 身 貪 癡 (瞋) 癡 [96]
thog niñ sar he 'ir sin tham chin chi
- 毒 能 害 多 身 (答) 世 間 毒
thog niñ he ta sin. (Tab:) še ken thog
- 能 [害] 一 身 貪 瞋 癡 毒 能 壞 多
niñ he 'ir sin tham chin chi thog niñ he ta
- [97] 身 十 善 [答] 只 如 世 間
sin sib san [Tab:] [ciñ] zu še ken
- 毒 蛇 毒 藥 之 流 唯 害 吾 身
thog sa thog 'ag ci [la] [yu] (he) he sin
- 命 [98] 命 終 後 毒 即 无 用
me me <chuñ> hiñu thog tsig hbu yon
- 此 貪 瞋 癡 毒 能 令 衆 生 長
tshi tham chin chi thog niñ leñ cuñ señ choñ
- 輪 苦 海 生 [99] 死 不 絕
lun kho(n) ke señ si hbu tshvar
- 如 何 對 持 得 免 生 死 答
zu. Ha dve chi tig 'en señ si? Tab.:
- 如 經 所 說 多 貪 衆 生 以 不
zu kyeñ sú svar ta tham cuñ señ yi hbu
- [100] 淨 觀 爲 對 治 多 瞋 衆
tshen gvan hu dve chi: ta chin cuñ
- 生 以 慈 悲 觀 爲 對 治 多 癡
señ yi tshi pyi gvan hu dve chi: ta chi

¹ Superfluous here.

衆 [101] 生 以 因 緣 觀 爲 對 治
cuñ *śeñ* *yi* *si* *yvan* *gvan* *hu* *dve* *chi* :

免 生 死 此 對 持 門 中 爲 是
mye *śeñ* *si* : *tshi* *dve* *chi* *mon* *cuñ* *hu* *śi*

久 境 說 [102] 爲 非 久 境 說
gihu *keñ* *śvar* *hu* *phyi* *gihu* *keñ* *śvar*.

問 見 此 物 否 答 此 不
Bun : *kyan* *tshi* *bur* *phu* ? *Tab* : *tshi* *hbu*

增 見 我 問 此 物 不 [103] 解
tshin *kyan* *hga*. *Bun* : *tshi* *bur* *hbu* *hve*

思 惟 分 別 見 与 不 見 汝 還
si *yu* *phun* *phar* *kyan* *yi* *hbu* *kyan* : *zu* *hvan*

同 此 物 耶 答 我 亦 如 是 不
thon *tshi* *bur* *ya* ? *Tab* : *hga* *yihu* *zu* *śi* *hbu*

[104] 作 是 念 思 惟 分 別 見
tsag *śi* *nyam* *si* *yu* *phun* *pyar* *kyan*

与 不 見 云 何 諸 法 耶
yi *hbu* *kyen*. *Hun* *ha* *cu* *phab* *ya* ?

答 於 無 心 [105] 中 法 繼 起
Tab : *'u* *hbu* *sim* *cuñ* *phab* *khoñ* *khi*.

心 分 別 一 切 法 耶
Sim *phun* *pyar* *'ir* *tshe* *phab* *sya* ?

休 分 別 一 切 法 王(生) 問 噯
Hihu *phuñ* (*śic*) *phar* *'ir* *tshe* *phab* *śeñ*. *Bun* : *hva*

作 甚 [106] 沒 物 答 [...] 問
tshag *śib* *ma* *bur* ? *Tab* : *tshu*

取 此 物 答 是 青 黃 赤 白¹
tshi *tshi* *bur* ? *Tab* : *śi* *tshen* *hvoñ* *chig*

¹ "White."

交 我 噯 作 甚 [107] 物 交
kehu hga hvan. Tshag sín (sic) bur kehu

我 噯 答 有 情 无 情 是 汝
hga hvan? Tab: yihu tshen hbu tshen si zu

見 問 有 情 无 [108] 情 是
kyen. Bun: yihu tshen hbu tshen si

汝 見 問 有 情 无 情 是
zu kyan? Bun: yihu tshen hbu tshen si

我 見 云 何 是 見 答 我
[hga] kyan. Hun ha si kyan? Tab: hga

[109] 亦 不 作 有 情 无 情
[yihu] hbu tshag yihu tshen hbu tshen

見 問 久 境 噯 作 甚 沒
kyan. Bun: giu ken hvan tshag zim ma

物 [110] 答 法 不 自 名
bur? Tab: phab hbu tshi mye.

問 云 何 四 到(倒) 答 常 樂
Bun: hun ha si dehu? Tab: son lag

我 淨 [問 云 何 倒] 答 [111] 无
hga tshen. [Bun: hun ha dehu]. Tab: hbu

常 計 常 不 淨 計 淨 苦 計 爲
son kye son hbu tshen kye tshen kho kye hu

樂 問 何 者 [無] 常 計 [112] 常
lag. Bun: ha ja [hbu] son kye syon

不 淨 計 淨 答 是 念 々 遷
hbu tshen kye tshen? Tab: si nyam nyam tshyan

變 无 有 常 住 凡 夫 [113] 不
kyen hbu yihu son chu: bam phu hbu

了 妄 計 有 常 是 身 三 [十]
lehu hoñ (sic) kye yihu soñ: ši sin sam [šib]

六 種 不 [淨] 之 變 凡 夫 不 了
lug jun hbu [tshen] ci [kyen]: bam phu hbu lehu

[114] 妄 計 爲 淨 問 何 [者]
hoñ (sic) kye hu tshen. Bun: ha ja

无 我 計 我 苦 爲 樂 答 是
hbu hga kye hga kho hu lag? Tab: ši

五 蘊 [115] 諸 佛 法 和 合 而
hgo hun cu phur phab hva hvab hgyar

有 凡 夫 不 了 妄 計 有 我 是
yihu: bam phu hbu lehu boñ kye yihu hga: ši

身 衆 苦 [116] 之 本 凡 夫 不
šin jun kho ci bin: bam phu hbu

了 妄 計 樂 相 問 何 者 是
lehu boñ kye lag syoñ. Bun: ha ja ši

八 對 答 於 [117] 无 計 有
par dehu? Tab: 'u hbu kye yihu

於 有 計 無 問 何 者 於 無
'u yihu kye hbu. Bun: ha ja 'u hbu

計 有 何 者 於 [118] 有 計
kye yihu: ha ja 'u yihu kye

无 答 凡 夫 不 了 於 无 計
hbu? Tab: bam phu hbu lehu 'u hbu kye

有 聲 聞 不 了 於 有 [119] 計
yihu: šen bun hbu lehu 'u yihu kye

无 大 乘 中 宗 見 解 義 別
hbu. De šin cun tshoñ kyan he hgi phar

行 本 吳¹ 法 師
hen bun phab (ši)

¹ Proper name, "Go," "Wu."

[120] 言 大 乘 [中] 宗 見 解
 Hgen de śin [cuñ] tsoñ kyen he

者 謂 觀 三 界 內 外 諸 法 緣
 ja hu kvan sam ke hdve hgve cu phab yvan

起 緣 性 [121] 以 世 俗 (俗) 諦 猶
 [kh]i yvan señ: hi še svog de yihu

如 幻 化 夢 及 陽 炎 假 施 設
 zu hyan hva moñ khib yon yyam: ga śi śar

有 第 [一] 義 諦 此 [122] 緣 生
 yihu de 'ir hgi de tshi yvan [señ]

法 因 果 皆 空 自 性 涅 盤 (般) 无
 [ph]ab 'in gva he khoñ tshi señ hder phan hbu

生 无 滅 超 過 言 語 及 [123]
 señ hbu hbyer chehu kva hgen hgu khib

思 量 境 而 无 所 得 言 中⁽²⁾ 宗⁽¹⁾
 si lyon keñ hgyar hbu su tig: hgen cuñ tsoñ

者 遠 離 捨 咸 及 以 增 益 二
 ja lvan li syon ham khib yi tshin ihu: zi

[124] 邊 諦 故 於 世 諦 門 中
 pyan de: ko 'u še de mon cuñ

觀 緣 生 內 外 諸 如 引 有 故
 gvan yvan señ hdve hgve cu zu yin yihu ko

不 謗 [125] 世 法 一 向 是
 hbu boñ še phab 'ir hoñ śi

无 於 第 [一] 義 而 觀 諸 法 超
 hbu: 'u deñ 'ir hgi hgyar kvan cu phab chehu

語 言 境 以 无 所 得 [126] 是
 hgu hgen: heñ yi hbu su tig śi

故 不 傍(謗) 出 世 間 是 遠 離 二
ko hbu boñ [chur] še ken: sí lvan li ʒi

邊 故 名 中 宗 言 見 解 [127]
pyan ko mye cuñ tsoñ: hgen kyan he

者 以 惠 之 眼 了 達 世 俗 第
ja yi hyve ci hgen lehu dar [še] svog diñ

一 義 故 名 爲 見 解
'ir hgi ko mye hu kyan he.

[128] 大 乘 中 宗 見 解 一 卷
de śiñ cuñ tsoñ kyan he 'ir (kvon)

COMPARATIVE SPECIMEN OF transliterations

MS. B. (ll. 1-15)

MS. A. (ll. 14-)

hgve si de. Bun: ha ja
hdve si de? Tab:
kur žug kyan hgehu yi
hu di de: hyar su tsin žun
śi mye śu de: the tsi 'on
hdvan hi hu hva de: chur
sig žib sig hi hu phuñ de.
Ha ja khoñ śig ži de?
Tab: khoñ de ja hu thuñ
phuñ ya: śig de ja lehu
phar sim ya. Bun: tshi
si de 'in hdve si de gvam
tig hgve si de 'in hgve si
de gvam tig hdve si de?
Tab: 'in hdve gvam
hgve. Bun: ha ja hdve
gvam hgve? Tab: hdve
yihu kor žug kyan hgehu

hgvañi hzi dahū || Hhā hmye yihu
hdvañu zi hdehu | Tab | hdvañu
yihu | kur hžug kyan hgehu | yihu
hyu diñ dehu | hhyar | hzu tsi hžun |
yihu yu žu hdañu | htheñ hchu h'un
hdvan | yihu hyu hhva dahū | hchur
hsig hžib hsig | yihu hyu hpuñ hdañu ||
Hā hmye hyu hkhuñ hśeg hzi hdañu |
Htab | hkhuñ dahū jañ | hphyu
thuñ hpuñ | hśig hdañu jañ | hlyo
hbyvar hsim || Hhā hmye yu |
'in hdañu |

hgām

hgahi |

Htab | hdañu

yihu hkur hžug kyan hgehu |

boñ syoñ gvam tig h̄gve
 di de : h̄dve yih̄u
 tsin zun boñ syoñ gvam
 tig h̄gve sū de h̄dve 'on
 h̄dvan boñ syoñ gvam tig
 h̄gve hva de : h̄dve
 yih̄u chud žib syig boñ
 syoñ gvam tig h̄gve puñ
 de. Bun : ha ja śi h̄go
 hun ? Tab : śeg śih̄u syoñ
 heñ śig śi h̄go 'un.
 Bun : ha ja śi mye śeg 'un ?
 Hyeñ h̄ge yi śeg 'un. Ha
 ja śih̄u 'un ? Tab : leñ
 h̄dab hu śih̄u 'un. Ha ja
 syoñ 'un. Si syoñ yi hu
 syoñ 'un. Ha ja heñ
 'un ? Tshehu tsag yi hu
 heñ 'un.

Ha ja śig 'un ? Phun par
 yi hu śig 'un. (Ha) bun 'un
 ja ha h̄gi ? Tab : 'un ja gi
 su ci h̄gi. Ha ja mye hu
 'im ? Śi mye phu ke ci h̄gi.
 Bun : ha ja śi śib par ke ?
 Tab : lug kin lug chin lug
 śig śi śib par ke. Bun : ha
 ja śi lug kin ? Tab : h̄gen
 ži phyi śar śin 'i śi hu lug
 kin. Bun : ha ja śi lug
 chin ? Tab : śeg señ hoñ
 byi chog phab śi lug chin.
 Bun : ha ja śi lug śig ?
 H̄gyen śig ži śig pyi śig
 śar śig śin śig 'i śig : śi
 śib par ke

h̄bō zo h̄gām tig | h̄dvaḥu yih̄u
 h̄dih̄ daḥu | h̄gvaḥi yih̄u | h̄hyar h̄zu
 tsi h̄zun | wo zo gām tig |
 h̄gaḥu yih̄u žu daḥu | h̄daḥu yi h̄the
 h̄chu 'un h̄dvan | wo zo gām tig |
 h̄dvaḥu yih̄u h̄hvaḥ deḥi | h̄gvaḥi
 yih̄u | h̄chur h̄sig h̄žib h̄sig | h̄wo
 zo gām tig | h̄gvaḥi yih̄u h̄puñ
 h̄daḥi || h̄hā h̄mye yih̄u h̄gu
 'un | H̄tab | h̄śeg | h̄žihu |
 h̄zyoh̄ | h̄hēhi | h̄śig | h̄ži h̄mye h̄gu 'un ||
 Hā h̄mye yih̄u h̄śeg 'un |
 Tab | h̄hye h̄gaḥi yi hyu śeg 'un || H̄hā
 h̄mye hyu h̄žihu 'un | H̄tab | h̄le
 h̄dāb h̄mye yu h̄žihu 'un || Hā h̄mye
 yu h̄zyo 'un | Tab | h̄si h̄si h̄žu
 h̄žu h̄ži h̄zyo 'un | Hā h̄mye yu h̄hēhi
 'un | Tab | h̄dzaḥu tsag h̄mye yu
 heḥi 'un.

Hā h̄mye yu h̄śig 'un | Tab | h̄pun h̄pyar
 h̄mye yu śig 'un | Hā h̄mye
 yu 'un | Tab | H̄'un jaḥ h̄pū
 gāḥi ci h̄gyi || Hā h̄mye yu
 'yim | 'yim jaḥ tsib dzib ci h̄gyi ||
 Ha h̄mye yu h̄lug kin |
 Tab | lug kin | lug jin | lug śig |
 h̄ži h̄mye h̄lug kin || Hā h̄mye yu h̄lug
 h̄śig | Tab | h̄gan śig | h̄ži śig | h̄byir
 śig | žar h̄śig | h̄śin śig | 'i śig | h̄ži mye
 yu lug h̄śig | Hā h̄mye yu lug h̄jin |
 Tab | h̄śeg | h̄śe | h̄hyo | h̄byi | h̄chog |
 h̄phvab | h̄ži h̄mye yu lug jin | Hā
 h̄mye yu h̄śim h̄ži h̄žib | Tab | h̄gan
 h̄žib | h̄ži h̄ži[b] | h̄byvir h̄žib | žar h̄žib |
 h̄śin h̄žib | 'i h̄žib | h̄śeg h̄žib |

MAHĀYĀNA-MĀDHYAMIKA DOCTRINE, ONE VOLUME

TRANSLATION

(1) . . . the four [external] elements.¹

Question. Which are the four internal elements ?

Answer. Bone, being hard and solid, is held to be earth-element ; [2] blood, being liquid, is held to be water-element ; warmth of body is held to be fire-element ; expiration and inspiration are held (3) to be air-element.

Q. Which are the two elements, ether (*ākāśa*) and consciousness (*viññāna*) ?

A. Ether-element has for nature vacuity and penetrability ; consciousness-element (4) is intellectual discrimination.

Q. As to these four elements, do we apprehend the four external elements by means of the four internal elements or the four internal elements by means of the four external (5) elements ?

A. By means of the internal we apprehend the external.

Q. How does the internal apprehend the external ?

A. Internally there is bone (6), characterized by solidity, which apprehends the external earth element ; internally there is what is characterized by liquidity, which apprehends the external water element ; internally there is heat, characterized by being warm, which (7) apprehends the external fire element ; internally there is what is characterized by expiration and inspiration, which apprehends the external air element.

Q. Which are the five Aggregates ("Covers", *skandha*) ? (8)

A. Form (*rūpa*), feeling (*vedanā*), conception (*saṃjñā*), *saṃskāra*, and consciousness (*viññāna*),—these are the five aggregates (*skandha*).

Q. What is the Name-form (*nāma-rūpa*) aggregate ?

A. Shape and impenetrability are the [Name-]form aggregate.

¹ Circumstances have prevented Mr. Miyamoto, who is in Japan, from revising the translation, which, however, is believed to be nearly everywhere correct.

Q. What (9) is the Feeling aggregate ?

A. Receptivity is taken to be the Feeling aggregate.

Q. What is the Conception aggregate ?

A. Volition and conception are the Conception aggregate (10).

Q. What is the *Saṃskāra* aggregate ?

A. Shaping and action are to be understood as the *Saṃskāra* aggregate.

Q. What is the Consciousness aggregate ?

A. Discrimination is to be understood as the Consciousness Aggregate (11).

Q. What is an Aggregate ? What does it mean ?

A. Aggregate means " assemblage ".

Q. Why is it to be understood as " Cover " (*skandha*) ?

A. The term means (12) concealing and covering up.

Q. Which are the Eighteen Factors (*dhātu*) ?

A. Six sense-organs (*indriya*), six objects (*viṣaya*), six consciousnesses—these are the Eighteen Factors.

(13) Q. Which are the Six Sense-organs ?

A. Eye, ear, nose, tongue, body, mind-organ (*manas*)—these are the Six Sense-organs.

Q. Which are the (14) Six Objects ?

A. Colour, sound, odour, savour, touch, and *dharma*s—these are the Six Objects.

Q. Which are the Six Consciousnesses ?

(A.) Eye consciousness, ear consciousness (15), nose consciousness, tongue consciousness, body consciousness, mind-organ consciousness—these are the Eighteen Factors (*sic*).

Q. Which are the Twelve Coefficients (*āyatana*) ?

A. Eye (16) coefficient, ear coefficient, nose coefficient, tongue coefficient, body coefficient, mind-organ coefficient, colour coefficient, sound coefficient, odour coefficient, savour coefficient, touch coefficient, (17) [*dharma*-coefficient]. The six sense-organs, eye, etc., are regarded as six internal coefficients ; the six objects, colour, etc., are regarded as six external coefficients ; internal and external, two sixes, (18) make the twelve.

Q. What means "Coefficient" ?

A. Eye-object is the way of producing consciousness and entertaining desire and aversion and so is (19) named "Coefficient" (*āyatana*). When we hear the path, we take refuge in the Three Jewels.

(Q.) Which are the Three Jewels ?

A. Buddha-jewel, Dharma-jewel, (20) Saṃgha-Jewel—these are named the Three Jewels.

Q. How many kinds of Three Jewels are there ?

A. There are three kinds.

Q. Which are (21) the [three kinds of] Three Jewels ?

A. One-essence (body) Three-Jewels, diverse-marks (*vilakṣaṇa*) Three-Jewels, consecrated (*pratiṣṭhā*) Three Jewels—these are named the three kinds.

(Q.) (22) What is One-essence Three Jewels ?

A. Essence (body) of *Dharma-kāya*, being wonderful (superior) enlightenment essence (body), is to be regarded as Buddha Jewel ; (23) essence of *Dharma-kāya*, being wonderful (superior) standard, is to be regarded as Dharma Jewel ; essence of *Dharma-kāya*, being field of absence of dissension (24), is to be regarded as Saṃgha Jewel.

Q. How is it to be regarded as wonderful (superior) enlightenment ?

A. As regards "wonderful", (its) divine operation, being unfathomable, is called (25) wonderful. As regards "enlightenment", because in the essence of the *Dharma-kāya* there is the nature of enlightenment and understanding, it is called wonderful enlightenment.

Q. What is (26) wonderful standard ?

A. As regards "standard", the meaning is standard and rule. Because in the essence of the *Dharma-kāya* there is the idea of wonderful standard and consistency (holding, *dhṛti*), it is (27) called "wonderful standard".

Q. How "absence of dissension" ?

A. As regards Saṃgha, it means "union". Because owing to the (28) negative characteristics of the *Dharma-*

kāya there is no dissension, the essence (of Dharma-kāya) is without dissension and is named Saṃgha.

Q. (29) Why is it to be regarded as one essence ?

A. Because, while the names of the Three Jewels are different, their essence is not different, it is called one essence.

Q. (30) How can we know that, while the names of the Three Jewels are different, their essence is one ?

A. It is said in the *Vimalakīrti-sūtra* that " Buddha is identical with (31) Dharma, and Dharma at the same time is identical with Saṃgha. These Three Jewels are all without characteristics, like ether (*ākāśa*), etc." Adopting this interpretation (point of view), we speak of (32) one essence.

Q. What is meant by "Diverse-characteristics Three Jewels" ?

A. The Nirmāṇa-kaya of 60 feet (33) in height is to be regarded as the Buddha Jewel ; the doctrine as spoken is to be regarded as the Dharma Jewel ; from Mahāyāna "*Śraddhā* decad " (34) and Hīnayāna "First Fruit " upwards [the community] is to be regarded as the Saṃgha Jewel.

Q. What is meant by "Diverse Characteristics" ?

A. Each characteristic being different (35) is what is meant by Diverse Characteristics.

Q. How is each characteristic different ?

A. The Buddha Jewel is not identical with Dharma, and Dharma is not identical with Saṃgha ; (36) because their forms are different, we speak of diverse characteristics.

Q. What is meant by Consecrated Three-Jewels ?

A. Clay idols (37) and images on cloth are to be regarded as the Buddha Jewel ; paper, bamboo or cloth are to be regarded as the Dharma Jewel ; shaven hair and tinted cloth (38) are to be regarded as the Saṃgha Jewel.

Q. What is "Maintaining-of-substitute (*pratirūpaka*) Dharma" ?

A. Because of not allowing to be annihilated it is called "maintaining".

(39) Q. What is meant by Substitute (*pratirūpaka*) Dharma ?

A. As regards "substitute", because of resembling Dharma, it is called "Substitute" Dharma.

Q. These three kinds of Three Jewels, are they (40) one and the same or different ?

[A. *Neither the same nor different.*]

Q. Why not one and the same nor different ?

A. Because their names are different, they are not one and the same ; because their essence is the same, they are called not-different.

(41) Q. Being is unprovable and not-being also is unprovable ?

A. (It is) apart from being and apart from non-being.

Q. How apart from being (42) and apart from non-being ?

A. Because of absence of self-nature (*svabhāva*).

Q. Is self-nature in both cases entirely absent ?

A. In ultimate principle both being and non-being (43) are unprovable.

Q. Are things absolutely non-existent ?

A. The Dharma-kāya is indefinable.

Q. It is said that there are Four Truths (*satya*). What are those Four Truths ? (44)

A. Mahāyāna Four Truths and Hīnayāna Four Truths.

Q. What (45) are the Mahāyāna Four Truths ?

A. To know non-origination is to be regarded as the pain-truth (*duḥkha-satya*) ; to know non-conjunction (*asamyoga*) is to be regarded as the origination-truth (*samudaya*) ; (46) to know non-destruction-ness of abolition (*nirodha*) is to be regarded as the abolition-truth (*nirodha-satya*) ; to attain the path by non-duality Dharma is named the path-truth (*mārga-satya*).

Q. (47) What are the Hīnayāna Four Truths ?

A. The fruit, life and death, is the pain-truth (*duḥkha-satya*) ; assail (*kleśa*) and action (*karma*) are the origination-truth (*samudaya-satya*) ; Nirvāṇa, (48) the extinction

principle, is the abolition-truth (*nirodha-satya*); the moral principle (*śīla*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and knowledge are the path-truth (*mārga-satya*).

[Q.] The fruit, life and death, has already been spoken of; what is the cause of life and death?

(49) A. *Samudaya*, collection or accumulation, is the cause of life and death.

Q. That the fruit, life and death, also comprises causality of being and non-being has already been said. What is the (50) causality of non-being?

Q. The Nirvāṇa principle is the fruit; the moral principle (*śīla*), contemplation (*dhyāna*) and wisdom (*prajñā*) are the cause.

Q. In many Sūtras the cause comes first (51) and the fruit afterwards. In the case of the Four Truths why does the fruit come first and the cause afterwards?

A. If we speak [of the Four Truths], laying stress on accordance with reality, then we arrange (combine) (52) with the cause first and the fruit after. The Four Truths were taught when Buddha had just attained his enlightenment, for the benefit of the five Bhikṣus, Kaundīnya, etc., (53) for whom the teaching would have been difficult to understand, hearing it for the first time. For a time discern the fruit first, and later discern the cause; (but) in reality there is no distinction (style) (54).

Q. It is said there are Five Vehicles (*yāna*). Which are the Five Vehicles?

A. Deva Vehicle, Brahma Vehicle, Śrāvaka Vehicle, Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle, (55) Buddha-Tathāgata Vehicle—these are the five Vehicles.

[Q. What is] the Deva Vehicle?

A. By five morals (*śīla*) and ten merits (*kuśala*) one can obtain birth in the six Kāma-deva worlds (56). This is called the Deva Vehicle.

[Q. Which are the ten merits?]

A. Of body three, of mouth four, of mind three,—these

are called the Ten Merits (*kuśala*) and also called the Ten Demerits (*akuśala*).

Q. Which are the (57) three [Body-]actions ?

[A.] Non-killing, non-stealing, non-fornication.

(Q.) Which are the three Mind-actions ?

(A.) Non-greed, non-anger, non-infatuation.

(Q.) (58) Which are the four Mouth-actions ?

(A.) Fault-finding, ambiguity, falsehood, futility—not giving up these actions.

(Q.) There are five kinds of Ten Merits (*kuśala*) ? (59).

[A.] First Ten Merits of Mankind, second Ten Merits of Devas, third Ten Merits of Śrāvakas, fourth Ten Merits of Pratyeka-Buddhas, fifth Ten Merits of Bodhisattvas (60).

Q. What is the Brahma Vehicle ?

A. By practising four Infinite Thoughts (*apramāṇa-citta*) to be born in four Dhyāna-deva worlds of the Rūpārūpā-world [61] is named the Brahma-Vehicle.

Q. Which are the Four Infinite Thoughts ?

A. Friendliness (*maitrī*), compassionateness (*karuṇā*), cheerfulness (*muditā*), equability (*upekṣā*) are named the four Infinite Thoughts.

Q. (62) What is friendliness (*maitrī*) ?

[A.] Ability to follow the path.

(Q. What is] compassionateness ?

[A.] Ability to uproot suffering (*duḥkha*).

(Q. What is cheerfulness (*muditā*) ?]

(A.) To be delighted with anyone's acquisition of happiness (*sukha*) is to be regarded as cheerfulness.

(Q. What is equability (*upekṣā*) ?]

[A.] (63) To maintain an even mind (*śamatā*) is to be called equability.

Q. What is the Śrāvaka Vehicle ?

[A.] By means of the voice to comprehend the path is (64) to be regarded as the Śrāvaka [Vehicle].

Q. What is the Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle ?

[A.] To comprehend the twelve Causes (*nidāna*) is to be regarded as the Pratyeka-Buddha Vehicle.

(65) Q. Owing to what difference between the comprehension of Pratyeka-Buddha and the "voice-caused" (*Śrāvaka*) do we speak of two Vehicles ?

A. (66) (Though) the comprehensions are one and the same, there are minor differences : (accordingly) they are separated into two Vehicles, because Śrāvakas, (67) who need to meet Buddha expounding the Four-Truth doctrine so as to comprehend the path, differ from Pratyeka-Buddhas, who appear when there is no Buddha in the world and (68) in solitude comprehend impermanence. Therefore there is difference.

[Q.] How do we (?) comprehend *Nidāna* Dharma ?

[A.] Ignorance, *saṃskāra*, *viññāna*, Name and Form (*nāma-rūpa*), Six Coefficients (*āyatana*), Contact (*sparsa*), Sensibility (*vedanā*), Thirst (*trṣṇā*), Attachment (*upādāna*), Life (*bhava*), Birth (*jāti*), Old age and Death (*jarā-maraṇa*)—these are in the direct order.

[Q.] What is the inverse contemplation ?

A. [70] For a mortal creature, Birth depends upon Life ; Life depends upon Attachment ; Attachment depends upon Thirst ; Thirst depends upon Sensibility ; Sensibility depends upon Contact ; Contact depends upon the [Six] (71) Coefficients ; the Six Coefficients depend upon Name and Form ; Name and Form depend upon Consciousness (*viññāna*) ; Consciousness (*viññāna*) depends upon *saṃskāra* ; *saṃskāra* depends upon Ignorance ; Ignorance depends upon one instant of consciousness which is ignorant. These are the Twelve Causes (*nidāna*) (72).

[Q.] What is the causation of the Twelve Causes (*nidāna*) ?

[A.] From Ignorance and *saṃskāra* come, as a present result, the Twelve Causes (*nidānas*).

(73) Q. What is the Tathāgata Vehicle ?

A. The Six Perfections (*pāramitā*) are called the Buddha Vehicle.

Q. What are the Six Perfections ? (74)

A. First Liberality (*dāna*), second Morality (*śīla*), third Sufferance (*kṣānti*), fourth Energy (*vīrya*), fifth Contemplation

(*dhyāna*), sixth Wisdom (*prajñā*)—these (75) are the Six Perfections.

[Q.] How is Liberality called Perfection ?

A. In practising Liberality to have no thought of the receiver, (76) the giver, or the object is called its Perfection.

(Q.) What is [Perfection in] Morality ? (77)

(A.) Not to think of one's own morality or other peoples' transgression of morality or the morality itself is called its Perfection.

[Q.] What is (77) [Perfection in] Energy ?

A. Not to think of other people's inertness or one's own activity may be termed Perfection.

Q. What is (79) [Perfection in] Contemplation ?

A. Not to think of other people's distraction of mind or the principle which is being realized may be termed Perfection.

[Q.] What is (80) [Perfection in] Wisdom ?

(A.) Not to think of one's own Wisdom or other people's foolishness or want of comprehension itself may be termed Wisdom- (81) Perfection.

Q. What is "conducting to" ?

[A.] A prior crude thing conduces to a posterior, the posterior is finer and purer : a posterior fine thing refines a prior crude thing.

The prior five (82) are, as it were, blind ; the last one is, as it were, a way-(shower).

Q. How does Liberality (*dāna*) comprise the Six Provisions, viz. the *dharma* of fearlessness containing (83) one, two, three—this is called *caryā-vihāra* ?

A. Liberality can comprise the six.

Q. Why among the Perfections (*pāramitā*) (84) is the prior inferior and the posterior superior ? And how can the prior contain the superior ?

A. Provisionally (85) we speak so : but when we comprehend essential voidness of three things in connection with the six Perfections (*pāramitā*), there is no superiority (86).

Q. What are the one, two, three ?

A. The Provisions comprise one and two *dharma*s and three.

Q. What is Provision ? (87)

A. To perform Liberality (*dāna*) through faith is Provision.

Q. What is Liberality (*dāna*) of fearlessness ?

[A.] (88) Through performance of Liberality (*dāna*), through Morality (*śīla*) and Sufferance (*kṣānti*), all creatures are without fear.

Q. What is (89) the Liberality (*dāna*) of *Dharma* (teaching) ?

A. It comprises Energy (*vīrya*), Contemplation (*dhyāna*), and Wisdom (*prajñā*), these three, and so effects the deliverance of all creatures. (90) Therefore it is called Liberality of *Dharma*.

Q. We hear speak of Three Poisons.

A. Greed (*lobha*), Anger (*krodha*), and Infatuation (*moha*)—these are called the three poisons.

Q. How do Greed, (91) Anger, and Infatuation originate ?

A. Owing to the insatiability of Greed, Anger originates ; in dependence upon Anger, Infatuation originates. (92) So [we have] dependent origination.

Q. What is meant by Greed ?

A. Attachment and passion for objects is termed Greed.

[Q.] (93) What is meant by Anger ?

A. Dislike and befouling is termed Anger.

[Q.] What is meant by Infatuation ?

A. Not understanding (94) occasions is termed Infatuation.

[Q.] Why do we apply the term " Poison " ?

A. Greed, Anger and Infatuation are regarded as poison. (95) Among poisons there is none more poisonous than these. While ordinary poison hurts one body, the poison of Greed, Anger, (96) and Infatuation can hurt many bodies. While ordinary poison can (hurt) one body, poison of Greed, Anger, and Infatuation can destroy the ten merits (*kuśala*) of many bodies (97). While such an ordinary poisonous snake and

poisonous medicine hurts only body and life (98), but after death poison is ineffective, the poison of Greed, Anger, and Infatuation can cause to be reborn in endless *Samsāra* (99).

[Q.] What is the antidote so as to escape *Samsāra* ?

A. As is said in the Sūtra, for greedy persons the contemplation of (100) Impurity (*aśubha*) is the antidote ; for angry persons contemplation of Friendliness (*maitrīkaraṇa*) is the antidote ; for infatuated persons (101) contemplation of Causation (*nidāna*) is the antidote, so that they may escape *Samsāra*. In this means of counteracting (which) is to be regarded as final view, and which (102) is to be regarded provisional ?

Q. Do we see the thing itself (*ātman*) ?

A. One does not see the thing (*ātman*).

Q. As to the thing, in thinking and discerning we do not (103) discriminate seeing and not seeing. Do you on the contrary (consider them ?) the same ?

A. I also do not discriminate (104) seeing and not seeing.

Q. What are things ?

A. While there is no mind, (105) *dharma*s occur in succession.

[Q.] Does mind discriminate all *dharma*s ?

[A.] Cease to discriminate in regard to origination of all *dharma*s.

Q. Can we (106) disregard all *dharma*s ?

A. []

[Q.] Are we attached to *dharma*s ?

A. Blue, yellow, red, white are interfused with the self.

Q. (107) Are things interfused with the self ?

A. [To discriminate] sentient being and non-sentient being (*sattva* and *asattva*) is merely your view (?).

Q. Is to discriminate sentient and non-sentient (108) merely your view ?

A. To discriminate ("question", literally) sentient and non-sentient is my view.

Q. What is [*your*] view ?

A. I (109) also do not make any discrimination of sentient and non-sentient.

Q. In ultimate reality are things non-existent ? (110)

A. Phenomena (*Dharma*) are not themselves named.

Q. Which are the Four Errors ?

A. Permanence, Pleasure, Self, Purity.

[Q. *What is Error ?*]

A. (111) To take as permanent what is not permanent, to take as pure what is not pure, to take as pleasure what is painful, *to take as self what is not self.*

Q. Why does one take as permanent (112) what is (not) permanent, take as pure what is not pure ?

A. (Things), being transitory every moment, are without permanence. Ordinary people (113) ignorantly and mistakenly take them as permanent. The body has thirty-six kinds of (impure) transitoriness. Ordinary people ignorantly and (114) mistakenly take it as pure.

Q. Why does one take as self what is not self and as pleasant what is painful ?

A. The five aggregate (*skandhas*) (115) are collections of *dharma*s ; but ordinary people ignorantly and mistakenly take them as being self. The body is source (116) of many pains. Ordinary people ignorantly and mistakenly take it as characterized by pleasantness.

Q. What are the Eight Pairs (correlates) ?

A. (117) In the non-existent to apprehend existence, in the existent to apprehend non-existence.

Q. Who apprehends existence in the non-existent ? Who (118) apprehends non-existence in the existent ?

A. (117) Ordinary people ignorantly apprehend existence in the non-existent : *Śrāvakas* ignorantly apprehend non-existence (119) in the existent.

Copy extract of Explanation, Mahāyāna Mādhyamika view (by) Preacher (*dharma-bhāṇaka*) GO (120).

As regards the "Mahāyāna" (Mādhyamika) view, it means in the Triple Universe interdependent origination and nature of internal and external things : (121) from the point of view of ordinary understanding, things are like illusion, dream and mirage and conventional ; from the point of view of the final theory (122) things of an interdependent origination in their causation are entirely void (*śūnya*) and of Nirvāṇa nature without origination or annihilation, and transcend the sphere of expression and (123) thought and are undemonstrable (*asiddha*). As regards "Mādhyamika" (middle), we mean by reason of absence of negation and affirmation (124). In the ordinary view, as contemplated by the Mādhyamika, since originated things, internal and external, are in themselves (in their *tathatā*) provisionally (?) existent, they are not decried (125) as absolutely non-existent. In the final theory, as contemplated (by the Mādhyamika), things transcend the sphere of expression, and by reason of their undemonstrableness (*asiddhi*) (126) we do not decry the supra-mundane. Thus by reason of avoiding of the two extremes it is called Mādhyamika. As regards "view" (127), since with the eye of wisdom we comprehend conventional and absolute reality, we employ the designation "view".

(128) *Mahāyāna Mādhyamika Darśana*, One Volume.

NOTE

Concerning the doctrines outlined in the text it is hardly necessary to make any explanations. In regard to the terminology Mr. Miyamoto remarks that the usual Chinese equivalent for *saṃjñā* "conception" is not the *syon* (*syāṇ*) of l. 8, but the *syon* of l. 9, and that the *hbyer* of l. 46 is not the usual equivalent of *nirodha*. The writer of the Chinese characters has employed wrong signs corresponding to *gcam* (ll. 6-7), *gyi* (l. 49), *yim* (l. 57), *dehu* (l. 110), *svog* (ll. 121, 127), *phan* (l. 122), *boñ* (l. 126), *zin* (l. 88), 'i (l. 37). The Chinese text has been corrected in places, and there are marks

indicating transpositions (which in the edition we have carried out *sub silentio*).

Apart from inconsistencies in the transliteration the writer of the Tibetan has made some errors, writing *pehu* for *juñ* in l. 21, *sin* for *chu* in l. 36, *syāñ* for *syoñ* in l. 38, *hder-phan* (*nirvāṇa*) for *hbu* in l. 49, *pun bu* for *señ* in l. 65, *phu kyan* for *thah* in l. 80, *do* for *niñ* in l. 83. The quality of the inconsistencies in the transliteration may be indicated by *hgen* l. 13 = *hgvan* l. 17, *gve* l. 17 = *hgve* ll. 1 sqq., *chur* l. 2 = *chud* (?) l. 7, *gu* = *guhi* = *guhu* l. 26, *gyeñ* l. 30 = *kyeñ* l. 50, *sen* l. 50 = *syān* l. 51, *hzuñ* l. 75 = *siñ* usually, *yin* = 'in l. 81, *zig* l. 88 = *si* l. 87, *hoñ* ll. 113-4 = *boñ* ll. 115-6 (pronounced *woñ* ?), *tshag* ll. 105-6 = *jag* l. 92 = *tsag* ll. 104, etc., *tshoñ* l. 119 = *tsoñ* usually. An index of the transliterations may be supplied later.

Two Studies in the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya

By E. H. JOHNSTON

1. SOME BUDDHIST REFERENCES ¹

IN the various discussions over the date of the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra* no notice appears to have been taken so far of the deductions that can be drawn from Buddhist sources. This is all the more remarkable in that the exact dating of the Chinese translations enables us to determine the lower limits for the dates of a number of Buddhist works, so that we thus have fixed points from which to start. Here I propose to consider the relationship in date of the *Arthaśāstra* to the works of Aśvaghōṣa, to Āryaśūra's *Jātakamālā* and to the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*.

As for the first of these, it is usual to place Aśvaghōṣa early in the second century A.D., a date which cannot be far out and is certainly not too early in view of his style and of the date of the fragments of the MS. containing the *Śāriputra-prakaraṇa*.² Now, though he shows nowhere any acquaintance with the doctrines peculiar to the *Arthaśāstra*, this does not prove without further examination that it was not already

¹ The substance of this study was read as a paper before the Seventeenth Congress of Orientalists at Oxford under the title "Some Buddhist writers and the *Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*." Of the abbreviations B. stands for *Buddhacarita*, and S. for *Saundarananda*. In quoting the *Arthaśāstra*, I give the sentence numbers of Jolly and Schmidt's edition as the most convenient form of reference.

² So long as it was held that the work translated from the Chinese by E. Huber under the title of *Sūtrālaṅkāra* was by Aśvaghōṣa, it was difficult to escape the conclusion that he was at least somewhat later than Kaṇiṣka. Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin seems to hold that the evidence of the MS. fragments published by Professor Lüders giving the name of the book as *Kaṭpanāmaṇḍitikā* and of the author as *Kumāralāta* does not dispose of the previous view (*Vijñaptimātratāsiddhi. La siddhi de Hiuan Tsang*, Paris, 1928, pp. 223-4). Enough, however, is extant of the Sanskrit text to show that the style is devoid of the characteristics that distinguish all Aśvaghōṣa's writings, and the references to Nanda's not having obtained arhatship and to six abhiññās (whereas Aśvaghōṣa only knows five, S., xvi, 1) cannot possibly emanate from the author of the *Saundarananda*.

in existence in his time or even that, if in existence, it had not been so long enough to become a standard work. For arguments *ex silentio*, particularly in Indian matters, are dangerous weapons on which to place reliance and at the best do not afford conclusive proof.

Every reader of Aśvaghoṣa must be struck by the number of his references to the theory of politics, which, especially in the *Saundarananda*, is his favourite source for similes. Twice, for instance (*B.*, ii, and *S.*, ii), he gives us a detailed description of the ideal king, which conforms to the ideas about kingship then current in India except among the exponents of the *arthaśāstra*.¹ He presumes such acquaintance with the teachings of the schools that he gives a numerical riddle on them (*B.*, ii, 41); some of the numbers cannot be explained out of the *Arthaśāstra*, but all fit in fairly well with the teaching of the *Mahābhārata*.² He knows technical terms such as *pārṣṇigrāha* (*S.*, xvii, 41) and *maitra* (*S.*, ii, 18, and xvii, 56), the latter only occurring elsewhere in the *Kāmandakīya Nītisūtra*. The four upāyas to which, as in *MBh.*, xii, 2156, he adds a fifth, *niyama* (*S.*, xv, 61), are familiar to him. He knows how a king should proceed who wishes to conquer the earth (*S.*, xvii, 10) and the progress of the saint to arhatship presents itself to him as parallel with the progress of a conquering king (*S.*, xvii *passim*).

His ideas keep within the limits of the *dharmaśāstra*, particularly, as hinted above, in the form expounded for popular consumption in the *Mahābhārata*. In this connexion it may be noted that he mentions two *rājaśāstras* by name (*B.*, i, 41 (46)), those of Uśanas and Brhaspati, which are

¹ I use *arthaśāstra* for the teaching of the school generally and *Arthaśāstra* for Kauṭilya's work.

² The one disciplined is himself (xii, 2599), the seven protected the seven constituents of a kingdom (xii, 2659-60), the seven abandoned the seven vices of kings (v, 1061-2), the five observed the five measures (xii, 2156), the three obtained *dharma*, *artha*, and *kāma* (xii, 2150), the three understood *athāna*, *vyddhi* and *ḥṣaya* (xii, 2152 and 2665), the two known are probably the frequently mentioned pair, *naya* and *apanaya* or *anaya*, and the two abandoned *kāma* and *krodha* (xii, 2721 and v, 1100).

frequently cited in the epic as the standard authorities but he is so fond of quoting epic tags that we must not draw any conclusions from this as to the authorities with which he was acquainted. Now the dividing line between the *dharmaśāstra* and the *Arthaśāstra* must be sought in the conception of the ultimate purpose of kingship. According to the former the institution of kingship exists for the maintenance of order and the preservation of the structure of society. The *Arthaśāstra* no doubt pays lip service to this ideal but the essential doctrine underlying the entire work is that a king's sole preoccupation is with his own self-aggrandizement and that in its pursuit he should be restrained by no considerations except those of enlightened self-interest. The originality of the *Arthaśāstra* lies, in my view, not in the conception of this principle, which was probably already in the air, but in the relentless logic with which all its implications are worked out.¹ The word *vijigīṣu* used as a substantive looks as if it had been coined by the author to denote the king who acts on this principle; it is thus used twice in what appear to be later passages of the *Śāntiparvan* (*MBh.*, xii, 3944 and 3962)² and frequently in classical literature. Aśvaghoṣa, however, though acquainted with the idea that the conquest of the earth is among a king's functions, does not use the word but only the form *jigīṣat* (*S.*, xvi, 85) as a participle and *jigīṣu* (*S.*, xvii, 56) as an adjective. His references seem to suggest that in his day the idea had not been followed out to its logical conclusion.

For, if the *Arthaśāstra* had been a standard work then as in later times, we should have expected not merely that he would be more cautious in dealing with the subject of conquest but that, when in the *Buddhacarita* he has to deal with the disadvantages of kingship, he would have stressed the

¹ For further remarks on Kauṭilya's point of view, see p. 89 below.

² Cf. its use as an adjective in *MBh.*, xii, 3567, a passage which explicitly declares that conquest by means of *adharma* is not permissible but is proper when effected by means of *dharma*.

immorality inherent in it according to the *Arthasāstra*. After all he knew of *anyta* as applied to affairs of love (*B.*, iv, 67 ff.) and might have been expected to know of *anyta* as applied to politics. But when it comes to the point the worst he can find to say is, *B.*, ix, 48 (a passage omitted in Cowell's MSS.), *śamapradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣadharmo daṇḍapradhānaḥ kva ca rājadharmah*. The reference is of course to the many passages in the *dharmaśāstras* eulogizing *daṇḍa* as the supreme duty of a king. It is also worth pointing out here that in dealing with the various philosophies of life in *B.*, ix, 55-64 (Cowell's 45-54)¹ no mention is made of the principles of the *Arthasāstra*; the relevance of the omission will be apparent later on.

Turning now from ideas to language, I would refer to the notes in my edition of the *Saundarananda*, where I quote the *Arthasāstra* several times to explain words peculiar to the two works. The number of such cases is deserving of notice, and their importance can be best gauged by considering the two most significant parallels in detail. In ii, 45, Śuddhodana is described as *aśakyaśakyaśāmanta*, an expression which has been found puzzling enough to evoke several proposals for emendation. In the *Arthasāstra* (vi, 1, 3 and 8) *śakyaśāmanta* is used as an attribute which a king and country should have and its meaning is made clear by the corresponding *ānatasāmanta* in the similar passage in *Manu*, vii, 69.² So far as I know, the expression only appears again once later, in the *Kāmandakīya Nīṭisāra*, where the commentator misunderstands it. It is clear that Aśvaghoṣa was playing on an expression current in the politics of his time, though

¹ Cowell's MSS. omitted 11 verses in canto ix after verse 41, according to the old MS. in Nepal and the Tibetan translation but, as one of these verses is clearly an interpolation, to obtain the correct numbering of the subsequent verses Cowell's numbers should be increased by ten only.

² Cf. also *Jātakamālā*, p. 67, ll. 23-4, *ānatasarvasāmantān . . . prthivīm*. In *S.*, ii, 45, Professor Thomas suggests in a private communication the reading *aśakyaś śakya*², which is probably the correct reading and strengthens, if anything, the parallel drawn above.

its use need not necessarily have been confined to the school of Kauṭilya. The other word is *rātrisattra* (ii, 29) for which I would compare *sattrājīvino rātricāriṇaḥ*, of *K.A.*, xiv, 1, 4 and *rātrisattraparāḥ*,¹ *ib.* viii, 4, 61. I can find no parallel to the word elsewhere. This common use of neologisms which failed to hold their place in the classical language suggests that no great interval separates the *Arthasāstra* from Aśvaghoṣa.

The next author on my list is Āryaśūra whose date is probably the fourth century A.D.; for a work attributed to him was translated into Chinese in A.D. 434. In the absence of the Sanskrit original this proof of date is not conclusive, as we cannot be certain that the work was really by the same writer, but the probability of its correctness is heightened when we consider the style of the *Jātakamālā*. For on the one hand it shows an intimate acquaintance with the works of Aśvaghoṣa such as is not to be found in later Buddhist efforts in the *kāvya* style and on the other its language conforms more closely to the canons of classical Sanskrit than does that of Aśvaghoṣa. A difference of two centuries is not, therefore, unreasonable.

Whereas, if Aśvaghoṣa was acquainted with the *Arthasāstra*, he did not refer to it even in places where it would have strengthened his argument to do so, Āryaśūra deliberately parades his knowledge of it. The first of the four references to political science in the *Jātakamālā* which alone need consideration occurs in the tale of Maitrībala, Jātaka no. viii, verse 14, where it is said in praise of the king, *dharmaḥ tasya nayo na nītinikṛtiḥ*, which Speyer translated, "Righteousness is the rule of his political actions, not political wisdom, that base science." As *naya* is used by Aśvaghoṣa (*B.*, ii, 42 as corrected in *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 216, and *S.*, ii, 16) and Āryaśūra (e.g. verse 2 of this Jātaka and xi, 3) to indicate the policy a king ought to follow, possibly the contrast is between

¹ According to T. Ganapati Sastrī *rātrisattracarāḥ*, which is perhaps preferable.

naya and *nīti* and the meaning then is, "The *rājadharmā* he follows is *naya*, not base *nīti*."

The second passage occurs in the *Viśvantarajātaka*, no. ix, over the episode of the gift of the elephant. In verse 10 the prince is said to give the elephant out of attachment to *dharma* and not to be afraid of *nītivyalīka*, though acquainted with *rājāśāstram arthānuyūtyā gatadharmamārgam*, "the *rājāśāstra* in which the path of *dharma* is lost through following *artha*."¹ The significance of the passage, however, lies in the reason for which the Brahmins were sent by their king to obtain the elephant. This king ruled over the land immediately adjoining that of Viśvantara's father (*bhūmyanantara*) and therefore according to the *Arthaśāstra* was necessarily the latter's foe; he wished to get hold of the elephant in order to overreach Viśvantara. The verb used according to Kern's edition (p. 53, l. 3) is *abhisamdhātum*, which is evidently the same as the *atisamdhā* so beloved of Kauṭilya and the trick recalls the practices recommended in the *Arthaśāstra* in a manner that can hardly be unintentional. The Pali version (No. 547) knows nothing of this motive or of the reference to *nīti*, though in the Pali versions corresponding to the two passages about to be discussed the *khattavijjā*, by which the doctrine of the exponents of the *arthaśāstra* is meant, is mentioned. The addition of this motif is therefore clearly due to Āryaśūra's invention.²

It will be more convenient to refer next to the fourth passage, which occurs in the *Sutasomajātaka*, no. xxxi, verses 52-5, where Saudāsa charges Sutasoma with ignorance of *nīti* and Sutasoma counters that it is precisely because of his knowledge of *nīti* that he declines to act in accordance with its principles. The adjective *jihma*, applied to it in verse 54,

¹ Speyer's, "though knowing that the science of politics follows the path of Righteousness (*dharma*) only so far as it may agree with material interest (*artha*)", does not seem quite to hit off the sense.

² R. Fick, *Festgabe Jacobi*, pp. 145-159, holds that the Pali version is later than the *Jātakamālā*; but the evidence seems to me insufficient to justify a definite conclusion.

is worth noting in view of the expression *nītikaṭṭilyaprasaṅga* that occurs in the next passage. The Pali version refers to the *khattadhamma* (glossed as the *nītisattha*) in the corresponding passage and has in verses 426 and 427 almost verbal equivalents of Āryaśūra's verses 52 and 54, but is so different in essential details of the story that there can be no question of imitation by either of the other but only of a common original.

That these passages refer not merely to the *arthaśāstra* generally but to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya in particular is made clear by the third passage, which affords a suggestive parallel to Aśvaghoṣa's description in *B.*, ix, 55-64, already mentioned of the philosophical systems of his day. In the *Mahābodhi-jātaka*, no. xxiii, the king's five ministers set out to him five different theories of life, three of which are given in the corresponding passage of the *Buddhacarita*, the *svabhāvavāda* (verse 17) propounded in terms reminiscent of Aśvaghoṣa, the *īśvaravāda* (verse 18) and the doctrine that this world is the end of everything and that therefore happiness is the sole object to be sought in life (verse 19). The other two, not being mentioned in the *Buddhacarita* or in the list in *S.*, xvi, 17, may well relate to systems which had no recognized status in Aśvaghoṣa's day. The first of these is the *karmavāda*, a doctrine that every action is determined by a previous action to the entire exclusion of free will. The other is described in the following terms:—*Aparaenam kṣatravidyāparidṛṣṭeṣu nītikaṭṭilyaprasaṅgeṣu nairghrṇyamalīneṣu dharmavirodhiṣv api rājadharmo 'yam iti samanvāśāsa* |

21. *Chāyādrumeṣv iva nareṣu kṛtāśrayeṣu*
tāvat kṛtajñacaritairiḥ svayaśah parīpset |
Nārtho 'sti yāvad upabhoganayena teṣāṃ
kṛtye tu yajña iva te paśavo niyojyāḥ ||

The verse is difficult to translate neatly and Speyer's version requires modification to bring out the exact sense, which is

as follows :—" Another who held that in the practices set out in the science of the Kṣatriyas is to be found the rule of conduct (*dharma*) of a king, though they are contrary to righteousness (*dharma*) as following the crooked ways of political wisdom (*nīti*) and as being soiled by ruthlessness, instructed him thus :—

21. ' Seeing that men are the vehicles (*āśraya*) of a king's actions, just as trees are the vehicles of shade, he should seek to acquire a good repute for himself by acting as if with gratitude towards them, so long as there is no advantage to be gained by the policy of making use of them, but (i.e. when there is such an advantage to be gained) they should be employed in his service in the way that cattle are used in the sacrifice.' " ¹

The doctrine thus set out describes so exactly the principles underlying the practices recommended in the *Arthasāstra*, at any rate as viewed by a hostile eye, as to leave no doubt that that work is referred to here and that we are to see in the expression *nītikaṭṭilyaprasaṅgeṣu* a definite reminder of the author's name ; the word, *nairghrṇya*, has a significant parallel, too, in Bāṇa's *nirghrṇa* in his description of the *Arthasāstra* in the *Kādambarī*. The refutation of the minister's views by the Bodhisattva further on contains another clear reference : *Bhavān apy asmān kasmād iti vikutsyate yadi nyāyīyam arthasāstradrṣṭam vidhiṁ manyase*, so that we can now see that Āryasūra identifies the *Arthasāstra* of Kauṭilya with the *kṣatravidyā*, the *khattadhamma* or *khattavijjā* of the

¹ There is a double meaning in *kṛtāśrayeṣu* and *kṛtye*. Properly speaking men are *kṛtāśraya* by having a king as their refuge or support and the use of *āśraya* in this connexion seems even to be extended in *B.*, xiii, 71, to the meaning " leader ". Its opposite use here is meant to emphasize the contrast between the *dharmaśāstra* and the *arthasāstra*. The correspondence of *kṛtye* and *yajñe* hints that *yajña* is really nothing more than *kṛtyā*, " magic ". The late Professor Gawroński's conjecture of *hi* for *tu* in the last pāda spoils the point of the verse.

Pali Jātakas.¹ Again the arguments used earlier in the tale by the five ministers to inspire in the king distrust of the Bodhisattva by the suggestion that he is a spy sent by an enemy king to effect his ruin are evidently a clever skit on the uses to which the *Arthasāstra* recommends spies should be put and recall the passage in the *Viśvantarajātaka* already discussed, while the opposition of view is pointed by the final emphatic exposition of the principles of the *dharmaśāstra*.

The corresponding Pali version is Jātaka no. 528. While several of the verses show similarities of argument and occasionally of language with Āryaśūra's, the minor details differ so considerably that a direct connexion seems improbable. Their agreement, however, in a capital point, namely, in the philosophical views attributed to the five ministers, shows that they derive from a common original whose purpose was to set out and refute these five heretical views. The Pali version is evidently the work of a man without Āryaśūra's education in Hindu lore and in particular its reference to the *khattavijjā*, viz. *mātapitaro pi māretvā attano va attho kāmatabbo*, though very close to a phrase of Bāṇa's in the passage of the *Kādambarī* already alluded to, does not necessarily imply any direct acquaintance with the tenets of the *Arthasāstra*. Moreover, like the Pali *Vessantara-jātaka* in the episode already discussed, it has nothing to correspond to the suggestions Āryaśūra puts into the mouths of the five ministers for distrusting the Bodhisattva but the latter's statement in it of the Kṣatriyan science is worth notice (Fausböll, v, p. 240) :—

Yassa rukkhassa chāyāya nisīdeyya sayeyya vā |
na tassa sākhaṃ bhañjeyya mittadūbhī hi pāpako ||
Atha atthe samuppanne samūlam api abbahe |
attho me sambalenā 'tī suhato vānaro mayā ||

¹ The exact meaning of *kṣatrawidyā* in *Chāndogya Up.*, vii, 1, 2, is uncertain; in *Dīgha Nikāya*, vol. i, p. 9, l. 7, *khattavijjā* is classed among the occupations a Brahmin or *śramaṇa* cannot properly follow but this does not necessarily prove that the reference is to the *arthasāstra*, for any of the functions of government are improper for those who lead a saintly life.

Several points in these verses recall the verse already quoted from the *Jātakamālā*, the comparison with the shade of a tree, the parallelism of idea in *mittadūbhī* and *kr̥tajñācaritairi* and the injunction to cut down the tree if any use can be made of it as compared with the injunction to use men like sacrificial victims when needed; there must have been something of the sort in the common original. The Pali version shows also that the common original ended with a statement of the principles of the *dharmaśāstra*. A definite conclusion is hardly possible but I incline to the view that the Pali writer intended by *khattavijjā*, like Āryaśūra, to refer to the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya, though probably deriving his knowledge of it from popular report and not from direct study; if so, it is to be inferred that the common original knew it too. The alternative is that Āryaśūra turned a reference to the earlier *arthaśāstra* into a reference to Kauṭilya's work.

To sum up, it is quite certain that Āryaśūra knew the *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya and that in his day it was regarded as the standard work on the *arthaśāstra* so that the lower limit for the date of its composition can hardly be later than A.D. 250. The Pali versions of the Sutasoma and Mahābodhi Jātakas cannot be dated with any approach to accuracy except within very wide limits, but in view of their style and of the five philosophical theories quoted in the latter they cannot be much older than the *Jātakamālā*. But if the common originals of the Pali versions and Āryaśūra's tales meant by the reference to the Kṣatriyan science the work of Kauṭilya, the lower limit for the latter must be placed a good deal, perhaps a century, earlier.

This conclusion is consonant with the evidence of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra*. The main body of that work dates from not later than the fourth century A.D., as it was translated into Chinese in A.D. 443. Subsequently an appendix of 884 ślokas was added, which appears in the second Chinese translation of A.D. 513. This addition is put into the mouth

of a previous Buddha called Viraja Jina, who prophesies the coming of the Buddha of the Śākya race and various events before and after that.¹ Verse 786 prophesies that the Gupta kings would be succeeded by Mlecchas, so that this addition must date from the last quarter of the fifth century when the Gupta empire had dissolved beneath the attacks of the Huns. Later on the coming of future ṛṣis is announced in the following order, in verse 813 Pāṇini, in verse 814 Kātyāyana the composer of sūtras and Yajñavalkya, in verse 816 Vālmiki, Masurākṣa, Kauṭilya, and Aśvalāyana, and finally in verse 817 the scion of the Śākyas. Evidently, therefore, at the end of the fifth century A.D. Kauṭilya was placed on a level with the ancient ṛṣis in point of age and the work which earned him this position must be at least several centuries earlier than that date.

Two points of interest arise out of this passage. In the first place, it contains no hint of any connexion between Kauṭilya and the Maurya dynasty, though the latter is known to the author of the appendix, being mentioned in the same verse as the Guptas. Secondly, Masurākṣa is only known as the writer to whom is attributed a collection of gnomic verses under the title of *Nītiśāstra* in volume Mdo 123 of the Tibetan Tanjur. This translation follows immediately after a slightly longer work called both *Cāṇakyanītiśāstra* and *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstra* and is of exactly the same nature as the various collections of gnomic verse which pass under the name of Cāṇakya.² It shows no Buddhist influence and

¹ The context shows that this is the correct interpretation of verses 797-800, and that J. W. Hauer (*Das Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra u. das Sāṅkhyā*, Stuttgart, 1927) is in error in taking them to give the name and parentage of the author of the appendix.

² Mr. J. van Manen says of it in the Foreword to the second edition of the *Cāṇakya-rājanītiśāstram* (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 2, 1926), p. xiii, that it has certain verses which are contained in nearly all Cāṇakya collections and are nowhere else attributed to another. I have made a cursory examination of it in the British Museum copy (fol. 194b-200a), this volume being missing in the India Office set. It is divided into seven cantos, containing some 129 or 130 verses; the exact number is uncertain, as sometimes five or six lines are used to translate a single verse, and all the verses

must surely have been well known to Hindus at the time it was translated. Why then is the name Masurākṣa unknown to Hindu tradition ?¹ Further the use of the name Cāṇakya in connexion with the *Arthasāstra* seems to be a good deal later than the association with it of the name Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya and there are traces of a tradition that they were different persons.² Accepting the tradition that Viṣṇugupta Kauṭilya was the author of the *Arthasāstra* and taking the view that seems to me unavoidable that he was a different person from the minister of Candragupta Maurya, for whose name and story legend is our only authority, are we to conclude that the minister's name was Cāṇakya and that in that case Masurākṣa was his personal name or a nickname ?

must be identified to attain certainty. The first verse gives Masurākṣa's name, and mentions the *arthasāstra* as one of his sources, an unusual feature in these collections. The remaining ten verses in this canto contain general rules for the conduct of life, of which I have not identified any. In canto ii verses 8-15 consist of the well-known series beginning *śinhād ekāṃ*, describing the twenty qualities of animals which should be imitated. Canto vii describes in 19 verses the qualities of a king and his various servants ; they seem superior in quality to the similar verses in Haebler's *Cāṇakyaśāstram* and in the above mentioned, the Bhojarāja, recension, while the *Vṛddhacāṇakya* (Bombay, 1852) has not the series at all. I have identified a third of the remainder, almost all in the Bhojarāja recension, though some occur in the other two also. A more prolonged search would probably result in the identification of many of the rest. The text of the verses seems generally good ; very few deal with the faults of women, most treating of the behaviour to be adopted towards relations, friends, foes, evil men and servants. It seems to have more unity than the Cāṇakya collections generally.

¹ The only similar name I can find is Surakṣa, the name of Vyāsa in the fourteenth age in *Vāyupurāṇa* (Ānandāśrama S.S.), xxiii, 162. The verse looks corrupt, having no less than three conjunctions where only one is required, and the name may therefore have suffered mutilation by the loss of a syllable.

² Namely in Bhaṭṭotpala's references in his commentary on the *Brhājñātaka* (quoted in the preface to the first edition of Shamasastry's translation), which suggest that according to the authorities he followed Viṣṇugupta and Cāṇakya were considered two separate persons and that he identified them in accordance with the traditions current in his day. That he meant the two persons under discussion here can hardly be doubted ; for there surely cannot be another pair of the same names who had also been confused.

Or are Cāṇakya and Masurākṣa different persons and, if so, can we hold that Masurākṣa was the real author of the verses passing under his name? There certainly seems to be no reason for fathering any one else's work on so little known an individual.

However that may be—it does not much concern the question here under debate—I feel justified in holding that, taking the *Jātakamālā* and the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* alone, the lower limit for the composition of the *Arthasāstra* is certainly not later than about A.D. 250 and is probably a good deal earlier, if the Pali *khattaviṇṇā* refers to Kauṭilya's work and not to the earlier *arthasāstra*. It also looks as if it cannot be far removed in date from Aśvaghoṣa and in particular cannot be much earlier. In fact it would agree with the evidence here set out if we took the beginning of our era as the upper limit for its date, so long as it is borne in mind that this is an estimate based on probability, not on rigid proof. These limits agree with the fact that, leaving out of consideration works which may know the *Arthasāstra* but do not treat it as a standard work, no work of Brahmanical origin which treats it as a recognized authority, that is, which is substantially later than it, can safely be dated as early as A.D. 300.

II. NOTES ON LAND TENURE AND AGRICULTURE

The correct interpretation of the text of the *Arthasāstra* depends to a large extent on a correct appreciation of the author's mentality and aims. If it is wrong on the one hand to read into it the ideas of a great statesman or a deep political thinker, on the other hand half its value is missed by treating it as the pedantic theorizings of a pandit. The book is in essence the work of a practical administrator little interested in political theories beyond the principle that the king's advantage is the sole rule of action and unfettered by moral or religious prejudices except in so far as their existence in others affects the execution of policy. Its aim is to describe and consider critically the different courses that can be taken

in the various difficulties of administration, and no passage can be held to be satisfactorily explained till its practical bearings have been made clear. Except on the moral side, Kautilya's attitude comes naturally in fact to all who have been engaged in administrative work, and it is on the strength of such experience, even though limited in amount, that I venture to attempt an explanation of certain passages¹ to which justice has not hitherto been done.

1. Book II, chapter 24, deals with the duties of the *sītādhyakṣa*, which consist in the cultivation, direct or through tenants, of *svabhūmi* and in the collection of certain irrigation dues. *Svabhūmi* is correctly taken by Shamasastry and Jolly (*Festschrift Kuhn*, p. 28) to mean the "crown lands", the lands in actual cultivating possession of the king. An exactly parallel expression is current to-day in Bengal, where the demesne lands of a landlord are known as *nij* lands, the term being used in the Bengal Tenancy Act. The similar Persian form, *khudkāsh*, which was used in the old Bengal Regulations to denote what is now known as a settled raiyat, is now used occasionally in Bihar in the same sense.

To anyone who reads ch. 24 in either Shamasastry's or Jolly and Schmidt's edition, the transition from the description of the cultivation of the crown lands to that of the collection of irrigation dues will appear excessively abrupt; further, as their texts stand, these regulations must apply to collections of dues for all classes of irrigation works, and it is not apparent why the *sītādhyakṣa* should collect them, seeing that they ought to fall within the ordinary duties of the staff responsible for the collection of land revenue. Despite, therefore, the weight of Professor Jolly's opinion to the contrary (*Festschrift Jacobi*, p. 427), I think one must take *svasetubhyaḥ* as heading the regulations about irrigation

¹ A recent work dealing with some of the passages discussed here is B. Breloer, *Kautiliya-Studien*, i. *Das Grundeigentum in Indien*, Bonn, 1927. I find myself unable to accept the theories set out in it and disagree entirely with several of the proposed translations and the deductions drawn from them.

dues in a sentence to itself and not as the last word in sentence 20, which I quote in full a few lines lower down. *Seta* has the same meaning as in *svabhūmi*, and the reference is to the king's private irrigation embankments, which he maintains for the irrigation of the crown lands, there being also, as appears from Book III, ch. 9 and 10, irrigation works belonging to other persons. The collection of the dues for the use of this water from the cultivators of lands other than crown lands naturally falls within the *sītādhyakṣa*'s sphere. To join *svasetubhyaḥ* with the preceding *anyatra kṛcchrebhyaḥ* gives no sense, e.g. Shamastry's "with the exception of their own private lands that are difficult to cultivate" is nonsense in the context, even if *setu* could have this meaning, which is highly improbable, though Professor Jolly has accepted Shamastry's version (*Festschrift Kuhn*, p. 29).

The chapter begins with the description of direct cultivation by labourers under the supervision of the superintendent. Then follow two sentences, 19 and 20, which have given a lot of trouble, describing cultivation by tenants.

19. *Vāpātiriktam ardhasūtikāḥ kuryuḥ* |

20. *Svavīryopajīvino vā caturthapañcabhāgikāḥ | yatheṣṭam anavasitam bhāgaṁ dadyur anyatra kṛcchrebhyaḥ*¹ |

The first sentence is usually taken to mean that he should let land which he does not sow for any reason to the class of tenant known as *ardhasūtika*.² This, though probably correct, is difficult. The natural way to express what it amounts to would be to omit *vāpātiriktam* and add *vā* after *ardhasūtikāḥ*. Since the *ardhasūtika* is little better than a landless labourer, it cannot be lack of labour that is the

¹ Jolly and Schmidt print sentence 20 as a whole, omitting the avagraha in *bhāgikāḥ*. I follow Shamastry in dividing it into two parts for convenience's sake; it would really be better to take the last two words as a separate sentence too.

² For *vāpa* "sowing", "area sown", cf. *Ind. Ant.*, xv, p. 340, l. 46, where a field is described as *erihidvipīṭhakaevāpa* "having an area which requires two pīṭhakas of seed to sow it with".

reason for letting it out, nor can lack of seed be in question ; for if the king has no seed, *a fortiori* the *ardhasītika* will not have any. As a possible alternative which avoids these difficulties and does not introduce any greater ones of its own, I should like to insert *vā* after *vāṣṭāṭiriktam* and take the sentence as meaning that alternatively the land should be let out to cultivators who pay half the produce as rent on the *vāṣṭāṭirikta* system, explaining that as the system under which an amount equal to the seed sown is deducted from the gross produce of the field and handed over to the tenant, the balance being then divided between the king and the tenant. Such a deduction would not be made in the case of the one-sixth share payable as land revenue and is therefore due for mention here.

To assess the value, if any, of this conjecture, a clear understanding is needed of the position of the *ardhasītika* and of the conditions of his tenure, which can be obtained by reference to existing forms of tenancy in Bihar. Two classes of tenant of distinctly different status hold land on produce rent, as it is called, that is, paying a share of the produce (or an equivalent in cash of the share at the market price of the day) as rent instead of paying a fixed cash rent. Both are regarded as tenants by the law, not as labourers, which distinguishes the system from the Italian *mezzadria*. In both cases the landlord supplies only the land and the tenant finds the seed, ploughs, cattle, and other requisites of cultivation. The first class, which is a survival from the days before fixed cash rents were the rule, is limited to the districts of Patna, Gaya and part of South Monghyr.¹ There it is or was till recently the rule that paddy land is held by the

¹ A description of it, which has been much criticized of late years by one school of officers as idealized, will be found in G. A. Grierson, *Notes on the District of Gaya*, Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Calcutta, 1893. The latest and most authoritative study from the economic point of view is in E. L. Tanner, *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Gaya*, Patna, 1919; for further details see the similar reports on Patna and South Monghyr.

ordinary raiyat (cultivating tenant) on condition of paying a portion of the produce, usually a half, as rent; if the share is actually divided out on the threshing floor, the tenure is known as *baṭāī* or *aghor baṭāī*, and if it is settled by appraisement before reaping, then as *dānābandī* or *bhāolī*, the latter term being also used to describe the system as a whole. Other lands are held on cash rents. The reason for the survival of this tenure is the necessity for a complicated irrigation system in this area if the cultivation of paddy is to be successful in ordinary years, and it is held that the landlords have an inducement to keep up the system because their income is dependent on the size of the crops. The rights of the cultivators in these paddy lands are in no way different from those of the settled or occupancy raiyats (to use the legal terms) holding on cash rents, except that in the case of those holding by *bhāolī* the crops may not be reaped till appraised and that in the case of those holding by *baṭāī* the crops must be reaped and threshed only in the presence of the landlord's representative and must be stored pending division on the landlord's threshing floor. The tenure is probably closely parallel to that of the ordinary cultivator under the conditions prevailing in Kautilya's day, substituting the king for the landlord, but has a special interest with reference to the conjectured interpretation of *vāpātirikta*. For when the division is being made or the landlord's share is being worked out after appraisement, the tenant is allowed so much of the gross produce to cover costs of cultivation, usually 5 per cent., the equivalent of the seed roughly, this being possibly the historical origin of the allowance.

The other class, which corresponds exactly to the *ardhasītika*, is to be met in small numbers everywhere in Bihar. As a general rule they have a small holding of their own but have to eke out their living by labour, and they are thus halfway between the ordinary cultivator and the landless labourer. In addition to their own small holding, if any, they

cultivate on *baṭāi* either the landlord's own lands or the lands of a big raiyat. Public opinion among landlords and tenants alike regards them as tenants at will, and there are still traces of a feeling that the *baṭāidār* has a special relationship amounting almost to service towards his landlord. But modern conditions have made him a much freer individual than Kauṭilya's *ardhasūtika*, whose wife is reckoned among the household servants (*K.A.*, iii, 13, 15) and whose widow shares with the *gopāla*'s widow the unenviable distinction of being responsible for her husband's debts (*K.A.*, iii, 11, 28). In the case of the *gopāla* this is clearly to be explained by the terms on which he looks after his master's cattle, and it may be presumed that an *ardhasūtika*'s debts would be only for goods entrusted to him by his landlord.

Taking sentence 20 in parts, the first is usually understood to mean that alternatively the land may be let out to those who live by their own labour, who are to receive a fourth or fifth part of the crop for their labour. The contract, on the face of it, is improbable not merely because of the smallness of the share received by the labourer but still more because a labour contract of this description, in which the labourer has to be lent seed and the means of cultivation, is not suited to Indian conditions; and I also fail to see how it can be extracted from the Sanskrit. *Caturthapañcabhāgika* ought to mean "paying a fourth or fifth share of the produce as rent",¹ in which case *svavīryopajivin* cannot mean "one who lives by his own labour", even granting that *vīrya* could possibly mean "labour"; for a labourer would not get better terms than an *ardhasūtika*. Why too should such a clumsy periphrasis be used for "labourer"? A parallel expression occurs in *Manu*, vii, 138, *kārukāṇ chilpinaś caiva śūdrāṇś cātmopajīvināḥ*, i.e. Śūdras who are not dependent on others for their living, but have some independent means of livelihood, such as a trade or art, and in *Gautama*, x, 31-2, *śilpino māsi māsy ekaikam karma kuryuḥ | etenātmopajīvino*

¹ Cf. *aṭhabhāgiya* in the Aśoka edicts.

vyākhyātāḥ. This suggests that, taking *vīrya* in its natural sense of "valour", "manly vigour", the expression refers to those who live by the exploitation of their martial qualities, such as soldiers, policemen, peons, etc., whom it is a regular custom in India to provide with land on favourable terms. It is, in fact, almost equivalent to Bāṇa's *śastropajīvin*, "one who lives by the profession of arms."

The next part is translated by Shamasastri, "Or they may pay to the king as much as they can without entailing any hardship on themselves," and by J. J. Meyer, "Sind sie nicht zu Rande gekommen, so mögen sie nach Wunsch einen Anteil geben." Both seem to me improbable; Kauṭilya has too practical a mind to suggest an arrangement which must lead to endless trouble, and probably to riots, at the time of harvest. *Avasita bhāga* is "a determined share", i.e. the shares set out above, a fourth or a fifth; surely, therefore, *anavasita bhāga* means a share other than those determined above, so that the translation should run, "They may pay a share other than those set out in the previous sentence, as may be agreed on," giving, as so often in the *Arthasāstra*, elasticity to hard and fast rules. *Anyatra kṛcchrebhyaḥ* can hardly refer to cases of natural disasters such as floods or famines, seeing that the rent is not an unalterable sum in cash or grain but a proportion of the produce and therefore nil in such circumstances. Presumably *kṛcchrebhyaḥ* refers to cases where the king's stocks of grain are deficient (v, 2, 1), and the two words accordingly lay down that in such cases the crown land should not be let out on such favourable terms but should be cultivated direct as being the more profitable method.

Sentences 21 to 24 deal with irrigation dues for the use of water from the king's embankments, the share of the crop payable being fixed according to the efficiency of the irrigation arrangements and consequently to the amount of water used. *Hastaprāvartima* refers presumably to irrigation by swing basket and the like (Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*,

Calcutta, 1885, § 949), *skandhaprāvartima* to the lever known ordinarily as a *laṭṭhā* (ib., § 928 ff.) and *srotayantraprāvartima* may be flush irrigation from rivers (ib., § 918). The next sentence runs, *karmodakapramāṇena kedāraṁ haimanaṁ graṣṁikam vā sasyaṁ sthāpayet*, in which *kedāraṁ* as an adjective in conjunction with the other two and meaning "rains crop" seems to me highly improbable, as well as requiring another *vā* after *haimanaṁ*. Ganapati Sastri hardly gets over this difficulty by reading *kaidāraṁ*, which equally cannot have this meaning. To me the obvious solution seems to be to amend to *kedāre*, since *anusvāra* and *e* are regularly confused in MSS., the reference being to the considerations that should govern the selection of crops for irrigable land. *Haimana* then means the crops reaped in the winter, such as winter paddy, and *graiṣmika* the irrigated crops reaped in April and May, the latter naturally requiring much more irrigation and consequently more labour for their cultivation. I am not sure under which head sugarcane should come. It is usually planted towards the end of the cold weather, and in most parts requires much irrigation during the hot weather. In Bihar the cutting of the crop begins as a rule in January and may go on till April, but in northern and central India cutting may begin as early as November.

The rest of the chapter does not call for comment here.

2. We have surprisingly little in the *Arthaśāstra* about the land revenue levied on cultivators other than those cultivating crown lands. That the share was ordinarily one-sixth may be deduced from the mention of *ṣaḍbhāga* among the sources of revenue (ii, 15, 3). Presumably the king's share was divided on the threshing-floor so that no assessment was required; for, if there had been any system of appraisement such as was a well-established custom by Akbar's day,¹ it would surely have been mentioned as requiring special arrangements. All we have is the prescription for the maintenance of elaborate

¹ Blochmann and Jarrett, *Ain*, II, p. 44.

registers by the officials known as *gopa* (ii, 35) which are intended not merely to prevent evasion by taxpayers but also evidently as a check on the dishonesty of the collecting staff. Nothing is said about the system of collection, but the form of the registers shows that each cultivator paid direct to the officials. The efficiency of the land revenue system was so essential to the stability of a government in India and the collection of revenue in kind on a large scale presents such difficult problems to the administrator, as may be seen from Sir George Grierson's and Mr. Tanner's works referred to above,¹ that one can only suppose that this side of administration had little interest for the writer.

3. In Book V, ch. 2, we have what may be called an *āpaddharma*, the special measures for replenishing the king's treasury when its emptiness is causing him difficulties, some points in which deserve notice. These special levies are not to be exacted as a regular measure, but only once. The first measure is confiscation of part of the stocks of grain (*dhānyasyāmsam*) in the possession of cultivators and compulsory purchase of the rest, so far as not required for food or seed. At least it seems to me that, if the reference was to taking one-third or one-fourth of a crop as land revenue instead of the usual one-sixth, we should have had *bhāga* here and not *amsa*. This suggests that in sentences 13 to 15, *apahārin* is to be understood as meaning "withholding" and not "stealing", and that the penalties accordingly are graded with respect to the gravity of the opposition to the king's authority—least when only one person is concerned, more if several persons of the same community combine, and heaviest in case of general opposition. The immunity of Brahmins from this measure does not prove any exceptional consideration for them on the author's part; high-caste

¹ P. 92, n. 1. Those most qualified to judge believe that in practice under the produce rent system, while the landlord's demands work out at between 40 and 45 per cent. of the crop, the actual collections amount to only 25 per cent. or even less on an average.

tenants still expect and often get special treatment,¹ so that, like Kautilya, the modern landlord prefers a village which is *śūdrakarṣakaprāya* (ii, 1, 2). Alternatively, if the stocks are not confiscated the revenue officers must make great efforts to have the area of land under cultivation increased and to see that it is properly cultivated (sentences 8-10). This represents an important stage in the aggrandizement of the king's position. According to the old theory, the king did not exist *jure divino* but was merely set up to protect the people against external foes and internal disturbers of society, and he was given a share of the crop so that he might carry out this function efficiently; traces of the way in which this contractual theory worked in practice are still to be found in out-of-the-way parts of India.² Here we are at the point that, in addition to the liability to lose newly settled land if he did not cultivate it (ii, 1, 12), the cultivator must in cases of urgent political necessity, though not as a general rule, cultivate as much land as possible, not for himself, but in order to help the king out of his difficulties. Ultimately it becomes an accepted principle that it is the cultivator's duty at all times to cultivate as much land as possible in order that the king may profit by the consequent increase of revenue, instead of its being his right to hold the land subject to the payment of taxes to do as he likes with.³

¹ For an instance see Grierson's *Notes on the District of Gaya*, pp. 75-6.

² Thus in the *Final Report on the Survey and Settlement Operations in the District of Ranchi* (Bengal Secretariat Book Depôt, Calcutta, 1912), p. 79, § 188, Mr. Reid, speaking of the khuntkhatti tenures of the Mundas, says, "The rents payable by the owners of the intact khuntkhatti villages really represent the small tribute which the Mundas or their descendants agreed to pay as a subsidy for the support of their feudal chief."

³ Cf. W. H. Moreland, *India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 97. Naturally no coherent theory of the various rights of property in land could grow up in such soil. The growth of the king's position seems to me also illustrated by the difference in wording between *Manu*, viii, 39 (on treasure trove) *ardhabhāg rakṣaṇād rājā bhūmer adhipatir hi saḥ*, i.e. "overlord of the soil" as its guardian, and the couplet quoted by the commentator on *K. A.*, ii, 24, which is evidently much later in date, *rājā bhūmeḥ patir dṛṣṭaḥ śāstrajñair udakasya ca*, though even in this *patī* is not the same as "owner" and leaves room for other rights in land and water.

Sentences 8 and 9 run as follows :—

8. *tasyākarane vā samāhartṛpuruṣā grīṣme karṣakāṇām udvāpaṁ kārayeyuh |*

9. *pramādāvaskannasyātyayaṁ* (var. *pramādāpannasyā°*) *dviguṇam udāharanto bījakāle bījalekhyam kuryuh |*

What does *udvāpa* mean here ? Sowing is not done in the hot weather but with the first onset of the rains, and anyway *bījakāle* must mean “ at the time of sowing ”, not “ at the time of germination of the seed ”, so that *udvāpa* cannot mean “ sowing ”. It is in fact not recorded in this sense at all, its essential meaning being “ throwing out ” or “ subtraction ”. The moment any showers fall in the hot weather, particularly in what is known as the *choṭā barsāt*, the “ little rains ” that precede the monsoon, usually by a fortnight or so, work starts on preparing the land so as to be ready to sow when the rains arrive. *Udvāpa* surely therefore means “ clearing the land ”, “ preparing it ”, possibly even “ clearing fresh land ”, deriving from the meaning “ excavate ” of *udvap*. Sentence 9 has been correctly translated by Dr. Meyer, and need not be dealt with here.

4. Two main classes of arable land are known to Kauṭilya, *kedāra* and *sthala*, a division which is identical with the primary classification of land which revenue officers make in Bihar to-day. *Kedāra* is the wet land growing mainly paddy, with often a catch crop sown before the paddy is reaped and with an occasional variation of sugarcane. It is low land divided into very small plots, each carefully levelled and surrounded by a small bank so as to retain water and keep it at the same depth throughout ; these plots are known now by the name *kiyār* or *kiyārī*.¹ This land may or may not be irrigated. *Sthala* is the upper dry land growing rains and winter crops, usually known in Bihar as *rabi* land, because it grows *rabi* (winter) crops. Irrigation does not

¹ Grierson, *Bihar Peasant Life*, § 62, records *kiyārī* as used for “ beds formed in a field for irrigation ”, but gives a nearly similar use to the above, which was familiar to me in practice, in *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 53.

seem to have been practised on *sthala*. The kinds of land irrigated are described in ii, 6, 5, *puṣpaphalavāṭaśaṇḍake-dāramūlavāpāḥ setuḥ*, the revenue from these sources being presumably the crop shares mentioned in ii, 24, 21 ff.; that is, irrigation was confined to *kedāra* land, to orchards and to the special crops growing in the different sorts of enclosures. *Vāṭa* has its modern equivalent in Bihar in *bārī* land, that is, land close to the homestead, highly manured, generally enclosed, and often irrigated, which is used for growing vegetables and special crops (e.g. nowadays tobacco). But *mūlavāpa* has not been satisfactorily explained by the translators.¹ Probably, as the *Amarakośa* gives *āvāpa* = *ālavāla*, the reading should be °*mūlavāpāḥ* equivalent to °*mūlālavālāḥ*. What is evidently the same word occurs again in iii, 9, 41, °*śaṇḍavapānām*, and in vii, 14, 37, *setuvapeṣu*; the meaning *ālavāla* would do in all three cases. The only parallel use I can discover is in a ninth century inscription at Gwalior (*Ep. Ind.*, i, p. 159), where a field is described as situated *vyāghrakenḍīkābhīdhāne hāramūlavāpe*, of which the last two letters are unfortunately not quite certain. *Hāra* is taken here to be the same as Hindi *hār*, "pasturage" or "land in the immediate vicinity of a village", but the passage does not determine the exact sense of *mūlavāpa*. The area of the two fields granted is described as *yayor ggopagiriyaṁāpyenāvāpo yavānām droṇā ekādaśa*, in which *āvāpa* is used in the same sense as *vāpa*, in the passage quoted on p. 91, n. 2. *Vāpa* is used in *Ep. Ind.*, xiv, p. 303 (translation p. 310) in a sense that seems to me doubtful and to be of no help here.

The sources of irrigation include two kinds of tank known as *saras* and *taṭāka*, in addition to wells, pits (iii, 9, 41), and inundation canals from rivers. It appears from iii, 9, 31, and 32, that there might be more than one *taṭāka* on the same

¹ It certainly does not, as has been suggested, include sugarcane, which is propagated by cuttings, not by planting roots, and which in any case is already included under the head *kedāra*.

slope, one above the other. I infer therefore that a *taṭāka* is what is now known in Bihar as an *āhar*,¹ a reservoir formed by throwing an embankment across a slope with smaller wing embankments; where the slope is slight, a considerable area will be flooded by an *āhar* during the rains, so that this fits in exactly with the provisions in these two sentences to guard against the flooding of land already irrigated by an existing *taṭāka* by the formation of a new one below it and against the cutting off of the supply of water of a *taṭāka* by making a new one above it. It must be admitted, however, that the Hindi derivative, *tālāo*, is never used for *āhar*, so far as I know. If *taṭāka* means an *āhar*, *saras* must refer to an irrigation tank formed by damming up a valley or stream.

5. It is an interesting speculation whether the part of India in which the *Arthasāstra* originated can be determined. Book II does not quote from other works and reads much more like the notes of an official with all-round experience than summaries from other works. It appears to be based on practical knowledge, and the same practical vein runs through the handling of legal and other questions in the three following books. If this view is correct, there ought to be sufficient indications in these books to show in which part of India the author obtained his experience. So far as agriculture goes, the accounts fit in admirably with conditions in south Bihar,² not so well with north Bihar, and not at all with Bengal or north-western India. The description would probably also cover a good deal of central India. From the suggestions as to the size of villages and the distances between them (ii, 1, 2) he seems to have lived in a fairly populous part, and the repeated mention of forest tribes suggests possibly south Bihar, but more probably central India. The preference for trade routes to the south is also noticeable (vii, 12, 30 ff.).

¹ For an admirable description of these embankments, see Grierson, *Notes on the District of Gaya*, p. 54.

² Provided my explanation of *taṭāka* is accepted; otherwise the author's ignorance of the *āhar* system would seem to imply ignorance of the conditions of Magadha, as the *āhar* can hardly be a recent invention.

While I incline to central India, someone with a wider knowledge of the country than mine may be able to draw a definite conclusion.

6. Though it is not germane to the points discussed above, I should like to add a note on the meaning of the word *vaidehaka*. To my mind he has his exact analogue in the *bepārī*¹ of Bihar to-day. Though this word is used in a general sense of any small trader, it denotes particularly a man whose capital consists of a bullock-cart or a pack animal or two and a few rupees cash or credit with a wholesale dealer in a market town. He wanders about the countryside, sometimes buying small lots of grain or other agricultural produce in the villages at harvest time and selling them to the wholesale dealers, at others taking salt, cloth, or other goods from a wholesale dealer and retailing them in the villages or at markets. Like so many other remains of old India, he is disappearing under modern conditions, but his insignificance and his wandering life made him the ideal disguise for a spy who wished to go round the villages without attracting attention.

¹ The dictionaries recognize various forms, Forbes *baipārī*, *byopārī*, and *beopārī*, Fallon *byopārī* and *baipārī*, and Ram Lal *byaupārī*; it is also confused with formations from Sanskrit *vyavahāra*. I give it here in the form familiar to me in practice.

October, 1928.

A Prose Version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha Legend, ascribed to Pīr-i Anṣār of Harāt

By REUBEN LEVY

IN Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts* in the India Office Library, there is an entry (No. 1778) describing a prose work entitled *Anīsu 'l-Murīdīn wa Shamsu 'l-Majālis*, which is ascribed in the introduction and colophon to Shaykh 'Abdullāh Anṣārī of Harāt. Ethé, obviously assuming the genuineness of this ascription, states in Geiger und Kuhn's *Grundriss* (vol. ii, p. 282) that the work is the oldest prose version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha story, and on this assertion of Ethé's a recent number of *Islamica* (vol. iii, April, 1927, p. 10) contained a plea from Berthels for fuller information about the work. At the suggestion of Professor Nicholson I undertook the examination of the MS., which the India Office authorities kindly placed at my disposal in the University Library at Cambridge.

The MS., which appears to be the only one extant of the work, is late, having been written in the year 1013-1605 at Burhānpūr. Almost from the first page doubt arises on its authenticity. After the usual *ḥamdullāh* and blessings on the Prophet and his kin, the MS. continues on folio 1b:—

حمد و سپاس مَرِّ صانعی را که بلبَلِ خوش نوای بلاغت
فاتحه اخلاصِ شکر نعماء او بر زبان میراند و طوطی
شکرخای مدحت خطبه دیوانِ عظمت و کبریای او
میخواند الح

This is very reminiscent of the flowery style of Persian associated with later writers, such as Waṣṣāf or Jāmī, and it

can be closely paralleled in introductions and colophons of Persian works lithographed in India.

There follows an account—beginning in Arabic and continuing in Persian—of how the author came to undertake the work. Certain friends of his, anxious to acquaint themselves with his views, aphorisms, good counsel, and message of truth, but finding his ordinary works beyond their understanding, approached him with the request that he would compose them some work in Persian that would be within the compass of their comprehension. In accordance, therefore, with the divine behest which bids a man speak to his fellows according to their intellectual capacity, he wrote the present book. It is worthy of remark that *Hājji Khaliḡa* (Fluegel's edition, vol. vi, p. 189), in speaking of another work of Anṣārī's—the *Manāzil* 'l-Sā'irīn—quotes a passage from it which gives a similar reason for composing *that* work. In this section of the MS. the author is called :—

الشيخ الامام المحقق والخبر المدقق سالك المسالك
هادي الخلاق عن طريق المهالك الواصل الى جوار رحمة
الله وى شيخ الاسلام عبد الله انصارى رضى الله عنه ،

“The Shaykh, the truth-demonstrating Imam and subtle doctor; guide of mankind on the road through destroying perils; he that has achieved the approach to God's mercy, that is to say the Shaykhu 'l-Islām, 'Abdullāh Anṣārī; may God grant him favour.”

Pir-i Anṣār could no more have written that than Moses the account of his own death and burial in the last chapter of Deuteronomy. It is doubtless possible that the introductory matter in the MS. is an addition by a later hand, but there appears to be neither a break in the continuity of the text nor any change in the style.

There is more definite proof against Pir-i Anṣār's authorship

of the work in folio 6a and the following section, where, after explaining the motives for the revelation of the Sūra of Joseph (Sūra xii), the writer quotes a number of mystical authorities who attest the pregnant character and inward significance of the Sūra. Amongst these authorities is the Imām Ghazālī. He was not born until 450/1058, and would have been about 30 years old, therefore, when Pir-i Anṣār died. It is a matter for doubt whether Ghazālī had by that time achieved fame enough to entitle him to a place alongside such giants as Maṣnūr-i Ḥallāj and Sahl ibn 'Abdullāh Tustarī, though it is possible. Doubt of the spurious character of the work is, however, set entirely at rest when (on f. 14a) we find 'Aṭṭār quoted. The only possible Sufi authority of that title is Farīdu 'l-Dīn, who was not born until 513/1119; that is, thirty years or more after the death of Anṣārī, which took place in A.D. 1088.

Certain negative evidence goes to support the conclusion that the work in our MS. is not that of Anṣārī. None of the biographers and bibliographers who notice him has any mention of the *Anīsu 'l-Murīdīn*.¹ Hājji Khalīfa, in fact (Fluegel's edition, No. 1339), would seem to be the first authority to mention the work contained in our MS., which he calls the *Unsu 'l-Murīdīn* of Khwāja 'Abdullāh al-Anṣārī of Harāt. Unfortunately he fails to give the year of the writer's death, and thus adds to the difficulty of identifying the author of the work. It may, incidentally, be pointed out that Hājji Khalīfa might easily have seen a copy of the MS. with which we are dealing, for it was written in A.D. 1605, and he did not die until A.D. 1658.

One last piece of internal evidence may be added to strengthen the case against Pir-i Anṣār's authorship. In the

¹ E.g. Al-Dhahabī, *Ta'rikhu 'l-Islām* (Brit. Mus. MS. Or. 50, ff. 176a-178a); Al-Safadī, *Al-Wāfi bi'l-Wafayāt* (Brit. Mus. MS. Add. 23,358, f. 141b); Jāmi, *Nafahātu 'l-Uns* (ed. Nassau Lees, p. 376); Riżā Qulī Khān, *Riyāzu 'l-Ārifīn*. A more or less complete list of authorities is given in the notes to Mirzā Muḥammad Khān Qazwīnī's edition of the *Chahār Maqāla* (pp. 255-8).

poetical works commonly attributed to him he uses for his *takhallus* the names "Pīr-i Anṣār", "Pīr-i Harāt", or "Pīr-i Harī", whereas in the one long poem given in our MS.—a series of *mathnawiyāt*—the author's *takhallus* appears as "‘Abdullāh". Though the fact is not conclusive in itself, it affects the cumulative weight of the evidence. In the MS. itself there would appear to be no positive clue to the author, and the work may still be the earliest prose version of the Yūsuf and Zulaikha story, but its value for Sufi studies cannot be as great as it would have been if it had come from the hand of Anṣārī of Harāt.

Two Aramaic Ostraka

By A. COWLEY

(PLATES III-V)

A.

THIS was given some years ago to the University Library at Cambridge by Sir Herbert Thompson, who bought it with other objects from a dealer in London. I have to thank the Librarian for his kind permission to publish it.

From the character of the writing, as well as from the contents, it is clear that it comes from Syene (Assuan), and its date is no doubt 450-400 B.C. It was broken into at least three pieces, which when joined together present a practically complete text. It begins on the concave side, where the writing is very distinct. The continuation, on the convex, is more roughly written, owing to the irregularity of the surface, and is moreover a good deal faded, so that it is only by repeated efforts that I have succeeded in making out most of it. For the photographs (of both ostraka) I am indebted to the skill and patience of Mr. J. F. Phelps of the Clarendon Press (see Plates III-V).

The document is a letter dealing, as usual, with domestic details, the nature of which is not entirely clear. It was sent by X (not named) from a place not named, to his mother at Syene. NPN' has gone to Syene to sell sheep for SHMRY. X asks his mother to help N, who will in return help X. N had promised X that if he went to his (N's) house, they (his servants) would give Hannah a goat for him (X). The servants now refuse to do this, and instead send in a bill for bread and wheat. N even asks her what she wants. The implication seems to be that by showing kindness to N he may be brought to a better mind.

The text is as follows :—

Concave

- | | |
|------------------------|---|
| אל אמי קויליה ברכנה | 1 |
| שלחת לכי כענת הלו הוה | 2 |
| קג | |
| נפנא רעיא זי סחמרי בעל | 3 |
| טבתכם אתה סוק עם קנא | 4 |
| לזבנה אזלי קומי | 5 |
| עמה בסוק יומא | 6 |
| זנה הן תעבדן | 7 |

Convex

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----|
| טב(ה) בסוק יעבד לי | 8 |
| בן הלו גור לי למ אול | 9 |
| לביזתי וינתנו לחנה ענז עד | 10 |
| תמטאנד כען חזרו ו . . . | 11 |
| למעבד לה הלו מנין המו | 12 |
| אף לחם אף קמח דו | 13 |
| . . . ה ושאלהו | 14 |
| לם מה תבעי | 15 |

TRANSLATION

Concave

1. To my mother Kovelias : a blessing
2. I send to you. Now, behold,
3. NPN', who tends the sheep of SHMRY, was
4. A friend of you (both). He has come to Syene with the sheep
5. to sell. Go and stand
6. by him in Syene this
7. day. If you treat (him)

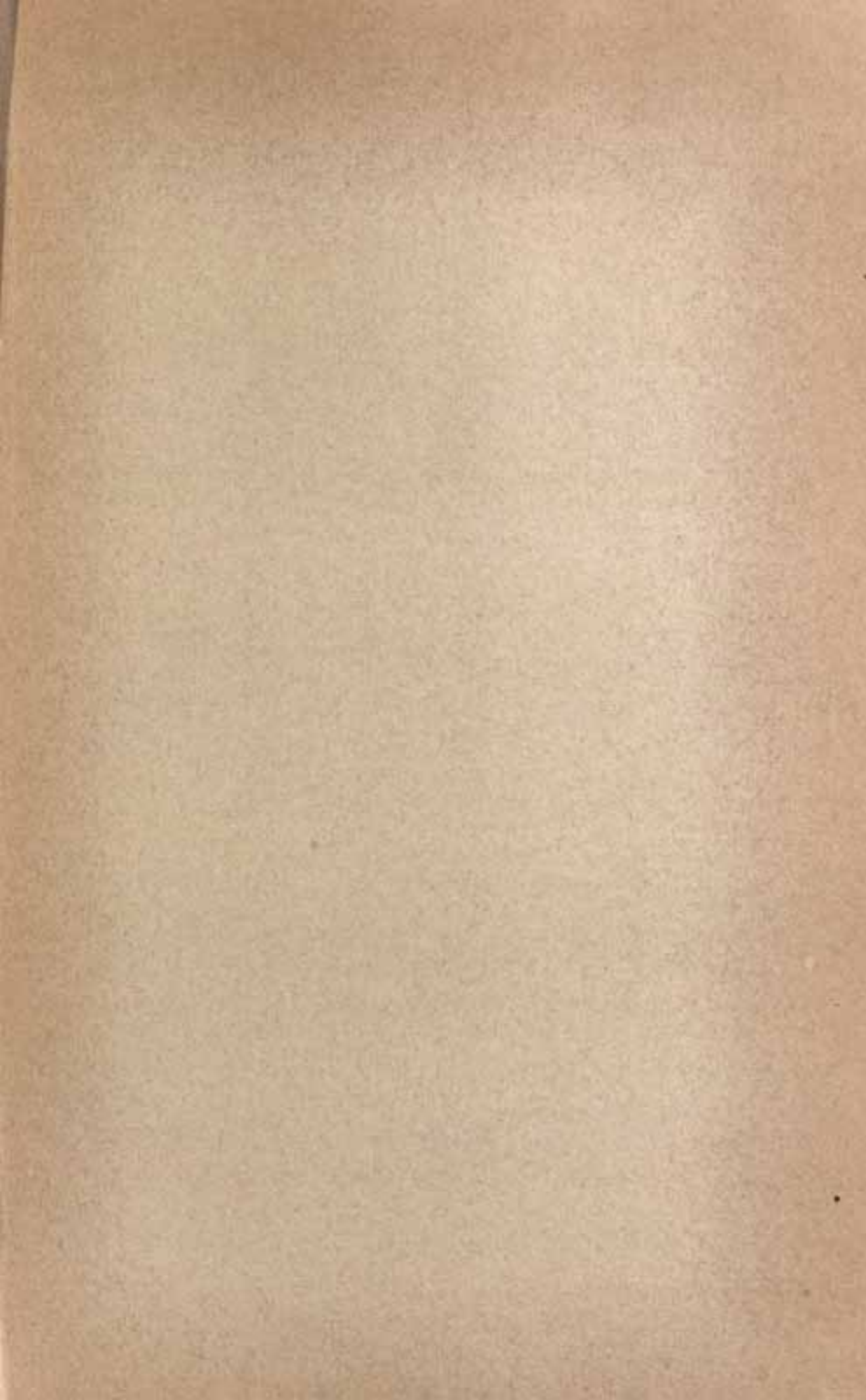
Convex

8. well in Syene, he will treat me
9. so. Behold, he promised me saying " Go
10. to my house and they shall give to Hannah (?) a goat till
11. she come to you ". Now they have turned round [and refuse]

COINAGE.



Aramaic Ostraka. A.



CONVEX.



Aramaic Ostraka, A.

12. to do (this) for her. Behold, they count
13. even bread and wheat. He
14. has . . . and has asked her
15. saying "What do you want?"

NOTES

l. 1. The restorations are certain. The name seems to be new. It is no doubt Jewish.

l. 2. The last word was bent round to fit the space and hence the tail of the ך is sloping.

l. 3. The writer first wrote 'נפנא רעיא זי ס' "N. the shepherd of S." Then he was dissatisfied with the phrase and added קנ above the line, meaning it to be read 'נ' רעי קנא זי ס', but he wrote קנ a little too far to the left.

נפנא. The נ here, as in רעיא, is strangely formed, but must be so read. The name looks like Egyptian.

קנ here and in l. 4 would naturally be taken to mean "birds" (especially for sacrifice) as commonly in later Hebrew. This however is unsuitable with רעי. In the Aramaic papyri (ed. Cowley, 1923), No. 33, 10, note, it was suggested that קנ = ען = עאן = צאן, since it is there associated with עני (as here in l. 10). This is confirmed by the present passage. The equation קנ = צאן, however, requires further consideration. It may be from a different stem; cf. the use of מקנה in Hebrew.

סחמרי evidently an Egyptian name, as probably that of his shepherd was (but cf. Gen. xlv, 34). If it is Sekhemre, it ought to end in ע, as Professor Griffith points out. They were willing to do business with the Jewess, although their sheep might have been used for sacrifice.

l. 4. בעל טבתכם; cf. Aram. Pap. 30, 23, 24. The plural suffix makes it unlikely that this is in apposition to SHMRY, as it were "a friend of your family". Writing to his mother he would have said "a friend of our family". It is probably predicative, "N. was a friend of S. and you."

אתה with simple accus. loci quo itur, as in Aram. Pap. 15, 3.

l. 5. לִיכְנֶה as in Aram. Pap. 9, 6, with no object expressed. אִילִי correctly, fem. imperative.

קומי, not קדמי, nor קמי "before me", which is not found in Aram. Pap. or B.A. It is קמי, fem. imperative, and קומי עמה may be compared with קמו כבִּלְדֵּם in Aram. Pap. 38, 6. "Stand with him" means "help him" to sell the sheep well. For the two verbs without connective particle cf. Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 103, עבֵק עבֵדְדִי.

l. 7. תעבֵדן with ך energeticum, after דן, as Aram. Pap. Aḥikar 82, where see note.

l. 8. [ט]בה. The traces remaining make בה certain.

יעבר. The ד is badly made, but nothing else seems possible. For the phrase cf. Aram. Pap. 38, 8.

l. 9. [כ]ן. The ן is doubtful, but cf. the second ן in ינתנו, l. 10. There ought to be a trace of the tail of כ.

גיר. The ן is very faint, and the י might be a ד. The meaning "promised" is rather forced.

l. 10. [ל]בי[ת]י. There are perhaps traces of בי and possibly room for ל, or perhaps איל is used with a simple accusative.

וּנְתַנּוּ the jussive form, correctly.

לחנה is very uncertain. I at first read it לבי, which however would not fit in with the rest of the text. In one of the photographs a very faint trace of what may be a ה appears above the line, the tail of ן is perhaps visible, and the כ looks more like a ח. This agrees with תמטאנך in l. 11. Hannah must be some dependent of the writer. It can hardly have anything to do with לחנה and להנת in Aram. Pap. or B.A.

עני עד, not עני זער. The ז is always slanting, and the last letter is ד which is smaller than ר. The ך is equivalent to our indefinite article, as in Aram. Pap.

l. 11. תמטאנך is fairly certain, though the ט is partly effaced and looks like a ן. "Till she come to you" I suppose means "in order that she may bring it to you".

חזר. Only the ח is certain, and ז is probable. It

אתה with simple accus. loci quo itur, as in Aram. Pap. 15, 3.

l. 5. ליבנה as in Aram. Pap. 9, 6, with no object expressed. אזלי correctly, fem. imperative.

קומי, not קדמי, nor קימי "before me", which is not found in Aram. Pap. or B.A. It is קימי, fem. imperative, and קומי עמה may be compared with קמו קבלהם in Aram. Pap. 38, 6. "Stand with him" means "help him" to sell the sheep well. For the two verbs without connective particle cf. Aram. Pap. Ahikar 103, עבך עברדי.

l. 7. תעבדן with ך energicum, after דן, as Aram. Pap. Ahikar 82, where see note.

l. 8. [ט]בה. The traces remaining make בה certain.

יעבד. The ד is badly made, but nothing else seems possible. For the phrase cf. Aram. Pap. 38, 8.

l. 9. [בן]. The ן is doubtful, but cf. the second ן in ינתנו, l. 10. There ought to be a trace of the tail of ב.

גזר. The ן is very faint, and the ז might be a ד. The meaning "promised" is rather forced.

l. 10. [לכי]תי. There are perhaps traces of כי and possibly room for ל, or perhaps אזל is used with a simple accusative.

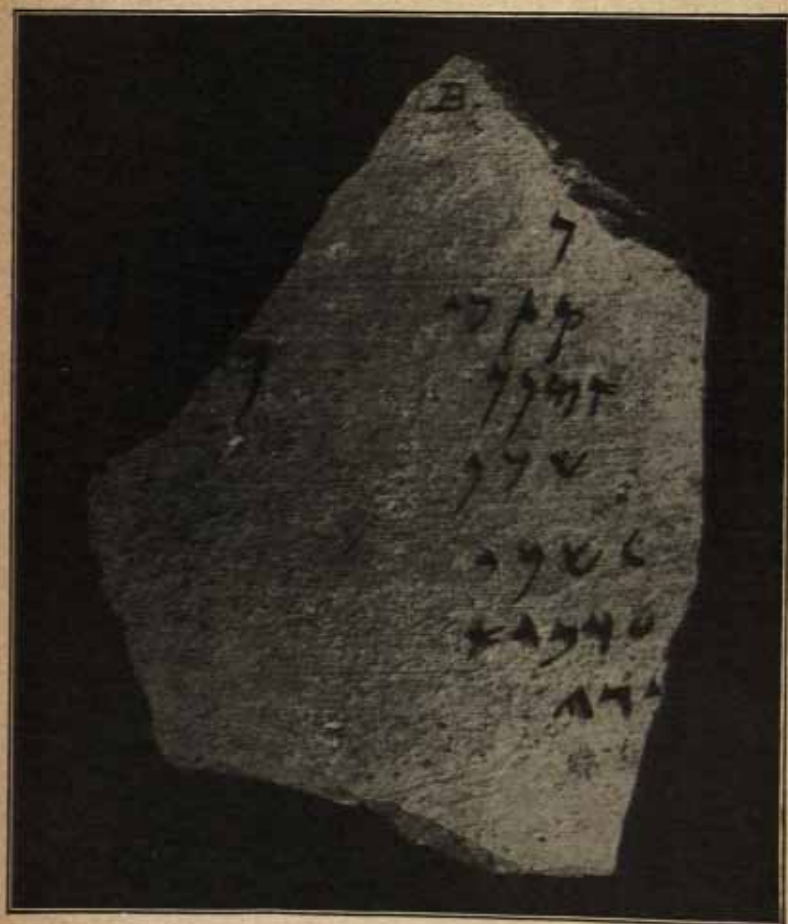
וניתנו the jussive form, correctly.

לחנה is very uncertain. I at first read it לכי, which however would not fit in with the rest of the text. In one of the photographs a very faint trace of what may be a ה appears above the line, the tail of ן is perhaps visible, and the כ looks more like a ה. This agrees with תמטאנך in l. 11. Hannah must be some dependent of the writer. It can hardly have anything to do with לחנא and לחנת in Aram. Pap. or B.A.

עני זער, not עני עד. The ז is always slanting, and the last letter is ד which is smaller than ר. The ל is equivalent to our indefinite article, as in Aram. Pap.

l. 11. תמטאנך is fairly certain, though the ט is partly effaced and looks like a נ. "Till she come to you" I suppose means "in order that she may bring it to you".

חזר. Only the ח is certain, and ז is probable. It



Aramaic Ostraka. B.

looks as if we should read *חזרוני*, but a connective particle is wanted with the next word (a verb ?) which I cannot read. The meaning seems to be "they turned round and refused to do it", i.e. to give the goat.

l. 12. *למעבר לה* "to do (it) for (him or) her", probably for Hannah.

מנין is probable, though the *מ* is rather like a *ב*. "Reckoning" as part of a debt apparently.

l. 14. *ה . . .* I cannot guess this word.

l. 15. *לם* seems the most likely reading. There is scarcely room for *לכל*. But it is a strange ending to a letter.

B.

This was found by Sir Flinders Petrie in the course of his excavations at Beth-pelet (Josh. xv, 27 ; Neh. xi, 26) in the south of Judah. He very kindly sent it to me for examination, and allowed me to publish it.

The writing is on one side only, and is unfortunately very much faded. In order to make a legible plate I have inked over the letters in the photograph.

The text seems to be a fragment of accounts, or a report of expenses to a superior. There are traces of a second column, but it probably only contained isolated entries. The language is Aramaic, but the character of the writing differs from that used at Syene and Elephantine, and is evidently influenced by the "Phoenician" style. The date may be guessed at about 200 B.C.

The text is as follows :—

	ך	1
	נפ[קת בית	2	Expenses of the house of
ב	אמנכ	3	AMNK (<i>or thy workman</i>)
	שבניה	4	Shebaniah the sum of . . .
	לשבי	5	to Shebi
	ערביא	6	the Arab
	בזידה	7	in his hand

1. 1. Only one letter remains.
1. 2. נפ[קת] as in Aram. Pap. 73, 7, 14.
- [ת] ב[ת]. There is a faint trace of a possible ת.
1. 3. אמנך or possibly אמנכי. This may be "thy workman", if the document is a report of expenses. Or is it a name? In the other column כ is no doubt for כסף.
1. 4. שבנ[יד]. There are traces of יד (?), but the ב is not quite certain. If אמנך is a name, we should read [ו]שבנ[יד] here.
1. 5. A new entry after a wider space.
1. 7. ב[ידה] as in Aram. Pap. 81, 32-8, of money or goods held by a person.

Two Notes on the Ancient Geography of India

By J. PH. VOGEL

(a) KANTAKASELA = *Καντακοσσύλα*

IN recent years explorations of great importance have been conducted on a Buddhist site in the Pālnād *taluk* of the Guntur district of the Madras Presidency, lastly under the superintendence of Mr. A. H. Longhurst, of the Archaeological Survey of India. The site in question which comprises several ancient mounds is situated in the midst of wooded hills on the right bank of the river Kistna or Kṛishnā, the Kaṇṇapennā or Kaṇṇavannā (Skt. Kṛishnavarnā) of Pali literature, at a distance of some 15 miles from Macherla and on the border of the Nizam's dominions. One of those mounds is known by the name of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa. Mr. Longhurst claims it to be the most important Buddhist site hitherto discovered in Southern India.

The discovery of several ruined *stūpas* and monasteries, of remarkable pieces of sculpture in a late Amarāvati style, and of numerous Brāhmī inscriptions fully confirms Mr. Longhurst's estimation. The inscriptions, more than thirty in number and all composed in Prakrit, refer to the same Ikkhāku (Skt. Ikshvāku) dynasty which is also mentioned in the Jaggayyapeṭa inscriptions discovered by Dr. Burgess in February, 1882. On palæographical evidence they may be assigned to the third century of our era. A paper containing transcripts and translations of these interesting records of Buddhism will shortly be published in the *Epigraphia Indica*.¹

In the present note I only wish to draw attention to one point which relates to the ancient topography of Southern

¹ A preliminary account of the discovery will be found in the *Annual Report on South-Indian Epigraphy for the year ending 31st March, 1926*, Madras, 1926, pp. 4 and 92 f., and for the year ending 31st March, 1927, Madras, 1928, pp. 71 f. Some of the statements made here regarding the contents of the inscriptions require correction in the light of more minute study. Cf. also *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology for the year 1926*, Leyden, 1928, pp. 14-16.

India. Among the Prakrit inscriptions found on the site of Nāgārjunikoṇḍa there are two of considerable length, each of which was incised on the stone floor of an apsidal shrine. One of these two inscriptions is of peculiar value for the ancient topography. It records that a *chetiya*—evidently the apsidal temple in question—with a floor of stone slabs and with a *cetiya* had been founded by an *upāsikā*, named Bodhisiri, on the Siripav[v]ata (Skt. Śrīparvata),¹ on the east side of Vijayapuri in the monastery at Culadham[m]agiri. Besides, the inscription enumerates a number of pious foundations which were due to the same donor. Now among the latter we find the following: *Kaṇṭakasele* ² *mahācetiya[s]a puv[v]-adāre selamaṇḍavo*, “at Kaṇṭakasela a stone shrine at the eastern gate of the Great Cetiya (Skt. *Caitya*).”

There can be little doubt that the locality indicated here by the name of Kaṇṭakasela must be identical with the *Καντακοσύλα ἐμπόριον* mentioned by Ptolemy (vii, 15) ³ immediately after the mouths of the Maisōlos River. It follows that this river has been rightly identified with the Kistna.

Several of the Nāgārjunikoṇḍa inscriptions refer to a Mahācetiya, the ruins of which are represented by a mound now called Ūbaguṭṭa or “Owl Mound”. In all probability this is the same *stūpa* which is mentioned in connection with Kaṇṭakasela.

As to the exact position of Kaṇṭakasela we shall have to await the further results of Mr. Longhurst's excavations. If

¹ According to Tibetan tradition Nāgārjuna spent the last part of his life in a monastery called Śrīparvata.

² The vowel-sign over the *s* has the appearance of an *o* stroke. But in these inscriptions the rendering of the vowel marks is far from accurate. Moreover, if we compare the names of other localities which occur in this passage, viz. Culadham[m]āgiri, Mahādham[m]agiri, Devagiri, Pu[p]phagiri, and Puv[v]asela, there can be little doubt that the correct form must be Kaṇṭakasela, and not *“sola*.

³ Variant readings are *Cantacasila*, *“ssilla*, *Canticosila*, and *Cantacosyla*. Cf. Louis Renou, *La géographie de Ptolémée*. L'Inde (vii, 1-4). Paris, 1925, p. 8.]

we are right in identifying it with Ptolemy's *Καντακοσσύλα*, we may be sure that this place was situated on the right bank of the Kistna and at a considerable distance up that river. Ptolemy calls it an *ἐμπόριον*, i.e. "an authorised sea-coast mart".¹ We may assume that it was an important port in the second century of our era when such a vivid trade was carried on between the Roman Empire and Southern India. This sea-borne commerce, testified by hoards of gold coins of the Roman Emperors, accounts for a thriving population of merchants at Kanṭakasela and indirectly for the existence of the great monuments which once adorned that place. For it was especially among the wealthy commercial classes that the Buddhist religion found many devotees.

(b) THE BINDUKA RIVER

In Richard Schmidt's *Nachträge zum Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung von Otto Böhtlingk*, an important lexicographical publication which has lately been brought to completion, we find on page 133 the following entry: "*Kandukābindukā* f. N. pr. eines Flusses, Festgr. 16."

I do not know which "Festgruss" is the one referred to by the author. Anyhow, the name *Kandukābindukā* is, I believe, due to an error made by Bühler in editing the two *Śāradā prasāstis* found in the temple of Śiva-Vaidyanātha at Baijnāth (the modern form of Skt. *Vaidyanātha*) or Kīragrāma in the Kāngra district of the Panjāb.²

The river-name was supposed by Bühler to occur in *Prasāsti* ii, verse 10; which he transcribed and translated as follows³ :—

śailasyāṅkāc calitrā ruciranavavayāḥ khelatīva sahelaṃ kulyā kanyeva yatra sphuradura ⁴*-laharī Kandukābindukākhyā Kīra-*

¹ E. H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*. Cambridge, 1928, p. 107.

² Cf. Cunningham, *Arch. Survey Report*, vol. v, pp. 178 ff.; plates xliii and xlv, and Fergusson, *Hist. of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, revised edition, London, 1910, vol. i, pp. 297-301.

³ *Ep. Ind.*, vol. i, pp. 97 ff.

⁴ Evidently a misprint for *-uru-*.

grāmo 'bhirāmo guṇagaṇanīlayo vartate 'dhitrigartam so 'yaṃ rājānakena prabalabhujayujā rakṣito Lakṣmaṇena. "There is in Trigarta the pleasant village of Kīragrāma, the home of numerous virtues, where that river called Kandukābindukā, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with glittering waves sportively plays, thus resembling a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth (*who jumping from the lap of the nurse gracefully sports*). That (village) is protected by the strong-armed Rājānaka Lakṣmaṇa."

Bühler's reading of the verse is unobjectionable, but the word *bindukā* must, in my opinion, be connected with the preceding and not with the following compound.¹ In other words, we ought to read the second pāda :—

kulyā kanyeva yatra sphuradurulaharīkandukā Bindukākhyā. The river is compared with a playful maiden, and the waves of that river are likened with the playing-balls which she tosses up and down. We would, therefore, propose the following rendering of the passage in question : "Where that river called Bindukā, leaping from the lap of the mountain, with sparkling wide waves resembling playing-balls merrily plays, like a bright maiden in the first bloom of youth."

It was rightly recognized by Bühler that the river so well described by the poet is the modern Binnu, on the left or east bank of which the village of Baijnāth is situated. It is one of the feeders of the Biās (ancient *Vipāśā* or *Vipāś*) which, flowing through deeply cut river-beds, have given the hill-district of Kāngrā its ancient name of Trigarta.

From the modern form "Binnu" it is evident that the ancient name of the river was "Bindu(kā)" and not Kandukābindukā. The forms Binoa and Binwa used by Moorcroft and Cunningham respectively do not agree with the local pronunciation. The Kangra District Gazetteer in its latest edition (Lahore, 1926, p. 10) has "Binnun".

¹ Cf. *Annual Report Arch. Survey of India* for the year 1905-6, pp. 17 ff., plates v and vi. The correct date of the inscriptions must be Śaka 1126, corresponding to A.D. 1204.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

A MONGOLO-TIBETAN SEAL

Capt. Forbes-Tweedie, of the 2nd North Stafford Regiment, was recently so kind as to place temporarily at my disposal the seal of which the inscription is reproduced below :—



He acquired it in Darjeeling in 1926 with the history attached to it that it had originally belonged to the Depung Monastery.

The seal itself stands exactly three inches high ; the base, on which the inscription is carved, is of metal $1\frac{5}{16}$ inch square and $\frac{5}{16}$ inch thick. The inscription is $\frac{7}{8}$ inch square. The metal portion is joined flush on to the wooden handle, which is square where it joins the base, then tapers slightly to a waist surrounded by a collar, square in section and semi-circular in profile, from which emerges a bulbous knob, trefoil-shaped in profile in one axis and roughly oval in the other, carved in low relief on the trefoil-shaped faces. A hole is pierced through the collar in the same axis as the trefoil shape and a piece of very grubby silk is tied through it.

The wooden handle is painted a dark crimson overlaid with gold scroll-work. The base is apparently of iron. The inscription is carved so skilfully that it might well be the work of a European die-sinker but there is apparently no reason to suppose it to be of other than local manufacture. Taking it as a whole there seems no reason to suppose that it

is of great antiquity, but there is no positive evidence on the subject.

The inscription is in the usual Tibetan square seal-character which is a collateral descendant with Phags-pa Mongol of the early Tibetan alphabet. This alphabet was published by the Rev. Dr. A. H. Francke in his "Note on the Dalai Lama's Seal and the Tibeto-Mongolian Character" (*JRAS.*, 1910, p. 1205) and various seals in this alphabet were published by E. H. Walsh in his two articles "Examples of Tibetan Seals" and "Examples of Tibetan Seals: Supplementary Note" (*JRAS.*, 1915, pp. 1 and 465).

There seems no doubt that the inscription is to be read as follows:—

ན མ མ
མ ར ཏ
ཆ ར ར
ན ཤ

nomchhi merg(e)n mkhan.po.

The only possibility of doubt is the first character in the second line. In Mr. Walsh's examples the sign for *e* is a horizontal line with a small downward-pointing cusp in the centre while subscript *-r* is a straight horizontal line; Dr. Francke's authorities seems to indicate that the two characters should be reversed, and certainly *e* for the straight horizontal line seems correct here.

The interest in the inscription, and, indeed, as far as I know, its uniqueness, lies in the fact that while the first two words are indubitably Mongol the third is equally indubitably Tibetan, the whole inscription meaning "The religious, wise Abbot". The seal therefore appears to be the official privy seal of the abbot of some monastery presumably in Mongolia, and therefore not the Depung Monastery.

One linguistic point is of interest. It is to be observed that, as in the Phags-pa inscriptions, the Mongol *č* is represented

by the aspirated *chh* and not the simple *ch*. This agrees with the observations of Ramstedt in Mongolian phonetics. The fact that *chh* and not *tsh* is used to represent this sound may perhaps be regarded as evidence of antiquity, since the latter pronunciation is now normal, but the spelling may be traditional.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

A NOTE ON THE MIZMĀR AND NĀY

Difficulties occasionally arise in recognizing the various musical instruments of the "wood-wind" group among the Arabs of the Middle Ages as well as to-day. For instance, the Arabic word *mizmār*, and the Persian word *nāy*, stand for any instrument of the "wood-wind" family, i.e. either term can refer to a reed-pipe (cylindrical or conical bore)¹ or a flute (lip or beak variety). These words also have a specific as well as a generic meaning since both *mizmār* and *nāy* are names given specially to the reed-pipe by the Arabs and Persians respectively. We know this on good authority.

Ibn Sinā (d. 1037) says in the *Shifā'* that the *mizmār* is an instrument "which you blow into from its end which you swallow",² in contradistinction from the instrument "which you blow into from a hole like the *yarā'* which is known as the *sur-nāy*".³ On the other hand, his pupil, Al-Ḥusain ibn Zaila (d. 1048), uses the same definition but substitutes the term *nāy* for *mizmār*.⁴ This bears out the description in the *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm* (ca. 976-7), which says that "the *nāy* is the *mizmār*" and that "the *sur-nāy* is the *ṣaffāra* and likewise the *yarā'*".⁵ Further, we have a passage dealing with

¹ Reed-pipe = a reed-blown instrument.

² The single vibrating reed of the Arabs has to be taken completely into the mouth.

³ Bodleian MS., Pocock, 109. The passage is corrupt in both the India Office (Loth, 477) and R.A.S. copies.

⁴ Brit. Mus. MS., Or, 2361, fol. 236.

⁵ *Mafātīḥ al-'ulūm*, 236. In the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico*, 216, 392, the last-named instrument is written *yarā'*.

the *mizmār* in Ibn Sinā's Arabic treatise the *Kitāb al-najāt*,¹ which is reproduced in the Persian *Dānīsh nāma*, but the instrument is here called the *nāy*.²

Yet in spite of these clear and definite statements that the *mizmār* and the *nāy* were identical, and that both were reed-pipes, we find that these names were also allotted to separate and distinct instruments representing the reed-pipe and flute respectively. Al-Fārābī (d. 950) certainly deals with the "wood-wind" under the generic term *mazāmār* (sing. *mizmār*),³ yet he discriminates between the *mizmār* and the *nāy* in the specific sense.⁴ The Iḥwān al-Ṣafā' (10th century) also consider the *mizmār* and *nāy* to be different.⁵ This latter distinction continues in several Arabic speaking lands in modern times, notably in Egypt.⁶ The result is that the term *nāy* in one country designates a flute, while in another it refers to a reed-pipe. How did this confusion arise?

Whilst the Pre-Islāmic Arabs probably used the words *mizmār* or *zamr* to denote any instrument of the "wood-wind", they appear to have known the reed-pipe and the flute under the special names of *mizmār* and *quṣṣāba* (or *qaṣaba*) respectively.⁷ Similarly, the Persians used the term *nāy* in a generic sense for a "wood wind" instrument as well as in a specific sense for a reed-pipe, whilst denoting, it would seem,⁸ the flute by the name *nāy narm* ("flute douce").⁹ Later, the two types were distinguished from each other by the genus of the reed (*naī*) from which they were made, as the

¹ Bodleian MS., Pocock, 250, fol. 168.

² Brit. Mus. MS., Add. 16659, fol. 341v.

³ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 77 et seq. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 95.

⁴ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 15 et seq. Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 45.

⁵ Bombay Edit., i, 97.

⁶ *Descr. de l'Égypte. État Mod.*, i, 954. Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, chap. xvii. Darwīsh Muḥammad, *Ṣafā' al-awqāt* (Cairo, 1328), p. 13. Aḥmad Afandī, *Nail al-adab fi mūsīq* (Būlāq, 1320), p. 94.

⁷ *Al-Aghānī*, ii, 175. *Al-Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, xvii. Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.

⁸ Cf. Dozy, *Suppl. Dict. Arabes*, s.v.

⁹ Al-Jawālīqī. *Kitāb al-mu'arrab*.

nāy siyāh (black *nāy*), a reed-pipe, and the *nāy safīd* (white *nāy*), a flute.¹ This custom was actually followed by Arabic writers in the *nāy aswād* and *nāy abyād*.²

So long as *quṣṣāba* (or *qaṣaba*) stood for a flute with the Arabs there was scarcely any likelihood of confusion arising. But as soon as Persian instruments and nomenclature came to be adopted in Arabian music, the vexed question started. Unfortunately, when the Arabs borrowed the Persian word *nāy* in the specific sense, they did not always attach the qualifying adjective which determined whether it was a reed-pipe or a flute. The result is that, not only in the Middle Ages, but even to-day, we must know the provenance of the instrument referred to, or the nationality of the writer, before we can determine whether the word *nāy* stands for a reed-pipe or a flute.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

FONDATION DE GOEJE

COMMUNICATION

1. Le bureau de la fondation n'a pas subi de modifications depuis le mois de novembre 1927, et est ainsi composé : C. Snouck Hurgronje (président), M. Th. Houtsma, Tj. De Boer, J. J. Salverde de Grave et C. Van Vollenhoven (secrétaire-trésorier).

2. Le bureau est heureux d'avoir pu faire paraître dans l'année écoulée, comme huitième publication de la fondation, Les " Livres des Chevaux " par G. Levi della Vida.

3. Des huit publications de la fondation il reste un certain nombre d'exemplaires, qui sont mis en vente au profit de la fondation, chez l'éditeur E. J. Brill, aux prix marqués : (1) Reproduction photographique du manuscrit de Leyde de la *Hamāsah* de al-Buḥturī (1909), fl. 96 ; (2) *Kitāb al-Fākhir*

¹ *Kanz al-tuhaf*, Brit. Mus., MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263. Ibn Ghaibī, Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 79v.

² *Muḥammad ibn Murād Treatise*, Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.

de al-Mufaḍḍal, éd. C. A. Storey (1915), fl. 6 ; (3) Streitschrift des Ġazālī gegen die Bāṭiniyya-Sekte, par I. Goldziher (1916), fl. 4, 50 ; (4) Bar Hebraeus's *Book of the Dove*, éd. A. J. Wensinck (1919), fl. 4, 50 ; (5) De Opkomst van het Zaidietische Imamaat in Yemen, par C. Van Arendonk (1919), fl. 6 ; (6) Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung, par I. Goldziher (1920), fl. 10 ; (7) Die Epitome der Metaphysik des Averroes, übersetzt und mit einer Einleitung und Erläuterungen versehen, par S. Van den Bergh (1924), fl. 7, 50 ; (8) Les "Livres des Chevaux" par G. Levi della Vida (1928), fl. 5.

Novembre, 1928.

OBITUARY NOTICE

Thomas Hunter Weir

The Society has lost one of its older members by the death of Thomas Hunter Weir, D.D., Lecturer in Arabic at Glasgow University, who passed away at his home, 38 Hamilton Park Terrace, Glasgow, on 5th May, at the age of 62. Dr. Weir had a long association with the University, having been born at the Old College, where his father, the Rev. Duncan Harkness Weir, D.D., from 1850 onwards was professor of Semitic Languages. He began his Oriental studies at Glasgow in 1885 under his father's successor, Professor James Robertson, and proceeded to the degrees of M.A. and B.D. Shortly afterwards he spent two years in Western Australia, returning in 1893 to take up the appointment of assistant to Professor Robertson. He pursued his study of Arabic in Germany, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa. He knew North Africa well, particularly Morocco, where he made frequent and prolonged visits in the course of which he travelled over the whole of that region. In 1900 he was elected a member of the Royal Asiatic Society. In 1907, when an independent lectureship in Arabic was founded at Glasgow University, he was appointed to it and held that position till his death. A few years ago he was awarded the degree of Doctor of Divinity by the University of Aberdeen.

Besides articles in various periodicals and contributions to the Encyclopædia of Islam and the Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics, he published in 1899 *A Short History of the Hebrew Text of the Old Testament* (Second edition, 1907); *The Sheikhs of Morocco in the XVIIth Century*, 1904; *Arabic Prose Composition*, 1910; Revised editions of Sir William Muir's "*Life of Mohammed*," 1912, and of the same author's *Caliphate*, 1915; *The Variants in the Gospel Reports*, 1920; *Omar Khayyâm the Poet* (a verse translation with an introduction and commentary) in the *Wisdom of the East Series*, 1926.

He was of a retiring disposition and had no love of publicity. All who came within the circle of his friendship remained there to the end. The successive groups of students who read with him during the 35 years of his academic life not only participated in the fruits of his exact and profound study of Arabic, Hebrew or Syriac which he delighted to share with them, but in other ways unconnected with learning they found him a never failing source of sympathy, encouragement, and kindness.

A. S. F.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ. Translated from the Sanskrit with an introduction, an argument, and a commentary, by W. DOUGLAS P. HILL, M.A. 9×6, pp. x + 303. London, Oxford printed: Oxford University Press, 1928.

Mr. Hill may be congratulated on having produced what is perhaps the best work on the Gītā that has appeared for many years. He gives us the text, well printed in the best Dēvanāgarī type of the Oxford Press, with translation and footnotes beneath it, preceded by an Introduction in which he studies with scholarly detail the cult of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva and the composition, age, and doctrine of the Gītā, with a summary of its arguments; and at the end come bibliographic notes, an index of important Sanskrit words occurring in the text, and a subject-index. He has read widely and wisely in Indian literature, sparing no pains to elucidate the *variorum* of theology and philosophy which forms the Gītā and to reduce it to order; and it must be admitted that he has achieved a large measure of success.

Good as it is, however, the work calls for some criticism. We will begin with the translation.

In some passages Mr. Hill obscures his meaning by needless and clumsy inversion of words. Examples of this are v, 6, "the saint whose way is practice¹ to Brahman comes right soon," and xviii, 48, "every enterprise in imperfection is involved." Some of the terms used in translation, too, do not seem quite happy. The rendering of *adhībhūta*, *adhidēva*, and *adhiyajña* (rightly explained in the introduction) as

¹ This is a very loose translation of *yōga-yukta*. Mr. Hill, objecting to rigidly uniform translation of technical terms, frequently errs on the other side and renders them by words that convey little of their special meaning.

"Essential Being", "Essential Deity", and "Essential Sacrifice", and of *dēvāḥ* and *surāḥ* as "Lords of Heaven", is rather misleading and inaccurate. In ii, 48, *śamatva* is not quite the same as "to be of balanced mind"; it is "to be indifferent" in the older sense of the word, preferring neither. In iv, 32, I think that *vitatā* is not "outspread", but "performed", and *Brahmaṇō mukhē* is modelled on the type of *Agnēr mukhē*: Brahma is Agni (iv, 25) as well as everything else connected with sacrifice (iv, 24).¹ "His self controlled by contemplating Brahman" is much too loose to represent *brahma-yōga-yuktātmā*, v, 21. *Nidhānam*, xi, 18, is not "treasure-house" but "treasure". In xi, 32 *Kāla* ought to be translated literally as "Time"; there is much philosophy (*Kāla-vāda*, Zervanitism, etc.) behind it. In xiv, 20, Mr. Hill translates *guṇān dēha-samudbhavān* "which owe their being to the body", and adds in a note "which exist in relation to the Self because it is embodied"; but this is terribly forced and contrary to the whole tenor of Indian thought. In ix, 16 and xvii, 13 the rendering of *mantra* by "rune" is misleading, as a glance at the Oxford Dictionary will show. In xviii, 60 I venture to question the rendering of *svabhāvajēna . . . nibaddhaḥ svēna karmaṇā* by "bound by thine own duty born of thine own nature", and would rather understand it as meaning "framed [in your present personality] by your own [previous] karma which is the result of nature", referring e.g. to Mr. Dasgupta's *History of Indian Philosophy*, i, p. 54 ff. In xviii, 67, *aśuśrūṣu* is not "one who does no service", but "one who is unwilling to obey". Further I would remark that on at least two crucial passages—xiv, 3 and xv, 16 f.—Mr. Hill's notes, being based upon the orthodox commentators, fail to explain the difficulties, whereas the real elucidation is readily obtainable from the Pāñcarātra system. This fact is important, and I shall return to it.

Turning now to the introductory portion of the book, I will

¹ Cf. *Śat. Br.* III. ii. 2, 7, *Agnir brahmadgnir yajñah*, etc.

first touch on a few details before passing on to the consideration of larger issues.

On p. 10 Mr. Hill writes that "it was probably during this period [the second century B.C. ?] that the doctrine of *avatāra*, or descent, arose". This is a daring statement. The fundamental idea of an *avatāra*, that a deity may cause a portion of his essence to become incarnated in a man or other animal, belongs to primitive Aryan thought, as has been well shown by Professor Hertel (*Die Sonne und Mithra*, pp. 69, 79); what was perhaps new in the doctrine of the *avatāras* of Viṣṇu was the belief that he performed them periodically for the salvation of the world. The further elaboration of the Kṛṣṇa-incarnations into the doctrine of the four *vyūhas* is perhaps later than the Gītā, but its principles are already implicit in the older theology. Again, the etymology of the name Nārāyaṇa given on p. 13 is, to say the least, rather dubious. The Nārāyaṇa-legend still awaits critical study; but *pendente lite* I venture to hold to my euhemeristic view that possibly Nārāyaṇa was in origin a real or supposedly real person, a deified saint, and his name a patronymic derived from *Nara*, which is well attested as a personal name. An exact parallel is the patronymic *Paumsāyana*. Another minor point that suggests itself is concerned with the conception of Puruṣa (p. 27 ff.); in Upaniṣadic thought this is primarily distinct from the idea of Brahma, though the two are often merged into one another.

But more important than these matters is the lack of clarity on two points, the origins of the school of theology represented by the Gītā and its relation to the Pāñcarātras and other cognate churches. On the latter subject, in fact, Mr. Hill says οὐδὲ γρῦ; yet it is obviously most important, nay vital. The Pāñcarātras are lineally descended from the ancient church in which the Gītā arose; they have left us a copious literature with an elaborate theology; and the latter simply and naturally explains passages in the Gītā over which writers of other schools boggle in helpless futility.

The *mahad brahma* of xiv, 3 is the *mahat (tattvam)* of the Pāñcarātras, which issues from the combination of *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, and *kāla*, and hence, as the Gītā declares, is the source of all *bhūtas*. The reference to the various *puruṣas*, and especially the *kūṭastha-p.*, in xv, 16 f. is regular Pāñcarātra doctrine. Plainly then there are some gaps in Mr. Hill's interpretation of the Gītā.

After these criticisms of Mr. Hill it is only fair to him that I should lay myself open to a riposte by stating my own views on the sources of the Gītā, for which of course I claim no originality.

At a very early time, about the end of the Vedic age or somewhat later, there arose a theistic church or *cakra*, which worshipped Viṣṇu, who was at once the Spirit of the Sacrifice (and hence the controlling force of the universe) and the Spirit of the Sun, the blessed saviour whose abode is in "the Home supreme", *paramam padam*. Its chief doctrines are preserved in the *Chāndōgya Upaniṣad* III, xvii, 6 and in certain parts of the *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*. The former text teaches not only the adoration of Viṣṇu the Sun-god, but likewise the theory that the various functions of life are symbols of various elements in the priestly sacrifice; the natural corollary of this was that the faithful might dispense with the actual forms of priestly sacrifice and substitute for them pious performance of the common acts of life, conceiving them as offered to God. Stress was laid on the virtues of austerity (*tapas*, systematised later as *yōga*), bounty (*dāna*), honesty, harmlessness (*ahimsā*), and truthfulness, which were declared to symbolise the *dakṣiṇās* or priests' fees, a most important element in the rituals.

Definitively disinclined towards brahmanic ritualism, the cult was well suited to Kṣatriyas, and it found a powerful supporter in Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva,¹ who in time was deified as an incarnation of the Supreme. Certainly he was not the

¹ Of course, I abandoned long ago Bhandarkar's view that Kṛṣṇa was originally distinct from Vāsudēva.

first *avatāra* acknowledged by his church, nor the last, but the influence of his personality strongly stimulated the belief in incarnation. The cult of Nārāyaṇa was also absorbed into it. The church grew vigorously and threw off branches styling themselves Bhāgavatas, Pāñcarātras, Sātvatas, etc. Of the first we have an early document in the Besnagar inscription (c. 180 B.C.), where Vāsudēva is entitled "god of gods" and is worshipped with a solar cult based on that of Viṣṇu, while it is announced that "three immortal steps well observed lead to paradise", self-control (*dama*), bounty (*cāga*), and heedfulness (*apramāda*)—obviously an ethical interpretation of the mythical three strides of Viṣṇu.

Perhaps a few years later the Gītā was written. Its author was a Bhāgavata preaching the worship of Kṛṣṇa as the Supreme Viṣṇu incarnate in the flesh,¹ and striving to reconcile other schools of thought to his creed. His dominant idea, expressed in many keys and variations, is a reaffirmation of the old text of the Chāndōgya Upaniṣad in an ennobled form; the surest way to salvation is for man to do the duty of the caste into which he is born and to devote all the activities of his life to God as a sacrifice, desiring naught thence for his own pleasure.² The doors are opened wide; all classes of mankind may enter into the avenue towards salvation, though only the elect may hope to attain the goal at the end of the present life. And the virtues which the Gītā expressly inculcates are precisely those mentioned in the Chāndōgya and the Besnagar inscription, with some additions and the omission of "heedfulness".

¹ Kṛṣṇa is styled Viṣṇu in xi, 24, 30, and the equivalent Hari, xi, 9, xviii, 77, passages where the supreme nature of the deity is strongly stressed. Mr. Hill's attempts to dodge the consequences of these facts on p. 25 are unintelligible to me.

² Note especially iv, 23 ff. The same idea, transfigured by devotional feeling, is expressed in the *carama śloka*, xviii, 66, "surrendering all duties [i.e. devoting to God the performance of all duties prescribed for man, and renouncing all claim to reward for performing them], come to me alone for protection," etc.

It is a catholic religion ; and its catholicity betrays Kṣatriya influence. The doctrine that man should obey the duty of his caste is propounded in the Gītā first in reference to Kṣatriyas only, and is then extended to all classes. Arjuna's protest in Book I forcibly voices the difficulty which many Kṣatriyas in real life must have felt in reconciling their caste-duty as soldiers with the increasingly insistent cry of humanity for "harmlessness", *ahimṣā*, and the Gītā seeks to solve the problem for them and to draw wider conclusions. Perhaps, too, the words "king's science, king's mystery" applied in ix, 2 to the revelation of Kṛṣṇa's identity with the Supreme are not mere rhetoric. As with Buddhism and Jainism, so here also the Kṣatriyas led the way towards a wider scheme of salvation.

2. *RGVEDIC INDIA*. By ABINAS CHANDRA DAS, M.A., Ph.D.
Second edition, revised. 9 × 6, xxii + 616 pp., 1 map.
Calcutta : R. Cambray and Co., 1927.

Mr. Das's book has reached a second edition. It is unnecessary for us to do more than to record this fact and recommend Mr. Das to perpend Proverbs iv, 7.

3. *A HISTORY OF VEDIC LITERATURE*. Vol. II : THE BRĀHMAṆAS AND THE ĀRANYAKAS. By BHAGAVAD DATTA. (Vaidik Vāṇmay-kā Itihās.) 9 × 5½, v + 310 pp.
Lahore : Research Department, D.A.V. College, 1927.

This "History" is still acephalous, for the first part, which is to deal with the Vēdas, is yet unpublished—*acirāya*, we hope. The present volume, which discusses (naturally from the standpoint of the Ārya Samāj) the many questions of interpretation, bibliography, and history connected with the Brāhmaṇas and Āranyakas, has the merits of wide reading, clear writing, and honest seeking after truth. But it is not likely, we think, to upset the general conclusions of Western philology, which the Professor on p. 96 roundly describes as *asatya*, and to make us believe, for example, that the substance of the Brāhmaṇas was composed in the most ancient times

by a succession of primitive teachers beginning with Brahma-Svayambhū, and was cast into its present form in the age of the *Mahābhārata* (p. 66 ff.), or that the basic parts of the *Manu-smṛti* are thousands of years older than the *Mahābhārata* (p. 90), or that a nasty myth can be explained away as a *rūpakālaṅkāra* (p. 139), or that the word *śūdra* used as a term of reproach denotes merely a man of incurable stupidity (p. 220), or that Śāunaka, Āśvalāyana, Kātyāyana, Yāska, Pāṇini, Piṅgala, Vyāḍi, and Kāutsa were all contemporaries (p. 236), and much else. The fact is that the Professor, in spite of the best intentions to the contrary, is on most essential matters led astray by unconscious prejudice: like many worthy folks in a country very near to our own, he sees in the past a Golden Age of perfect wisdom, virtue, and happiness. Once he has started with this amiable prepossession, *facilis descensus*: all the canons of historical criticism are thrust aside when they become inconvenient for the thesis, arguments of no cogency are paraded as convincing proof,¹ and the author goes his way merrily following the good old rule *sit pro ratione voluntas*.

4. BEITRÄGE ZUR METRIK DES AVESTAS UND DES RĠVEDAS. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. (Abhandl. d. phil.-hist. Klasse d. sächsischen Akademie d. Wissenschaften, Bd. xxxviii, No. iii.) $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, iv + 98 pp. Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1927.

It has long been known that certain early parts of the Avesta are composed in metres based on the number of syllables. Dr. Hertel now goes a step further, maintaining that practically the whole of the Avesta is metrical, being divisible into lines of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 12 syllables with regular caesura, that the Gāthās are of strophic structure, with lines usually of 7, 9, or 11 syllables, and that the Later Avesta is

¹ A pretty example of this is seen on p. 94, where the catalogue of books mentioned by Rāvaṇa in the *Pratimā-nāṭaka* is seriously quoted as convincing evidence that these and many other works really existed thousands of years before the *Mahābhārata* in *lōka-bhāṣā*, and not in the semi-Vedic language of the Brāhmaṇas.

composed of groups of lines usually octosyllabic, but in certain cases decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic. An ingenious detailed analysis is devoted to these points, and enables the author to connect these Avestic systems with the metres of the Rgvēda. The argument is exemplified by a metrical analysis of Vend. XXII and III, Haðōxt Nask II, and the decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic verses of Yašt X, to which is appended a translation of Vend. XXII with notes.

Bold as this hypothesis is, the evidence for it is strong. Certainly many liberties have to be taken with the traditional text in order to fit it into the schemes established by Dr. Hertel; as in the scansion of Rgvedic verses (and perhaps a little more so), liberal allowance has to be made for vocalic variations due for example to anaptyxis, *svarabhakti*, slurring of vowels, and the like, and some word-endings omitted or wrongly supplied in the traditional text need to be added or corrected. But in spite of this the general conclusions seem to me almost irresistible; and even readers who cannot accept them must admit that the monograph is singularly able and suggestive of new outlooks in the realm of Indo-Iranica.

An interesting sequel to it is to be found in the *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*, 1928, No. 4, p. 238 f., where in his article "Metrische Form der altpersischen Keilschrifttexte" Dr. J. Friedrich maintains and to some extent proves that the Behistūn inscription and several, if not all, of the minor inscriptions of Darius and his successors are couched in metres similar to those established by Dr. Hertel for the Avesta.

5. THEORY OF GOVERNMENT IN ANCIENT INDIA (POST-VEDIC) . . . By BENI PRASAD, M.A., Ph.D., D.Sc. Econ. . . . With a foreword by Arthur Berriedale Keith, D.Litt., D.C.L. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{8}$, vii + i + 399 pp. Allahabad: Indian Press, 1927.

Professor Beni Prasad in this work shows the same qualities that mark his excellent monograph on Jahāngīr: wide reading, lucidity and simplicity of style, and (a rare and precious

virtue) sober and sound judgment, which enables him to grasp the essential facts of his subject and contemplate them with clear sane vision, unclouded by prejudices and mirages. Such sobriety and accuracy of thought are peculiarly needful in dealing with Indian culture, which, as he truly remarks, is characterised by "an emotional flow and vibration, which, on the whole, militates against rigidity of discipline and organization," and is hence often liable to misunderstanding.

The twelve chapters of the book survey the theme under the following heads : (1) the characteristics of Indian political speculation, (2) Vedic literature, (3) the Epics, (4) Manu, (5) the Artha-śāstras of Kāuṭalya and Bṛhaspati, (6) the Dharma-sūtras and Dharma-śāstras with their chief commentators, (7) the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas, (8) Buddhist and Jain theories of government, (9) the Nīti-śāstras, (10) references in classical Sanskrit literature,¹ (11) the theory of government of corporations, and (12) basic principles of the Hindu theory of Government. This arrangement does not seem altogether happy, as Manu's proper place is with the other Dharma-śāstras, from which he is here separated by the chapter on the secular Artha-śāstras. Extreme caution has led Mr. Beni Prasad to refrain from any attempt to distinguish between the clerical and the secular elements in the Rāja-dharma sections of the Mahābhārata; nevertheless, it would perhaps have been helpful if he had indicated more clearly the main points on which the great Epic admits ideas anticipating the thorough-paced secularism of Kāuṭalya, whose characteristics, we may add, are very adequately and justly set forth by our author. He suggests very cautiously that Buddhist intellectual influences may possibly have had something to do with the development of Artha-śāstra (p. 243). It is indeed possible, but it seems to me unlikely : more probably Artha-śāstra arose from secular schools of

¹ Mr. Beni Prasad, we observe, accepts "Bhāsa" at Mm. Gaṇapati Śāstri's valuation and swallows him whole. *Chacun à son goût.*

political thought older than Buddhism, which have left some traces in the Mahābhārata.

The chapter on Buddhist and Jain theories is particularly interesting, and the data gathered from Jain literature will be new to most readers. The corporations are not quite adequately discussed, considering their immense importance and the abundance of the materials for study, especially in Southern India; and something more might have been said on the distribution of functions between the Crown and the popular organisations, such as the township and the *nāḍu* in the Tamil kingdoms, on the practical side of which the inscriptions furnish much information. Perhaps, too, it would not have been amiss if space had been found for some notice of the relations between the Royal courts of law and the popular tribunals, to which Mr. Śankarārāma Śāstri has given some interesting and ingenious pages in his able work *Fictions in Hindu Law*. It is hardly correct to assert that the Jains are entirely without a graded hierarchy (p. 331). There are also not a few misprints which have not been rectified in the footnotes.¹ In reviewing a work of such magnitude, however, it is unfair to dwell upon minor points. Regarded as a whole, the book is very good, and the reader will heartily endorse Professor Keith's commendation of it as an able and carefully thought out presentation of the subject.

6. MAHĀVĪRA-CARITAM. A Drama by the Indian Poet BHAVABHŪTI. Edited with critical apparatus introduction, and notes by the late TODAR MALL . . . Revised and prepared for the press by A. A. MACDONELL. (Panjab University Oriental Publications.) 10½ × 6¾, liv + 351 pp. London, Oxford (University Press) printed : H. Milford, 1928.

¹ Of these the chief are *Lomaprabhāchārya* (p. 228), for *Somaprabhāchārya*; *draughts* (p. 236), for *droughts*; *Bhuddhists* (p. 243); *Śivasimhadēva* (p. 293), a peculiarly unhappy error; *Āmuktaamālyavādā* (p. 303), imperfectly corrected in the Corrigenda to *Āmuktamālyavādā*, which, of course, should be *Āmukta-mālyada*; *hemogeneity* (p. 361); and *prisoner* (p. 366, n. 5), for *poisoner*.

This handsome volume is a worthy monument to the ἀρετή of the two scholars whose names appear on its title-page, the young man who prepared and annotated the text with zealous care and the master who, when an untimely death had prevented his disciple from publishing the fruit of his labours, generously devoted his time and skill to the task of revision and preparation for the press. Both have done exceedingly well, and every student of Sanskrit literature is under a deep debt of gratitude to them.

The text has been critically edited on the basis of a collation of 18 MSS. The preface gives an account of the critical materials and the history of the text as deduced from them by the editor, besides much information concerning the poet and his works, literary features, bibliography, etc. Critical notes are printed under the text, and a commentary after it, besides appendices. As Professor Macdonell remarks, "no classical Sanskrit text has ever been so exhaustively prepared by an Indian scholar." Professor J. Hertel, in his "Note on Bhavabhūti and on Vākpatirāja" (*Asia Major*, i, p. 1 f.), justly lamented that "we not only do not possess any truly critical edition of the Mahāvīracarita, but not even *any* edition giving even the scantiest various readings from *any* MS.", and that the spurious Acts VI–VII of the vulgate cannot be traced back further than 1800. The researches of Todar Mall have now removed that reproach. From his collation of 18 MSS. he has established the existence of three recensions, of which the differentia lies in the variations of the text after Act V, 46 onwards,¹ and has traced the vulgate

¹ Strictly speaking, there are *four* recensions. The part of the play from the beginning down to V, 46 (a_1), which is Bhavabhūti's genuine work, is preserved with no serious variations in all MSS.; the part thence to the end of Act V exists in three different forms, viz. the vulgate (b_1), the composition ascribed by Virarāghava and some MSS. to "a certain Subrahmanya" (b_2), and yet another (b_3); and Acts VI–VII, certainly spurious, are found in two forms, the vulgate (c_1) and the composition of Subrahmanya (c_2). The MSS. contain either (1) a_1 alone, or (2) $a_1 + b_2 + c_2$, or (3) $a_1 + b_3 + c_2$, or (4) $a_1 + b_4 + c$. Todar Mall, whose exposition of

text of Acts VI-VII to the seventeenth century. This is no slight service, although it must be confessed that his materials for criticism of the Southern family of MSS. were by no means so abundant and reliable as to allow him to make a complete survey.

Todar Mall had also prepared a translation of the text, and this Professor Macdonell has refrained from printing, considering that "its inclusion in the book would be educationally harmful to the many Indian students likely to use it". This is a valid reason, but we venture to think that it is hardly adequate; for owing to the suppression of this translation many passages in the commentary which refer to it are, so to speak, in the air, and the solutions of many puzzles in the text, which ought to be within the reader's reach, are withdrawn from him.

The commentary itself is generally good, and gives evidence of very wide reading in the realms of poetical and rhetorical literature. There are, however, a few deficiencies, which are natural enough in the exegesis of an author so subtle and *parōkṣa-priya* as Bhavabhūti. For example, it would not have been amiss to point out that the word *atha*, with which the play begins, is deliberately chosen to illustrate the definition to which Amarasiṃha refers in his *maṅgalānanta-rārambha-praśna-kārtsnyēṣv atha*, or that in the line II. 7² there is a play on logical definitions of negation, while on the other hand an unnecessary difficulty is raised over *uddhṛta-jagat-traya-manyu-mūlam*, I. 6, which simply means "based upon the wrath of him who was the saviour of the three worlds", i.e. having for primary theme the vengeance of Rāma. On p. 117, l. 4, *anēka-samaya-vyutpannam . . . puram* is wrongly explained: it refers to the many *samayas* or social organisations (perhaps the traditional eighteen *samayas*) into which the society of the city was divided. On p. 123, line 9, these relations is somewhat wanting in clearness, suggests that a_1 represents the poet's first draft, and that he subsequently revised this and added b_2 ; the latter hypothesis, I must confess, does not appear to me to be very probable.

he bids us "mark the reference to the Edicts", and we ask whether he means the Edicts of Aśoka; if so, he is mistaken, for the reference is to ordinary *praśastis*. Nor is the treatment of the Prakrit quite happy. On p. xxxviii he asserts that "the author confuses the two Prakrits Śaurasenī and Māhārāṣṭrī"; but is it likely that so learned a pandit as Bhavabhūti would be guilty of this elementary mistake, and are the scribes above suspicion? And surely the editor who prints, e.g., *pāṇiggahaṇāim* (p. 36), *aṇuppēsidam* (ibid.), *cintidam* (p. 42), *°duāram* (p. 161) with final *-m* instead of *anusvāra* is hardly doing his duty towards Prakrit grammar.¹ Finally it may be noted that in spite of the table of corrigenda a few misprints remain, e.g. *°dvaya* for *°dvayam* (I. 18), *hmēhi* for *hy ēhi* (I. 62). But these slight weaknesses must not blind our eyes to the great virtues of the work; it is one for which we must be truly thankful.

7. MANIMEKHALAI IN ITS HISTORICAL SETTING. By Rao Bahadur S. KRISHNASWAMI AYYANGAR, M.A., Hon.Ph.D. (Madras University Special Lectures.) 8½ × 5½, xxxv + 235 pp. London (Madras printed): Luzac and Co., 1928.

As was to be expected of him, the Rao Bahadur has given us an exceedingly able and interesting book. In Tamil literature there are few works more famous than the twin poetical romances *Śilapp'adigāram* and *Maṇi-mēkhalai*, ascribed respectively to Ilaṅ-gōv-aḍigaḷ and Śāttan; and of these the latter has excited greater interest on account of the summaries of various systems of philosophy contained in it. Obviously the determination of its date would be very helpful in solving some serious problems in the history of Indian thought, and the Rao Bahadur has accordingly addressed himself to this task with his wonted vigour and skill. He presents to us a study of the historical statements contained in *Maṇ.* and of the system of Buddhism set forth in it, besides furnishing an epitome of the story; and his main

¹ See Pischel, *Gramm. d. Pkt.-Sprachen*, § 348 f.

conclusions are that both *Śilapp*. and *Maṇ*. are products of the Śaṅgam Age of Tamil literature and actually composed by their alleged authors, Iḷaṅ-gōv-aḍigaḷ and Śāttan, at an early date, that the historical statements in *Maṇ*., and especially the fact that it describes Kāñcī as being in the author's day under the rule of a Cōḷa viceroy, fully bear out this view, and that the Buddhism set forth in *Maṇ*. is a system earlier than that which was propounded by Dignāga. On the last point he prints with laudable candour the contrary opinion of Professor Jacobi, who maintains that the system described in *Maṇ*. is identical with that of Śaṅkara-svāmin's Nyāya-pravēśa, and hence not earlier than the sixth century.

While we feel great diffidence in expressing an opinion contrary to the considered views of so able and erudite a scholar as the Rao Bahadur, we must confess that we are not convinced by his arguments. Firstly, the early date assigned to the Third Śaṅgam is itself very questionable. To take a few leading names of that period, the Rao Bahadur himself maintains (*Ancient India*, p. 336 ff.) that Karikālan Cōḷa, Neḍuñ-jeliyan Pāṇḍya, or Śeliyan Śēndan, the victor at Talaiyālaṅgānam, and Śēnguṭṭuvan Cēra all lived within a very few (not more than three) generations of one another—and the inscriptions compel us to place the second of them in the seventh century. Moreover, Śēnguṭṭuvan is credited with a naval victory over the Kaḍambas, who are probably identical with the Kadambas or Kaḷabhras, and the Kaḷabhras are well known in the Pāṇḍyan records as having usurped the Pāṇḍyan kingdom and held it until about the middle of the sixth century, when they were ousted by Kaḍuṅgōn, who is probably the same as Ugra Pāṇḍya, a king well known in Śaṅgam tradition.¹ The literary sources, moreover, tell us

¹ There is a trace of this expansion of the Kadambas in the colophon of Buddhadatta's *Vinaya-vinicchaya*, which was written at Bhūtamaṅgalam, on the river Kāvērī, in the Cōḷa country (*Cōḷa-raṭṭha*), under the rule of Accuta-vikkanta (i.e. Acyuta-vikrānta, or Acyuta-vikrama), a scion of the Kalambha race, *Kalambha-kula-nandana*. This must have been in the fifth or sixth century.

that *Ṣaṇ-gōv-aḍigaḷ* was the brother of the Cēra king Śeṅguṭṭuvan, who on the mother's side was a grandson of the Cōḷa Karikālan, and Śeṅguṭṭuvan was a patron of Śāttan and is mentioned in *Maṇ*. Now Karikālan is said in Cōḷa inscriptions to have conquered Kāñcī and reigned in it, and there is much force in the view of scholars like Mr. K. G. Sankar, who hold that this conquest of Kāñcī was gained at the expense of the Pallava Nandivarman I, c. A.D. 500. Thus the age of the Śaṅgam, to which Śeṅguṭṭuvan and Śeliyan Śēndan belonged, must be placed after 500, as Mr. Sankar has contended on other grounds ("The Moriyas of the Sangam Works," *JRAS.*, 1924, p. 664); and so, if *Śilapp*. and *Maṇ*. are genuine words of *Ṣaṇ-gōv-aḍigaḷ* and Śāttan, they also are later than 500.

But are they genuine? It is significant that neither of them is in the list of poems said to have been presented to the Śaṅgam. What is more important, both of them are so full of marvels that it is impossible to regard them as contemporary with the kings who figure in them. It is indeed quite possible for a Hindu to write a poem in which a king of the poet's own time is made the hero of a perfectly fictitious and marvellous plot; but it is most unlikely that he would represent such a real king as taking part *as a contemporary* in a series of acts stuffed full of miracles which every reader would know to belong to ancient days. Such a series of acts are the tales of Kappaki and Maṇi-mēkhalai: every Tamil thought of that cycle of legend as having happened in olden times, and he would have laughed at a poet who would have represented a king of his own day as taking part in those far-off events. The same conclusion is suggested by the much discussed word *kuccarak-kudigai*, "Gurjara chapel," occurring in *Maṇ*. xix, a term that could not have come into use until long after the sixth century; the Rao Bahadur offers the despairing explanation that *kuccara* may not refer to the Gurjaras, but all Tamil authorities agree that it does, and no other meaning of the word is known. It is also note-

worthy that *Maṇ.* in bk. xxvii refers to a Purāṇa of Viṣṇu, and this seems to be the well-known Viṣṇu-purāṇa, which was probably composed about A.D. 400. It would, therefore, appear that both *Silapp.* and *Maṇ.* are much later than the sixth century, which is more or less the period of the Third Śaṅgam, and are pseudo-historical romances composed under the later Cōlas, at a time that may be tentatively fixed as *circa* A.D. 1000, which have been fathered upon traditional writers of the Śaṅgam Age. The exposition of Buddhism given in *Maṇ.* may well have been written at a late date, when the religion was declining in the South and was living on the memories of its past; and a poet of that period would naturally be led from the circumstances of his own day to describe Kāñcī as being under the rule of the Cōlas in the times depicted by him, especially as he would perhaps also remember the tradition of the conquest of the city by Karikālan.

In view of the facts, therefore, we feel ourselves compelled to dissent from the Rao Bahadur's conclusions; but we dissent with profound respect for the learning which fortifies them, and which has added a valuable and interesting contribution to the study of his native literature.

8. ANCIENT INDIAN COLONIES IN THE FAR EAST. Vol. I: CHAMPA. By Dr. R. C. MAJUMDAR, M.A., Ph.D. (Greater India Society Publication, No. 1.) 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 7, ii + xxiv + 274 + 6 + ii + v + 227 pp., 21 plates, 1 map. Lahore: Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927.

Of the achievements of ancient Hindu culture none is more striking than its colonisation of the lands that lie to the east of its home. Here the social, the religious, and the artistic ideals of India not only maintained themselves for many centuries, but even attained in some cases to new powers, notably in the domain of art. In the new environment no doubt the blood of the Hindu stock, speedily diluted by native admixture, gradually disappeared; but Hindu ideas showed a wonderful vitality, adapting themselves to circumstances

and evolving fresh developments of art in which to express themselves. It is therefore a happy thought of Dr. Majumdar to project a complete history of the ancient colonies of India, and in the present volume the enterprise makes a good beginning.

This history of Campā is not, strictly speaking, a work of original research. In order to merit that title an author would need to have profoundly studied the Cham language and other sources, especially the Chinese records; and Dr. Majumdar makes no claim to such achievements. His work is mainly based upon the publications of the French scholars who have specialised in the subject. Nevertheless it is by no means a mere compilation. The survey of the history art, religion, and culture of Campā is generally careful and critical, and this is followed by a collection of the inscriptions, giving descriptions of them, Sanskrit text where there is any, and translations. Generally the work may be said to be well planned and well executed.

9. THE ARAVIDU DYNASTY OF VIJAYANAGAR. By the Rev. HENRY HERAS, S.J., M.A. . . . With a preface by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Bart. Vol. I. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6. xlv + 681 pp., 17 plates. Madras : B. G. Paul and Co., 1927.

In the early days of European penetration into India much work of extremely high quality was done by members of the Society of Jesus in the study of Indian religions, languages, and history; and this fine tradition of scholarship has been preserved by their successors, among whom Father Heras has notably proved himself a worthy heir of the *patria virtus* of his Order. The present volume is in itself a massive monument of scholarly research, and the whole history when completed will be in truth a *magnum opus*, large in bulk and great in value to the historian.

The account of the family of Āravidu begins at a point of time earlier than its actual usurpation of the throne, viz.

from the death of Acyuta in A.D. 1541-2 and the last days of the Tuluva dynasty. The first great representatives of the Āraṇḍu house, Rāma Rāya and his brothers Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri, headed a movement directed against Salakam Timma, the tyrannical minister who ruled in the name first of Acyuta's feeble young son and successor Veṅkaṭa I, and subsequently of Veṅkaṭa's cousin Sadāśiva, and during the early years of Rāma's administration he was nominally regent for Sadāśiva, the last of the Tuluvas, who survived as a puppet-king in the hands of the Āraṇḍu brethren until his murder in about 1569, some four years after Rāma's death at the battle of Talikota (here more accurately termed the battle of Raksas-Tagdi) had left the control of the kingdom to Tirumala. Thus the histories of the two dynasties intersect one another between c. 1541 and 1569. From 1569 onward Tirumala reigned alone, followed by his sons Raṅga and Veṅkaṭapati; and the death of the last-named in 1614 marks the limit of the present volume.

The detailed survey of this important and fascinating period leads the author into many excursions into by-ways of South Indian history, some of which, though interesting and valuable in themselves, may perhaps appear to divagate occasionally from the main lines of his subject. The Nāyakas of Madura, Tanjore, Jinji, and Ikkeri, the Rajas of Mysore and other feudatories of Vijayanagar, and—last but by no means least—the Portuguese and the Jesuit missions occupy many pages of the narrative. The author's wide researches into the European sources have enabled him to throw much important and welcome light upon the parts played in the period by the Portuguese and other Europeans, and especially by the Jesuits, whose brave and devoted efforts, if they had received adequate support from their own people, might have materially changed the course of events to the disadvantage of the British and Dutch. One of the most discreditable pages in the miserable annals of the decadent Spanish monarchy is the story of Philip III's betrayal of the gallant Jesuit mission

at the court of Veṅkaṭapati, temperately narrated on p. 481. Though possibly not all readers will be convinced of the miracles recounted on pp. 144 and 390, all will probably agree that Father Heras does no more than justice to Roberto de' Nobili in his admiration of that saintly man's heroic labours.

While in many respects it is admirable, there are some points in which the book leaves something to be desired. The reader will probably seek in it a key to the riddle presented by the recorded acts of Rāma Rāya, and will seek in vain. We are told that Rāma "was not blind in his arrogance" towards his Muslim rivals (p. 97); yet the inadequacy of his fortifications suggests myopia. We read that in his later years he retired to devote himself to literary and theological studies, leaving Tirumala in control of the government (p. 39); yet when the Muslim confederates made their fatal attack upon him, he took the field at once with a large and well equipped army, despite his advanced age.¹ His character and policy need explanation. One feels also that the reasons given on p. 32 for the revolt of Tirumala and Veṅkaṭādri against Rāma are scarcely adequate. Another somewhat disturbing feature in the narrative is the habit of the author, when referring to works such as Briggs's *Firishtah* and the European sources, of quoting names from them in the mutilated shapes in which they give them. This course in most cases is unnecessary, and leads to needless confusion, even when the distorted forms of the names are interpreted, which our author has not always done. The historian who draws statements from foreign sources ought to translate into standard shape the names given in them, if he can. It is a pity, *inter*

¹ We see no reason, *à propos*, why Father Heras should accept the assertion of Couto and Faria y Sousa that Rāma was then in his 96th year in the face of the much more moderate statements of *Firishtah* and the *Burhān-i-Ma'āsir*, especially as he is thus compelled to ascribe a correspondingly advanced age to Tirumala on his accession. Whatever may have been the skill of the *jeffis* described on p. 314, they could hardly be expected to work miracles.

alia ejusmodi, that Father Heras has so often taken over without change the bad transliterations of names given by Briggs as though they were the genuine utterances of Firishtah. He even reproduces the barbarous "Syud Hye" (p. 82) without attempting to standardise or interpret it. In general, the spelling of Oriental names is somewhat irregular and inconsistent, and the author's study of the native sources and languages would seem to be less complete than his researches in other directions. The chapters dealing with Indian religions and literature likewise are not always very critical and exact.¹

Like most scholars who publish English works in India, Father Heras has not been happy in his printer. The book is disfigured by almost innumerable typographical errors, such as "Fak-l" for "Fazl" on p. 270, and probably it is to the printer that we must ascribe the statement on p. 200 that the Muslim confederacy mustered "three thousand foot", which should, of course, be "three hundred thousand". These are, indeed, only external blemishes, but they seriously mar the aspect of the book and tend to obscure the exceptional merits of its contents.

10. ANNUAL REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, 1924-25. Edited by J. F. BLAKISTON. 13½ × 10½, xiii + 270 pp., 43 pl. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1927.

Although the year under review has brought forth no sensational new discoveries, it has been fruitful in good works for the conservation of previous acquisitions and in finds of considerable importance. The chapter on the conservation of ancient monuments occupies the largest space; but the section "Exploration and Research" has also a long tale of successful labours to unfold, such as the continued progress

¹ It may be added that a reviewer in the *Journal of Indian History*, VII, 1, p. 103 f., has called attention to an error of Father Heras, showing that the Bevinhalli plates do *not* refer to the city of Madras.

of the excavations on the "Indo-Sumerian" sites of the Indus Valley¹ and Taxila, the discovery of some fine sculptures of the Gupta period in Assam, and the valuable observations on the great "Arjuna's Penance" at Mahabali-puram, not to mention much else. Due notice is given to the work of Sir Aurel Stein, whose Third Expedition is described in summary under the heading of "Miscellaneous Notes", where also are to be found some other noteworthy contributions by officers of the Survey. The lover of art will be especially attracted by the fine vase from Mohenjo-Daro, the graceful sculptures of Assam (where hitherto no ancient sculptures have been found), and some of the statuary of Bengal illustrated in the plates of this Report, with which the Survey may well be satisfied, as its readers assuredly will be.

11. SUTTEE. A Historical and Philosophical Enquiry into the Hindu Rite of Widow Burning. By EDWARD THOMPSON. 8 × 5½, 165 pp., 4 pl. London (Woking printed): Allen and Unwin, 1928.

It is fitting that this book should appear at the time when Mr. Woolley's discoveries in the prehistoric royal tombs of Ur have revealed in its full horror the Mesopotamian counterpart of the barbarous and abominable rite of *satī*. Though inspired by a just indignation, Mr. Thompson's account is essentially a sober historical narrative, well documented from the most reliable sources, and it throws a lurid light not only on the practice itself, but also on the weakness of the British Government previous to 1829 in dealing with it. Albuquerque prohibited it in Portuguese territory in 1510; the Mughals, and notably Akbar, strove to suppress it, with varying degrees of success; but the British officials shrank from interference, and actually sanctioned it, under certain conditions, by the Regulations of 1813 and 1817, with the appalling result that

¹ May we venture in all humility to deplore the fact that Sir John Marshall on p. 63 lends his authority to the fantastic equation "Asura = Dasyu"?

in the area of Bengal alone the number of officially reported cases rose from 378 in 1815 to 839 in 1818. Mr. Thompson justly observes that "the abolition of suttee, so far from being, like the abolition of slavery, an example of our greatness as a nation and an empire, is an example of our timidity. In this instance we have taken to ourselves praise beyond our desert. The credit is almost entirely personal, and it is Bentinck's". But when once the Government had taken this step by issuing the famous Regulation XVII of 1829, it made amends for its former inertia by acting with a vigour which has almost cleansed India of this foul stain. Almost—but not quite; for again and again the abomination crops up sporadically, and is acclaimed with hysterical enthusiasm by large sections of native opinion. "The disquieting thing is," says Mr. Thompson, "suttee has troubled the Hindu conscience hardly at all"; in fact, a vast number of Hindus, including many ultra-modern champions of Indian "rights", still regard it as eminently *dulce et decorum*, and we have no doubt that if British control were removed the fires would soon be blazing again almost as fiercely as ever. Mr. Thompson believes (we cannot agree) that if India were left to itself the influence of Mr. Gandhi's teaching would prevent *satī* from becoming again an established custom, but he admits that it might become frequent in some parts, and he concludes his book with some wholesome remarks on "the nonsense about the wonderful purity and spirituality of the Hindu marriage ideal" and "the sex-obsession of the civilization and the social system which, in making one sex the unpitied servant to the other, drains and destroys both". By his statement of the case Mr. Thompson has rendered a great service to India, for which India is likely to repay him with small thanks.

12. **TEACHERS OF INDIA.** By C. A. KINCAID, C.V.O., I.C.S.
 $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, x + 120 pp., 6 pl. London: Milford, 1927.

The "teachers of India" are here limited to six Marathi *bhaktas*, Kabīr, Mīrā-bāi, Narsinh Mehtā, the Sikh Gurus,

Kēśava Candra Sēna, and Dayānanda Sarasvatī, of whose lives slight sketches are given. As far as we can see, almost the only use of the book is for the edification of pious Hindus. With the exception of the two last, the narratives are almost entirely based upon the highly imaginative statements of devout but wholly uncritical and unreliable Hindu writers, and possess small historical value. Some of the statements given are very doubtful, e.g. those regarding Mirā-bāi's family and date and the extremely improbable age of 119½ years assigned to Kabīr, who actually seems to have lived from 1440 to 1518. Mr. Kincaid on p. 47 makes the remarkable statement that "there was an old Greek proverb that said, '*Sophias arche, kuriou phobos*,' or the fear of one's lord is the beginning of wisdom"—which shows that his study of Indian things has been at the expense of his Bible-reading.

13. KONKORDANZ PANINI-CANDRA. Von Dr. BRUNO LIEBICH.
(Indische Forschungen, 6 Heft.) $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, 52 pp. Breslau
(Trebnitz printed), 1928.

The title of this excellent little work describes its contents with a brevity worthy of Pāṇini himself. Dr. Liebich, who has succeeded the late Alfred Hillebrandt as editor of the *Indische Forschungen*, gives us here in parallel columns the numbers of the Sūtras of Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī and those of the same Sūtras as they occur in the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa of Candra Gōmin, the concordance shewing that—apart from the Pāṇinian rules concerning the Vedic language and accents, for which he had no use, and a certain number of tralatitious technical terms—Candra quotes all Pāṇini's Sūtras except nineteen. After this Dr. Liebich prints (for the first time) the text of the eighty-six Paribhāṣā-sūtras of the Cāndra-vyākaraṇa. Not the least valuable part of the work is the short preface, in which Dr. Liebich vigorously refutes the somewhat ill-advised theories on the integrity of the text of the Mahābhāṣya lately propounded by Dr. Sköld.

14. CATALOGUE OF THE HOME MISCELLANEOUS SERIES OF THE INDIA OFFICE RECORDS. By SAMUEL CHARLES HILL, B.A., B.Sc. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, vii + 682 pp. London: India Office, 1927.

The collection of records in the India Office styled "Home Miscellaneous Series" suffers from a misleading title, for whilst the first forty-seven volumes of it consist mainly of papers concerning home affairs, the remainder has become in the course of time an enormous general miscellany into which have been dumped all papers which could not be easily classified under more specific headings. It thus touches upon almost every phase of the commerce, the civil administration, and the military affairs of British India from the seventeenth century onwards, and often throws important light upon them. Mr. Hill's Catalogue gives brief but adequate abstracts of these documents, and is furnished with a good index; we may therefore predict with confidence that it will be of immense value to future students, and it is deeply to be regretted that death has denied to the author the satisfaction of seeing his work published and of receiving the thanks due to him.

Reviews on Indian Subjects by Jarl Charpentier

1. MANU'S LAND AND TRADE LAWS (their Sumerian Origin and Evolution up to the Beginning of the Christian Era). By R. S. VAIDYANATHA AYYAR. xxi + 164 + vii pp. Madras: Higginbothams, 1927.

The author, relying upon Dr. Waddell's interpretations of the "Indo-Sumerian" seals, tries to prove that the Laws of Manu spring from a common source with the Code of Hammurabi and were composed by Paraśurāma about 2300 B.C. To quote details from such a work would be alike tedious and unnecessary, as the author shows a total lack of scientific method.

2. THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA. A Study in the Structure and Practical Working of Political Institutions in North India in Ancient Times. By BENI PRASAD. vi + 580 pp. Allahabad : The Indian Press, Ltd., 1928.

The present writer some years ago read with no small interest Dr. Beni Prasad's *History of Jahāngīr*, which created upon him a favourable impression by its generally critical method, sound valuation of evidence, and the absence of those ultra-Nationalist points of view which often vitiate the work of Hindu historical scholars. He must, unfortunately, confess his ignorance as to whether that was the first book published by Dr. Beni Prasad ; but if so, it was certainly a clever and fortunate start.

The learned author now has published a bulky volume on the State in Ancient India ; and it may be said at once that it leaves the reader in a satisfied and benevolent mood. There is perhaps behind these 600 pages less of original research than there was behind the somewhat smaller work on Jahāngīr. But one cannot fail to notice the wide scope of the author's reading, which only very seldom leaves out any work of importance, and one is also bound to admit that his general principles are sound and attractive to the Western mind. It is with pleasure that we notice that even if the author does not always present us with his own original views, he has carefully recorded those of other scholars and sifted what evidence is available for the different periods with which he deals.

To enter into a discussion of certain details concerning which the present writer ventures to hold opinions slightly different from those of the learned author is unfortunately impossible here for lack of space. But as he will publish another review of the book in a journal where somewhat more room is available,¹ he may well hope to discuss these minor points there. Of little slips inevitable in a

¹ Cf. the forthcoming issue of the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*.

bulky work like this, there seem to be remarkably few ; the passage (p. 159) speaking of *Kātyāyana's Kāśikā* has been duly corrected on p. 579. Altogether it is a pleasure to state that Dr. Beni Prasad has here given us another work which may not only be perused with genuine interest, but is also of great and indisputable use to every scholar interested in the history and institutions of Ancient India. It may be that a book like this will live through a second edition ; if so, the learned author would do his readers a real service by giving, at the end, a somewhat more substantial summary of his own individual views.

3. KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1926. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India. x + 107 pp., xii plates. Leyden : E. J. Brill, Ltd., 1928.

Professors Vogel, Krom, and Kramers, all of the University of Leyden, have started upon an undertaking which will lay all their fellow scholars under a deep and everlasting obligation to them. The *Bibliography of Indian Archæology* in reality comprises much more than is promised by its title. For by "Indian" is here meant not only things belonging to India and Further India, but also the whole of Indonesia ; and besides there is also a selection of works dealing with Iran and the Far East. Nor is archæology the only subject dealt with here ; cognate subjects like epigraphy, numismatics, chronology, ancient history, etc., have also been taken into consideration in this work of singular merit.

This Bibliography has been edited by the above-mentioned well-known scholars with the help of some of their *confrères* on behalf of the Kern Institute. Thus will be established still more firmly in the memory of forthcoming generations of Sanskritists the name and fame of one of the greatest scholars that have hitherto busied themselves with investigations concerning India and Indonesia. Financial aid has been bestowed by the Government of Netherlands India ; and one can only

feel sorry that the Anglo-Indian Government and the Government of Ceylon did not see their way to grant a support to a work which chiefly deals with the archæology, etc., of British India and is, besides, wholly written in English.

The bibliographical part is, as far as the present writer can judge, very full and excellently fitted to facilitate future researches in this field. Not only books and papers have been quoted, but also reviews of the separate works, as far as they have become known to the editors. An excellent introduction deals with excavations and finds belonging to the years immediately preceding 1926. Thus we find here condensed reports on Mohenjo-daro and Aornos, on the excavations at Nālandā and the preservative works upon the Ajantā frescoes, on Pandit Gaurishankar Ojha's new history of Rājputānā, on Franke's chronicles of western Tibet, on the French work on the temple of Īśvaraputra, on Professor Herzfeld's researches in Achæmenian and Sasanian Persia, and on several minor subjects. Nothing could, in fact, be more useful and welcome. We sincerely hope that Professor Vogel and his colleagues may be able to continue their extremely important work in full enjoyment of the necessary material support and the assurance of the admiration and thankfulness of their fellow scholars. It seems scarcely necessary to mention that everyone who is in any way interested in these subjects should willingly support the work by supplying the editors with such books, pamphlets, and papers that he may himself find leisure to publish. This is an easy and welcome way of acknowledging the obligation under which Professors of the great University of Leyden have again laid the scientific world.

4. MEMOIRS OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA, No. 25: BAS-RELIEFS OF BADAMI. By R. D. BANERJI. iii + 62 pp., xxvii plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1928.

The caves at Bādāmi, once a famous Southern Indian capital, were described long ago by Burgess, though in a

rather incomplete way. They belong to the late sixth century A.D., as is clear from an inscription of the Western Chālukya king Mangaleśa (Maṅgaliśvara) dated in the Śaka year 500. The interesting bas-reliefs with which the four caves are adorned have now for the first time been fully described and interpreted by Mr. R. D. Banerji, who has thus rendered no small service to archæological research work in India.

Mr. Banerji's interpretations of these bas-reliefs, which mainly consist of scenes from the myths connected with Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Kṛṣṇa, seem generally indisputable, and are backed by careful references to the Purāṇas. We cannot here go into details, but should like to make one or two cursory remarks of no great importance.

On p. 10 the author speaks of a scene where Śiva in the guise of a dwarfish Brahmin appears at the side of Pārvatī. This dwarf is seen to carry an umbrella which has apparently puzzled Mr. Banerji, for "dwarfs with umbrellas indicate the dwarf (*Vāmana*) incarnation of Viṣṇu". However, we should like in all modesty to ask whether it is anything especially peculiar to find a Brahmin carrying an umbrella; because he is small in stature he need, of course, not necessarily be identified with the dwarf *avatār*. On the same page there is a very obscure passage in regard to Brahmā and his appearance at the marriage of Śiva. He first speaks of a person carrying a *śūrpa* in his hands "and is therefore Brahmā"; and immediately afterwards he speaks of another four-headed person who is seen pouring libations from a sacrificial ladle (*śūrpa*) and is also identified with Brahmā. That the later identification is correct we would by no means deny. But as far as the present writer's knowledge goes a *śūrpa* is never a sacrificial ladle but simply a winnowing basket; and if any mythological person could be aptly depicted as carrying such an instrument, it would no doubt be Paraśurāma.

The person carrying a water-vessel in the bas-relief discussed

on p. 31 sq. is without any doubt Śukra, who, as later descriptions tell us, was standing by holding the pot from which Bali was to pour water into the hands of the Vāmana.

These passing remarks are in no wise meant to detract from the value of Mr. Banerji's careful work, which we have perused with much interest.

5. ARCHÆOLOGICAL SURVEY OF INDIA. New Imperial Series. Vol. xliii, Parts i and ii. The Bakshālī Manuscript. A Study in Mediaeval Mathematics. By G. R. KAYE. 156 pp., xlvii plates. Calcutta : Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1927.

The manuscript which was unearthed in 1881 at Baskhālī, a village situated in the close neighbourhood of more famous places such as Shāhbāzgarhī, Takht-i-Bahi, and Chārsadda, contains the fragments of a mathematical treatise now fully edited by Mr. Kaye. It first came into the possession of the late Dr. Hoernle, who in 1902 bequeathed it to the Bodleian Library after having long prepared a full edition of it, which, however, came to naught. Owing to a misunderstanding—wholly explicable, by the way—on the part of Buehler, it was at one time believed to be a fragment of one of those Tripitakas which, according to tradition, Kaniṣka deposited in certain *stūpas* in North-Western India.

Dr. Hoernle considered this manuscript, which is written in old Śāradā on birch-bark, to be of considerable age, and to date perhaps from the fifth century A.D. Mr. Kaye, on the contrary, tries to prove that it is comparatively young ; and although he does not think it possible to give a quite definite date, it is obvious that the twelfth century would best correspond to his calculations. We shall not argue this special point. And although it sometimes seems as if Mr. Kaye had perhaps attached too little weight to the work of his predecessor, we are quite prepared to accept his arguments as being in the main sound and valid. The present writer is the much more inclined to do so, as the noble science of mathematics is to him thoroughly inaccessible, he being thus

in a position which allows him neither to contest nor to corroborate the mathematical arguments adduced by Mr. Kaye.

The fragments of the text, which are in part at least in a very bad state, have certainly been edited with the greatest care and sagacity, and we are bound to treat with all due respect the conclusions which Mr. Kaye has extracted from them. Still it seems to us that a few remarks presented on p. 18 sq.—and which are wholly outside the mathematical part of the work—are rather doubtful. What reason, e.g., could there be for identifying the obscure word *pākarāk-ṣakānām* (fol. 65r) with the well-known demons called *Rākṣasa*? We admit we do not know nor does the learned author offer us any explanation whatsoever. On fol. 37r we read : *r/bhano/ratham/suram ahoraya-siddhasamhai/vidyādharai/parivrtam* ; this simple phrase has been curiously misinterpreted on p. 18, and has given rise to some totally out-of-the-way remarks upon the connection of Sun and Serpent. On the same folio there is a mention of *Yudhiṣṭhira* which has elicited the remark : “which implies some familiarity with the great epic of India ”—we should say a slightly unnecessary one. The casual mention, in a modern scientific work, of Abraham would perhaps betray some familiarity with Genesis, but would it be strictly necessary expressly to point this out ? That the mention, on folio 47, of a prince whose name was in all probability *Śatrudamana* should give a valuable clue may perhaps be doubted, as the name is almost certainly a purely legendary one. Finally, the remarks on *Pārtha* (*Arjuna*) on p. 19—to which should be added a reference to fol. 47—are partly unintelligible ; it is at least extremely doubtful whether in the fragment alluded to there is any reference to the *Haihaya*.

The language of these fragments even on a cursory perusal seems to present several points of no small interest. It ought to be thoroughly dealt with by some person who is possessed of a real capacity for philological researches.

RĀJPUTĀNE KĀ ITIHĀS (THE HISTORY OF RAJPUTANA).
Fasciculus ii. By RAI BAHADUR GAURISHANKAR
HIRACHAND OJHA. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 401-735. Ajmer :
Vaidik Press, 1927.

Since that fascinating work, *The Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, was composed, just a century ago, by Colonel James Tod, to whom the present work is dedicated in such felicitous terms by the author, enormous progress has been achieved in historical research, chiefly through the help of information supplied by epigraphical records and coins. Tod relied almost entirely upon the bardic chronicles and traditions, which we now know to be largely erroneous. The present writer shows that the bardic chronicles began to be written after the sixteenth century, V.S., and that these chroniclers had no knowledge of the actual dates of the old rājās, and, there being no means of testing their assertions, whatever they wrote became later on to be regarded as authentic. Rāya Bahādur G. H. Ojhā has used Tod's work so far as its contents can be accepted or verified; but he has remodelled the survey on fuller and more scientific lines in the light of wide special research, and enriched it from his own vast stores of information. He not only corrects—giving valid reasons in every case—innumerable errors and fictions in the bardic accounts that were reproduced by Tod, but exposes several mistakes made in vernacular compilations of more recent date. He has also been able to elucidate and qualify many references to local events in the Muhammadan histories. One of the most striking features of the work is the constant use made of epigraphical records. All available inscriptions, stone and copper-plate, published and unpublished, so many of which have been brought to light by the author himself, have been skilfully utilized, as well as the often valuable evidence of coins. It would be tedious to cite examples of how inscriptions have enabled the bardic records to be superseded, e.g. in the case of Samarasimha, whom Tod, following the bards, described as having been slain in the battle of Tarāin

(A.D. 1192), "together with his son Kalyan, and thirteen thousand of his household troops and most renowned chieftains". We now know that Samarasimha was alive more than a century later! (p. 482). A further example is furnished in the case of Kumbhakarṇa (pp. 591-636), whom the author rightly describes as in so many respects one of the greatest of the Sisodiyā rājās of Mewār, who "laid the foundation of the paramount sovereignty of Mahārāṇa Sāṅgā", but whose greatness had hitherto been overshadowed by Sāṅgā, the latter's fame being much enhanced by Bābur's detailed and graphic account of his hard-won battle with this "pagan" at Khānuā in 1527.

Appendix 4 contains an important note on the *gotras* of Kṣatriyas, in which the author controverts the views recorded by Mr. C. V. Vaidya in his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India*, and holds that the practice was for Kṣatriyas to adopt the *gotras* of their purohīts. He pertinently points out that if the names do not represent the *gotras* of the purohīts, but those of their progenitors, then, as in the case of Brāhmaṇas, their *gotras* would have remained ever the same, and would not change, whereas we find evidence from ancient inscriptions that Kṣatriyas of one and the same family or stock from time to time adopted different *gotra* names. Another instructive note on the prevalence of the title "Śimha" as second member in Kṣatriya names forms Appendix 5. According to the Rāya Bahādūr we first find this title used as an ending to the *pada nama* in the case of Rudrasimha, the second son of Rudradāman of Gīrnār inscription fame, who lived towards the close of the second century A.D.

The composition of the fasciculi is somewhat confusing; for instance, fasc. ii starts with portion of the third chapter of vol. i, and then follow the title page, dedication, preface (pp. 1-60), and table of contents of vol. i, inserted between pp. 544 and 545 of this second fasciculus. The printing is good, and scarcely any typographical errors have been noticed. The language is clear and refined, but recalls the

comments of Sir George Grierson in *LSI.*, vol. i, pt. i, p. 167, on the tendency to excessive employment of Sanskrit words.

This is a work of outstanding importance, written by an erudite Indian scholar, exceptionally qualified for the task by a lifetime's study and research in the area concerned, and inspired, as was Tod, with deep attachment to that land of chivalry and romance. The present volume deals almost entirely with Udayapur history, carrying us down to the accession of Pratāpasinha, the son of the eponymous founder of the city of Udayapur, during the reign of the emperor Akbar. When completed, it will form a contribution of permanent value to the history of northern India. The appreciation which it has already won is shown by the fact that it is now impossible to obtain copies of the first two fasciculi, and a revised issue is already in preparation. We shall look forward to the appearance of a correct English translation, illustrated by suitable maps.

C. E. A. W. O.

NANA FARNAVIS. By A. MACDONALD, Captain 18th Bombay Native Infantry, together with an autobiographical memoir of Nana Farnavis. With an introduction by H. G. Rawlinson, I.E.S. Humphrey Milford, for the University of Bombay. Price 8s. 6d.

The Memoir of Nana Farnavis is a reprint from the original edition of 1851. It is of interest as the only English life of one who is still regarded by the Maratha Brahmans as their last and ablest statesman. The Memoir is stated to be founded on original manuscripts and verbose conversations with the relations and personal attendants of the Peshwa's Minister. The matter, however, is mainly composed of verbatim transcripts from Grant Duff, or of information taken from the curious autobiographical fragment, included in this volume, of Nana Farnavis' life, which was first translated and published by the well-known Oriental scholar Lieut.-Col. John Briggs.

It may be noted that the date given in the Memoir for Nana's birth, which was presumably obtained from family records, differs from the date shown in a note to the autobiography. No discredit attaches to Captain Macdonald for any lack of originality in his Memoir, since it was compiled with the object of translation into the Marathi language. The translation was actually published by him in the next year, 1852, and must be a rare instance of a book written in an Indian vernacular by a British officer in ordinary regimental service. The records show that Captain Macdonald performed the whole of his service with one and the same regiment of Bombay Native Infantry. An examination of the Marathi edition shows the language of the translation to be clear and simple. The Memoir itself is of much interest as giving the life story of the statesman who sought to restore the supremacy of the Maratha people after the staggering disaster of Panipat from which he himself had escaped by a hairbreadth. In spite of the losses of that campaign, the Marathas remained the most powerful of the Indian peoples, able to dominate the throne of Delhi, the states of Rajputana, and the Nizam. The disunion among the Marathas themselves, however, led inevitably to their downfall. The great aim of Nana Farnavis was to cement the Maratha confederacy under the Brahman supremacy of the Peshwa and his Brahman ministers: while the object of the great Maratha feudatories, Sindia, Holkar, and the Nagpur Bhonsle, was exactly the opposite: to exercise unfettered sway in the kingdoms they had won for themselves in Central and Northern India, while retaining full powers of interference in the affairs of their ancestral Deccan. Moreover, Nana Farnavis was determined to be the Brahman who held the real power. We may accept Grant Duff's opinion of his veracity and humanity, and his engagingly frank fragment of autobiography shows him to have been observant of the practices of his religious belief. Yet his treatment of his old colleague Sakharam Bapu can hardly be justified, while his strict tutelage of the young Peshwa

Madhao Rao II was probably a contributory cause in that unfortunate youth's suicide. Moreover, his personal timidity and lack of military talent was a serious handicap. It was not an inherent defect of his caste, since several of the stoutest Maratha fighters and leaders were Brahmans by race.

The relations of Nana with the rising British power afford much matter of interest. It was the dispatch of Colonel Upton's Mission by the Bengal Council, and the entire supersession of the Bombay Council's policy and orders, that cemented the tottering power of the Peshwa's Ministers of whom Nana was the most astute. Mr. Macpherson's recent *Soldiering in India* tends to confirm Grant Duff's opinion that the military officers sent over from Bengal were ill-qualified to negotiate with Maratha Brahmans. Nana Farnavis was, however, not merely adept at playing off the Supreme Council against the Bombay Government. He also maintained relations with the Admiral on the Coast, whom the Marathas professed to regard as "the King's Sirdar". Nana Farnavis, however, overreached himself. He could not refrain from offering petty indignities both to Colonel Upton and his successor, the Bombay civilian, Mr. Mostyn; and his coquetting with the French, though probably only intended to frighten the English, had the effect of hardening the policy against him. Only the ineptitude of the Bombay military operations prolonged the domination of the Poona Brahmans. It may be noted that Nana's personal relations with the English were friendly, and their assistance was invoked when his time of adversity came.

The description commonly applied to him of the "Maratha Macchiavel" shows his reputation with his European contemporaries; while among his own people his memory still remains as the last and greatest administrator of the Peshwa's régime. It is, perhaps, a pity that Mr. Rawlinson has not supplied the fuller annotation, which he is so well qualified to make. The spelling of the proper names is said to have been modernized in this edition. This has not, however, been done

uniformly or correctly, and in three passages the omission of words has made havoc of the sense. The interest of the subject matter, however, fully justifies the republication of the Memoir.

P. R. C.

BENGALI SELF-TAUGHT. By the Natural Method with Phonetic Pronunciation. By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Lit. (London). $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$, pp. ix, 199. E. Marlborough and Co. 3s., cloth 4s.

The author is Professor of Indian Linguistics and Phonetics in the Calcutta University, which is a guarantee for the reliability of the work and of the system which he employs. The two outstanding features of the book are the distinction which is preserved throughout between the current standard form of colloquial speech (*Chalit Bhāṣā*) and the literary language (*Sādhū Bhāṣā*), and the phonetic pronunciation of the Bengali words in the vocabularies and conversations. The literary language was formerly Sanskritic both in vocabulary and construction and differed considerably from the spoken language, but is assimilating to it more and more. The phonetic transcription is according to the Marlborough system of phonetics, but the explanation of it is clearly given, and also, where they differ, the corresponding symbols of the International Phonetic Association. The alphabet and a short specimen of Bengali is given in the Bengali character, but, for the rest, the Roman character is used. This is, no doubt, necessary in a book printed in England, at the price of this series. But though this makes it easier to learn in the first instance, and is sufficient for purely colloquial purposes, the student can only be said to have taught himself Bengali when he has taught himself to be familiar with it in its own character, in which alone it is written. The vocabularies are followed by an outline of grammar, which, though condensed into thirty-four pages, appears to cover all points of grammar required for the colloquial language.

The notes on the phonetic differences between the *Sādhū-bhāṣā* and the *Chalit-bhāṣā* are more complete than in previous grammars. But certain matters which are essential for a knowledge of the *Sādhū-bhāṣā*, such as the rules of *sandhi*, the formation of compound words (*samās*), and the inseparable prefixes (*upasarga*) do not find a place. The syntax, too, is very briefly treated, only two pages being given to it. The grammar is followed by a series of well-chosen conversational sentences arranged under different subjects, and include idiomatic phrases and expressions, in which the Bengali language is so rich. The book is a very reliable one, and the student who has gone through it, if he has, at the same time, accustomed himself to write the words in the Bengali character, will have acquired a sound knowledge of the language.

E. H. C. WALSH.

THE ART OF THE PAL EMPIRE OF BENGAL. By J. C. FRENCH, I.C.S. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii, 26, with 32 plates. Oxford University Press. Humphrey Milford, 1928.

This book is concerned solely with art. It does not profess to deal with iconography or history. The Pāl dynasty reigned from the seventh to the eleventh centuries A.D. Our knowledge of the Pāl kings is mainly derived from the inscriptions on copper-plate grants. Though the Pāl kings were Buddhists, Buddhism and Hinduism were at that time existing peacefully side by side, and the art of that period is mixed with the then prevalent Tantric cult, and which gives it a vitality, which is in strong contrast with the surviving classical spirit of the art of the previous Gupta period. Although the capital of the empire was at Gaur, in Northern Bengal, the second and third rulers of this dynasty, Dharmapāla and Devapāla extended their conquests over Northern India, and the chief examples of its art have been found in Bihar. Out of the thirty-four examples given in the plates, the provenance of three is not known, but is probably Bihar, and, of the remainder, more than

half are from places in Bihar, eight of them being from the recent excavations at Nālanda, and, of the other fifteen images which exist, bearing inscriptions of the Pāl dynasty, a list of which is given, only one, from the Dacca district, is from Bengal, one being from Sarnāth in Benares, and the rest are from the Gaya district, and from Nālanda and other parts of Bihar. The author, however, calls attention to the fact that at Māhāsthān, in the Bogra district of Bengal, from which the image on Pl. III is derived, there exist the remains of an extensive city of this period, whose excavation would probably lead to valuable discoveries.

The best examples of the art of the Pāl dynasty are of the period of Devapāla, the early part of the tenth century, and the greater part of the examples given, including all the small metal images found at Nālanda, are of this period. After this the art declines. The next five kings are mere names, but their names on the images serve to date them and to trace the art in its decline. There was a temporary revival in the reign of Mahipāla, the first thirty years of the eleventh century, but it did not last.

The author mentions an interesting survival of the Pāl dynasty which he found in certain of the hill states in the Punjab, where there is a strong tradition that the ruling families of Sukhet, Keonthal, Kashtwar, and Mandi are descended from "The Rajas of Gaur in Bengal".

The characteristic of the Pāl art is its virility, and the similarity of the art of the contemporary Tang dynasty of China would lead to the conclusion that the Chinese is a copy of the Indian art of this period.

The author has done well to bring together these examples of the art of the Pāl empire, which has so strongly influenced the art of Nepal, up to the present time, and from which the art of Tibet is mainly derived; and which, until recent years, has been overshadowed by that of the Sen dynasty which succeeded it.

E. H. C. WALSH.

CŪLAVAMSA. Being the more recent part of the Mahāvamsa.

Edited by WILHELM GEIGER. Two vols. London: Pali Text Society, 1925-7.

BUDDHADATTA'S MANUALS. Part II. Vinayavinicchaya and Uttaravinicchaya, summaries of the Vinaya Piṭaka, edited, for the first time in Europe, by A. P. BUDDHADATTA. London: Pali Text Society, 1928.

THE BOOK OF KINDRED SAYINGS (SAMVUTTA NIKĀYA) OR GROUPED SUTTAS. Part IV. Translated by F. L. WOODWARD. With an introduction by Mrs. Rhys Davids. Pali Text Society Translation Series, No. 14. London, n.d.

Professor Geiger's edition of the *Mahāvamsa* is now complete, and it contains all that can be desired in a critical edition. The extremely interesting introduction to the *Cūlavamsa* (for so it seems we must now call the latter part) carries further and makes still more convincing the conclusions which the editor has for long held concerning the Ceylon Chronicles, and we are promised a translation with further discussion of the problems involved. One of the admirable indexes consists of twenty pages of words not found in the Pāli dictionaries. The P.T.S. dictionary for some reason omitted words found only in the *Abhidhānappadīpikā*. Nearly a hundred of them now appear in this list.

Buddhadatta's summaries of the Vinaya, says the editor, were intended to assist learning by heart, when books were not available so easily as at present. But they have also an independent value through the fact that they were compiled by a contemporary of Buddhaghosa, and embody some of the material of the old commentaries, several of which are referred to by name. They also give us indications of the state of the text at the time, as well as of the mode of interpretation. There is no mention of Buddhaghosa, who, so the editor thinks, was rather earlier. Another interesting fact is that these works represent not Ceylon Buddhism but the Buddhism of South India, where they were compiled, and they will probably contribute something to the history of mediaeval Buddhism.

The first of the works summarizes the Vinaya rules in about 3,000 verses. The second is a supplement, but not a mere abbreviating of the first. It goes through the same matter in 324 verses, largely in catechism form, and then gives a number of classified lists, which form the bulk of the work. The Rev. Mahāthera is to be congratulated on producing such a scholarly edition, and one so well adapted to the needs of Western students.

Mr. Woodward's volume, like the previous ones, is not a mere translation, but a valuable commentary and help to overcoming the frequent perversities of Feer's text. It is a healthy sign to find among recent translators such an unsettled state of opinion about the rendering of technical terms. *Tathāgata* remains, but *sugata* is "happy one". Do we really get any nearer to *bhagavā* by substituting "Exalted One" for "Blessed One"? Lord Chalmers, like the modern Buddhists, translates it "Lord", but Mr. Woodward uses "Lord" for *bhadanta*, a term not peculiar to the Lord. Who would guess that "person-pack" stands for *sakkāya*, and that *uttama-purisa* (not *uttara*-) becomes "superman"? It appears that now we may sometimes translate *niraya* by "hell" and (according to Mrs. Rhys Davids in the introduction) *bhikkhu* by "monk". Mrs. Rhys Davids finds the Magga, the Way, in the pages addressed to laymen, which promise that those who live wisely and well shall be reborn in the Heaven World. "How absurd, in face of such pages, appear the opinions of persons who will not carefully read them, that Buddhism was originally a system of ethics with no call for faith in the unseen, and a metaphysic centring in the unreality of man or self." It was the Sangha, the body specially trained to carry on the Master's teaching, which "not only decentralized the Way, but also dropped from it the wayfarer".

E. J. THOMAS.

CEYLON ZUR ZEIT DES KÖNIGS BHUVANEKA BAHU UND FRANZ XAVERS, 1539-52. By G. SCHURHAMMER and B. A. VORETZSCH. Verlag der Asia Major, Leipzig, 1928.

In this well got up book of two volumes, the learned authors have reproduced no less than 142 documents, "sources for the history of the Portuguese as well as of the Franciscan and Jesuit Mission in Ceylon." The majority of the documents are from the archives in Portugal: the earliest is dated 26th November, 1539, the latest 15th September, 1562. The value of these original papers need not be emphasized, and it is now possible accurately to reconstruct the history of Ceylon during the period covered by them. This has been admirably done in the Introduction.

Bhuvanēka Bāhu VII, we now know, came to the throne of Kōṭṭē in 1521 (pp. 283, 584) on the assassination of his predecessor Vijaya Bāhu VII, and it was not long before he fell out with his more energetic and abler brother Māyādunnē, who on the partition of Vijaya Bāhu's dominions had secured for himself the kingdom of Sītāwaka. The antagonism between the brothers colours the whole history of the period. Document 1 tells of the help sent by the Portuguese to Bhuvanēka Bāhu against Māyādunnē, supported by the Samorin of Calicut. In the very next document we find raised the question of the succession to the Kōṭṭē throne; Māyādunnē was to be kept out at all costs. Bhuvanēka Bāhu wished the crown to be secured for his daughter's son, Dharmapāla, but rival claims were put forward on behalf of the princes Jugo and his brother, later known as Dom Luis, the king's sons by a wife of inferior birth. The importance of this question led to the well-known embassy to Lisbon at the end of 1541, and the recognition of Dharmapāla as the heir by the king of Portugal, who crowned the effigy of the baby prince.

Great hopes were entertained in Portugal for the conversion of Ceylon, which Bhuvanēka Bāhu's ambassador, in spite of later denials, undoubtedly led the Portuguese to expect. The result was the first Franciscan mission to the Island. The

friars, however, found the dispositions of the king very different from what they had been represented to be. While ready at first to make concessions in favour of converts and to give presents to the churches, he had no intention of becoming a Christian himself. He soon adopted a policy of definite obstruction, due in some degree at least to the practical exemption of the converts from the royal jurisdiction, and even went so far as to kill his own son Jugo in 1544-5. The result of this murder was the flight of his other son, Dom Luis, and of this youth's cousin, Dom João, to Goa, where, however, both died early in 1546. The same anti-Christian and anti-Portuguese policy is seen about the same period in the kingdom of Jaffna, where the Mannar martyrs paid the penalty for their adherence to the new religion towards the end of 1544. The hostility to Christianity on the part of Bhuvanēka Bāhu and of the local Portuguese officials was such that St. Francis Xavier went in disgust to Japan (D. 115).

Bhuvanēka Bāhu also at one time allied himself with his inveterate enemy, Māyādunnē, against Kandy, the object, it is said, being to establish themselves in the hill country in order to be independent of Portugal. The shiftiness of the king of Kōṭṭē naturally resulted in suspicion on the part of the Portuguese, who at length definitely made an ally of Māyādunnē, and it was at the hands of a Portuguese that Bhuvanēka Bāhu died, being shot on an unknown date about the middle of 1551. The Viceroy's attempt to fasten the blame on Māyādunnē and to explain the plundering of the royal palace and of the Tooth Relic temple does not carry conviction (D. 127). The assassination was fatal to the Portuguese; Dharmapāla was abandoned by his subjects, and Māyādunnē became the real master of the low country of Ceylon. The character of Bhuvanēka Bāhu is portrayed in Document 16 (p. 127).

A number of letters deal with the kingdom of Kandy and its relations with the Portuguese and the other native powers

of the Island. Here again the king endeavoured to secure Portuguese help by a pretence at conversion to Christianity.

Considerable light is thrown on the subject of the *marāla* or death duty, by which the movables of a deceased man escheated to the king (DD. 16, 34, 77, 127); Christians were exempted from this burden, with the result that death-bed conversions were a subject of complaint. Bhuvanēka Bāhu's policy towards the converts in the matter of land held by service tenure is set out in his letter to Dom João de Castro, dated 12th November, 1545 (D. 34), in which he states: "And as to the lands (held) of favour, I wish to tell you of what manner they are, to wit: from ancient times until now the bygone kings gave these lands to whom they wished, and, having given them, if (the holders) fell sick of any sickness by reason of being cripples or of old age and they could not go to watch at their palaces or could not go to war and disobeyed them in any way that may be, they would take away from them the said lands, which I cannot do if they are Christians, nor do I dare so much as to speak to them. Wherefore I do not have jurisdiction over them, and for this reason I take from them the lands, as many as become (Christians)."

An item of interest is the use of Tamil at the court of Kōṭṭē, disclosed by the letters of Bhuvanēka Bāhu; this had been suspected before. In 1546 the king of Kandy asked of Māyādunnē a cabaya in the Portuguese fashion and a barret cap (D. 64). The present Kandyan four-cornered hat almost certainly is the descendant of the barret cap; the long-sleeved Kandyan jacket is known as *Juwan hāṭṭē*, "Juan jacket."

In the matter of coinage the "pam" or loaf of gold equal to twenty calamjas weight is mentioned in Kandy (D. 64). In 1547 complaint is made of the debasement of the currency by Bhuvanēka Bāhu (D. 100). In Documents 64, 65, and 79 dealing with Kandy in 1546 "fanams of the country" are spoken of. As 2,400,000 were the equivalent of 25,000 pardáos,

they were most probably of base silver. My deduction, therefore, in *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, p. 175, as to the derivation of the later silver "Sinhalese fanam" from the Kōttē "new fanam" of base gold was mistaken.

The following errors have been noticed :—

pp. 126, 135 : the word Carea is supposed to represent *Kaḍayan* ; it is really *Karaiyan*.

p. 127 : Changatar. This is not directly from the Pali, but from the Tamil *saṅkattar*.

p. 198 : The signature of Bhuvanēka Bāhu does not represent *Śrī*, but *Svasti*. It is a clear debasement of the form with subscript V and T found in the earlier medieval inscriptions. Māyādunnē used the first two letters *Sva*. The *Śrī*, so familiar in the late Kandyan copper-plates, appears as the sign manual of the king of Kandy (Plate II).

p. 495 : The pardáo d'ouro was of six, not of five, tangas.

p. 525 : Plate I clearly proves that "Joan o Rey" does not exist. The legend runs : Puruttukkālukku munne konḍu pora kattu. This, I suggest, means : Letter sent to Portugal before (the other copies). It thus is the equivalent of "1^a. via", which precedes the Tamil sentence.

p. 559 : The signature is not in Tamil, but in Grantha letters.

These, however, are slight blemishes. It may also be suggested that "Topare" on p. 364 is Polonnaruwa, which appears in maps under this name before the ancient city was "discovered". "Oupalão" on p. 421 may be Tamil *uppaḷam*, "salt pan."

In conclusion we may note that these interesting volumes contain a full bibliography, notes on the archives and manuscripts, and an introduction giving the history of Ceylon from 1539 to 1552, according to the texts now published, as well as an analysis of the various historical works on the period. There is also a map of Ceylon, two plates, and a good index. The authors are to be congratulated on their achievement.

H. W. CODRINGTON.

PRINCE VIJAYA PALA OF CEYLON, 1634-54. By P. E. PIERIS. Colombo, 1928.

Dr. Pieris once more has given to the student of Ceylon history a translation of original documents connected with Portuguese rule in the Island. The little book under review deals exclusively with Prince Vijayapāla, who after quarrelling with his brother, king Rājasimha II of Kandy, went over to the Portuguese and ended his days in exile.

The translation is marred by the unnecessary use of Portuguese words in passages where good English is available. This occasionally must render the translation difficult of understanding by the casual reader, who, for instance, can hardly be expected to know what is meant by the "Reino". Unfamiliarity with ecclesiastical terminology also has led to results which strike the English reader as peculiar; for example, "the High Pontiff Urbano VIII," "the ship of São Pedro," "Done at Rome at São Pedro," "Innocencio the Tenth." Again a Franciscan Guardian is needlessly called "Guardião". The Archbishop of "Mira", of course, was the titular holder of the well-known see of Myra. But in spite of these defects Dr. Pieris is to be congratulated on his work.

Of interest is the fact revealed in Document 10 that Vijayapāla wrote to his brother in Tamil. This had been the court language of the kings of Kōṭṭē. And again the appearance in the seventeenth century of the title "Vedauntra" in Document 12. This does not conceal "some form of the word 'Bandara'," as supposed by the translator, but is the Sinhalese *Vāḍa-un-tāna*, which is found in use in the Kōṭṭē period and in the sixteenth century inscription at the Nātha Dēvālē in Kandy. It apparently means "His Majesty" or "His Highness".

H. W. CODRINGTON.

MU'JAM AL-MUŞANNIFİN. By MAHMŪD HASAN AT-TONKĪ.
Bairūt : Matba'ah Ṭayyārah, 1344. 8vo. 385 pp.

The author, who is still living, has conceived the plan of writing in eleven volumes a work containing biographies of all Arabic authors of whom he is able to find notices with a list of all their works whether known to exist in manuscript or print at the present date. As far as my knowledge goes, four of these volumes are ready for the press and the author is working upon the remainder.

The first volume, after giving the reasons for composing such a large undertaking, deals with the various sciences practised by the Arabs, or upon which there exist works in the Arabic language. The principal guides have been the works of Ṭāsh Kōprü Zādeh and Ḥājji Khalifah, but when the author deals with the theological sciences he draws freely upon all manner of other works and at times becomes very explicit. As is natural for an Indian author, great predominance is given in this section to the Ḥanafī school. Very interesting is the chapter dealing with witchcraft, where he discusses the lawfulness of practising this black art by a Muslim. His conclusion is that it is permitted if the study has for its aim to counteract the evil practices of others. A section here is in Persian (pp. 322-4), taken from the *Madārij an-Nubuwwah* of 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Dihlawī. The printer in Syria, unaware that he was printing in another language, has in this part heaped up misprints, but I believe they can all be rectified by anyone acquainted with the Persian language. The Persian citation contains the account of how the Prophet was bewitched by the Jews so that he was smitten with forgetfulness. It is not quite clear whether the author of the *Mu'jam* believes in the correctness of the tale or not. The chief value of the work will lie in the later volumes containing the biographies and bibliographical details; these depend greatly upon the quality of the sources drawn upon, and at the beginning I must warn the author and publishers that

the greatest care must be taken to give the names of persons and books correctly. Here analogy does not help and I find the celebrated Maghribī scholar Birzālī, who spent his life in Syria and continued the History of Ibn 'Asakir, repeatedly called al-Birzānī البرزاني.

The book is printed on good paper and in clear type. It is published by funds supplied by the government of Haiderābād, and should become a very useful work of reference. I cannot give a list of all the errors¹ in the Persian section referred to above, but I have noted the following in the margins of my copy.

p. 72, read ١٣٢ for ١٣٠٢ ; p. 75, read غروان for غزوان ; p. 85, 3, read اللخمي ; p. 105, 2, read الحلبة ; p. 106, 13, read مالقة for ولاية ; in the preceding line read الاكثر ; p. 109, 3 a.f., read بسروري ; p. 110, 5, read الطوسي ; p. 120, 16, the name of the celebrated Koran-reader is Ubayy, not Abi ; p. 121, 19, read مردويه ; p. 123, read Sufyān ibn 'Uyainah ; ll. 5 and 8, read راهويه and مردويه ; line 6, the name of the traditionist is Abū Bakr ibn Abī Shaibah ; p. 135, 7, the name of the traditionist is Ibn Hibbān (not with Jim) ; p. 159, 9, read اصل المذهب ; p. 158, 7, read فرغانة ; line 12, omit the word كانوا, it is not Arabic ; line 16, Hūlāgū was not a son of Jingiz Khān, but a grandson ; line 19, the Mamlūk Sultans cannot be called Ṣalātīn al-'Arab ; p. 184, 8, read بطا شکری ; p. 191, 1, Qais wa Ghailān is wrong, it is Qais 'Ailan without Waw ; line 4, read غسان and الروم ; p. 199, 4, read الكتبي, according to the Durar al-Kāminah he died 718, not 728 ; p. 211, 9, read سبط ابی شامة, not سبطاي ; line 18, read البرزالي, not البرزاني, so also on the next page twice ;

¹ I marked over thirty on two pages.

p. 212, 4, Dhahabī did not continue his large history to the year 740, but only to 700; p. 249, 3 a.f., I believe here لا سقليسوس is intended; p. 270, 8, read الغيوب; p. 286, 9-10, this is a verse, and ought to have been set out as such.

F. KRENKOW.

NOTE ON TURKESTAN DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION. By W. BERTHOLD. London: Gibb Memorial, 1928.

It is not my intention to say anything about the excellence of this work, but in reading through the work I made some notes which may be of general interest.

p. 16, al-Ḥākim (not al-Ḥakīm) is generally known as *Ibn al-Bayyī* (not al-Bayyī); he is the author of the large collection of tradition recently published in four large volumes in Haiderabad. His history of Nishāpūr is cited very frequently by Ibn Ḥajar in the *Lisān al-Mizān*, by Dahabī, and in the *Jawāhir al-Muḍī'ah*; from this it is certain that manuscripts existed in the eighth century of the Hijrah in Syria and Egypt.

p. 33, notes. *The History of Jurjāniyyah (Gurgān)*, by Ḥamzah Iṣbahānī, is, I am sure, a clear error for the *History of Jurjān*, by Ḥamzah b. Yūsuf as Sahmī al-Jurjānī, of which a manuscript is preserved at Oxford (i, 746).

p. 189. The reading al-Qasrī alone can be right because the man was a Yamanite as opposed to the Muḍarīs; the tribe of Qushair which the author suggests were Muḍarīs.

p. 274, misprint 493 for 403, as the date of the death of the ilak.

The author will agree with me that in statements of fact or dates the Arabic authors as a rule deserve greater credence, especially if the Persian manuscripts are of late date, owing to the habitual carelessness and slovenliness of Persian scribes.

F. KRENKOW.

DIE VIERZEILER DES 'OMAR CHAJJAM, übersetzt nach der Bodley'schen Handschrift von WALTER VON DER PORTEN. 84 pp., 8vo. Hamburg, 1927.

'Omar Khayyām has not obtained in Germany the same celebrity as in England, though translations were made at an early date and by translators who were also poets of renown like von Schack and Bodenstein. The latter made a selection while Schack translated nearly all found in the *editio princeps* of Calcutta. The translation of Mr. von der Porten is, as the title states, a rendering of the quatrains found in the Bodleian MS., to which are added a number recently discovered by Christensen and published in the *Journal of the German Oriental Society*. The translator, though keeping as closely to the text in his interpretation, has been able to give a much better German conception of the Persian poet than has been the fortune of his predecessors, and several quatrains are little gems of poetry in their new garb. The edition is an "édition de luxe", like most translations of 'Omar, and in every way equal to similar editions published in other languages.

F. K.

RUBAIYYĀT AL-KHAYYĀM. With Arabic prose and metrical translation. By JAMĪL ṢIDQĪ AZ-ZAHĀWĪ. 8vo, 72 pp. Baghdād : Maṭba'at al-Furāt, 1928.

This is a selection of 130 quatrains by 'Omar Khayyām made by an Arab author who enjoys a high reputation as a poet in the 'Irāq and lands of the Arabic tongue. In each case the Persian text is given and then followed by an Arabic translation in prose and verse, the metres in the latter varying according to the requirements for giving an exact rendering. This is carried out with remarkable skill, but in one case I notice that the translator selected one quatrain which was perhaps too outspoken in its heresy, so that he had to alter the meaning. In No. 9 of the selection the Persian poet says :

ناقص بود آنکه یادہرا نقص کند "Weak in intellect was he who belittles wine", which is left untranslated in the rhymed version, and in the prose version he renders it "and he who belittles it is short-witted". Otherwise the translator has followed his text very closely, and rendered the meaning as clearly as the two languages permit.

F. KRENKOW.

STERNGLAUBE UND STERNDEUTUNG. By FRANZ BOLL.
Unter Mitwirkung von Carl Bezold. Dritte Auflage von
W. Gundel. xii, 211 pp., 20 plates and map. 8vo.
Leipzig-Berlin: B. G. Teubner, 1926. 13s. 6d.

The best translation of the title of this book would probably be "Star-Lore". It covers the double meaning of faith in the stars and the interpretation of the stars. It is more than astrology, for it comprises also the fundamental principles of the more scientific investigation known as astronomy. Whether astrology is now a thing of the past is a matter of conjecture. In one form or another it still survives in the folk-lore of many nations. This ancient Babylonian science has dominated all the civilized nations for at least two thousand years, and yet no comprehensive history of astrology has hitherto been compiled. A first attempt, and rather modest, has been made by Professor Boll, assisted by the well-known Oriental scholar, Professor Bezold, to supply such a handbook, preparatory to the greater work which they contemplated. Death has carried both authors away, and Professor Gundel has published an enlarged edition into which he has incorporated all the notes found in Boll's copy. The Oriental origin and progress of this science is shown by Professor Bezold, and its subsequent development is given in a masterly manner by Professor Boll. Succinct as the treatment of the vast material has been, it is, however, of inestimable value, as it is thus far the only comprehensive treatment of the history of star-lore, and at the same time the authors have

given a full bibliography of the subject. This has been greatly enriched by the latest editor, Professor Gundel. The book contains besides forty-eight illustrations in the text and on twenty plates, and also a star-map, as well as an excellent register. It is printed with the usual care and beauty so conspicuous in all the publications of B. G. Teubner.

M. GASTER.

ETUDES SUR LE ZOROASTRISME DE LA PERSE ANTIQUE. By ARTHUR CHRISTENSEN. 8°, pp. 59. Kobenhavn: Andr. Fred. Host & Son, 1928.

The contribution of Professor Christensen to the criticism of the Avesta consists of a series of minute examinations of a number of Yasts. He endeavours to combat the results arrived at by others, especially by Hertel, as to the date of their composition, and he comes to the conclusion that we have, in Yast 13, the oldest remnants of Zoroastrian literature. This Yast, together with 19 and 10, he ascribes to a pre-Achæmenian period or, latest, contemporary with the Achæmenian, in spite of the mass of legendary matter contained in these Yasts, which points unquestionably to a later development in Zoroastrian teaching. To a period probably of the fourth century B.C. he ascribes seven more Yasts, and only the Vendidad and Yast 9 is of the time of the Arsacides, whilst Yast 16 is probably a little later. It is especially Yast 13 to which the author has devoted most of his attention, studying it from many points of view, as also the formation of some of the personal names contained in the list of that Yast, the three-partite division of the world, and about the Kayanides in their relation to the Achæmenians. The story of the division of the world into three parts, from which the author tries to deduce some definite conclusions, does not seem, however, to be so old, and belongs probably to a wide cycle of legends also discussed by me in my edition of the Samaritan Asatir. In the last portion of this essay, Professor Christensen has

collected all the references found in the ancient literature about Zervan, "time without limit," from the Gathas down to Sharastani. The problem of Zervan and his position in Zoroastrianism is now the object of much heated discussion amongst Iranian scholars, and this marshalling of sources is therefore a very welcome contribution towards its elucidation. It is only at the hand of original sources, in this case very few in number, that there lies the possibility of its solution.

M. GASTER.

OLD TESTAMENT ESSAYS. Papers read before the Society for Old Testament Study at its Eighteenth Meeting, held at Keble College, Oxford, 27th-30th September, 1927. 8vo, 174 pp. London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1927. Price 10s.

This volume is a welcome sign of the awakening desire for international co-operation in matters scientific. At the invitation of the Society for Old Testament Study a number of scholars, English and Continental, foregathered in Oxford in September of last year. This volume contains the result of their deliberations. Sixteen lectures delivered on that occasion are here printed. They constitute a valuable contribution to the study of the Old Testament.

It would be difficult to discriminate between one paper and another, especially when one like the present writer holds views diametrically opposed to those expressed by many of these scholars. It must be left to the student of the Old Testament to select and to appraise them according to the point of view which appeals to him most. With few exceptions these papers adopt the standpoint of Higher Criticism. Some, like Professor Lods, find the Bible full of magic. Professor Gunkel writes very beautifully on the poetry of the Psalms. Interesting also is the article by Dr. S. A. Cook on Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, whilst Professor G. A. Cooke would find further material for his study of Ezekiel

xxviii in the treatment of the legends of Nimrod and Hiram in my edition of the Samaritan Secrets of Moses. This material may perhaps further amplify Professor Cooke's suggested interpretation of this chapter. Dr. G. Driver publishes his paper on the Tetragrammaton which he also read in a somewhat fuller form at a meeting of the Royal Asiatic Society.

The Society is to be thanked for its spirited endeavour again to focus successfully the study of the Old Testament. It is a pity, however, that such a high price had to be charged, since it must prove prohibitive to many.

An index might with advantage have been added.

M. GASTER.

THE INDIAN AND CHRISTIAN MIRACLES OF WALKING ON THE WATER. By WILLIAM NORMAN BROWN. 8vo, 76 pp. London and Chicago: The Open Court Publishing Co., Chicago, 1928. \$2.

In this essay Professor Brown raises again the problem of the intercourse between India and the West, and the possibility of the transmission of legends and tales from that country to Syria and Palestine. He limits himself in his investigation to the miracles in connection with walking on the water found in Buddhist literature and in the Gospel narrative. There are, no doubt, parallels in other literatures, but here only Buddhist stories are considered.

The idea which has hitherto been entertained that there was no connection between one country and another, however distant, gives way under the weight of modern discoveries. Nations have never lived quite separated from one another, and trade-routes were used not only by merchants, but also by pilgrims and missionaries. Another question, however, is the dependence of one set of stories upon another. Against this assumption there is always the alternative hypothesis of independent origin. Some five and twenty years ago on

the occasion of the Folklore Congress, I ventured to express the view that where we have a complexity of incidents in two sets of legends, such independent origin is utterly impossible. I am glad to find that Professor Brown—unquestionably by independent study—comes to precisely the same conclusions. On the strength of these conclusions he finds the source of Peter walking on the waters in the Jataka 190, where the lay pupil also walks on the water to meet his master.

The walking of Jesus finds its parallel in the similar walking of Buddha on the waves of the sea as represented in the Sanchi sculpture. Professor Brown rightly points out that there are no exact Biblical parallels, for here the people walk dryshod over the earth, the waters being separated. I should like to adduce the only parallel in Jewish literature known to me; it is of a somewhat late origin, but it is interesting simply to connect it with the pseudo-Messiah, David Alroy, the hero of Lord Beaconsfield's novel of the same name. He is said to have eluded his pursuers by rolling up his turban and walking on it across the river.

M. GASTER.

THE ASTROLOGICAL WORKS OF ABRAHAM IBN EZRA. A literary and linguistic study with special reference to the Old French translation of Hagin. By RAPHAEL LEVY. 8vo, 172 pp. John Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages, vii. Baltimore and Paris, 1927.

Modern scholars turn in increasing numbers towards the investigation of the sources of the so-called "pseudo-sciences" of the Middle Ages, and foremost to those of alchemy and astrology. The above publication is an important contribution towards the history of astrology in Europe. No less a personality than that of Abraham ibn Ezra now appears to have been one whose writings exercised the deepest influence on this science in the Middle Ages.

Aben Ezra was hitherto known chiefly as one of the most acute commentators of the Bible, a great grammarian and a profound mathematician. We now learn that he was also the author of a number of astrological treatises which have enjoyed the highest reputation among the best-known astrologers. His influence went far beyond Jewish circles, for already, as early as 1273, these writings, compiled between 1140 and 1150, were translated into French by a certain Hagin, a Jew, in the house of the canon, Henry Bate, of Malines. Professor Levy shows in detail that this translation has been the basis of all the other translations either full or in part which appeared in almost every European language. Foremost among these is the complete Latin rendering of Peter d'Abano, utilized by Tycho de Brahe and Copernicus. Among others there are also two English translations, one of them by Culpeper.

Altogether a remarkable chapter of literary history is here revealed, which goes back to Hebrew and Arabic sources, for Aben Ezra made extensive use of Arabic astrological writings, principally those of the Jew Mashala. He knew, of course, a large number of ancient writers, Greek and Arabic, the former through the Arabic, whom he quotes freely.

The original Hebrew text has hitherto remained unpublished, and Professor Levy has rendered a signal service to scholars for having drawn detailed attention to a work of such interest and importance. He himself is now preparing an edition of the Old French translation of Hagin.

M. GASTER.

BYZANTINE ART. By HAYFORD PEIRCE and ROYALL TYLER.

8vo, 56 pp., with one hundred plates in collotype.

London: Ernest Benn, Ltd., 1928. Price 21s. net.

In ten pages the authors of this book give us a summary description of the rise and fall of Byzantine art. As they

point out, it is practically independent, in its origin and later development, of Christian influences, though fully represented in the sacred monuments. On the contrary, the very beginnings can be seen in pagan art, influenced by the East, and already as old as the period of Diocletian. Later on, especially after the wars of Heraclius with the Persians, the Sassanian influence becomes a dominating factor in Byzantine art. It is seen more and more clearly that Byzantium was a connecting link between East and West, and that much of the Western culture was an imitation, often debased, of the Byzantine. Byzantine art comes to an end with the last Crusade, when in 1204 the Franks found their "Holy Land" in Byzantium, looked upon the Greeks as the "Paynim", and finished their conquest with the sack of Constantinople. The rich booty which they found in the Churches and palaces of Constantinople was carried to the West, where it has been preserved to a large extent in private and public collections. To these the authors have gone, and with great diligence and care they have been able to reproduce on a hundred plates much that is most representative and characteristic. Statues and coins, chalices and ivories, silken shrouds (many coloured), and many other ornaments have been here arranged chronologically. The authors rightly refuse, with few exceptions, to reproduce coins, which on their part are the best specimens of the Byzantine art. They are very difficult to reproduce, and bearing in mind that these plates are in collotype with black on a sepia ground, such reproductions might have been a distinct failure. One novel point deserves mentioning. It is to the effect that the iconoclastic movement, in spite of its wholesale destruction of sacred images, or rather in consequence thereof, has given to Byzantine art a newer and broader outlook, and some of the finest works of the ninth and tenth centuries were due to this new impulse. Each plate is minutely described, but one cannot help expressing some regret that no attempt has been made to reproduce in colours some, at least, of these specimens.

They lack the fine artistic finish and the aesthetic beauty which would have added so much to a better appreciation of the Byzantine art.

M. GASTER.

L'ART HITTITE. Par EDMOND POTTIER, Membre de l'Institut.
Premier Fascicule. pp. 100 and plates, 4to. Librairie
orientaliste Paul Geuthner. Paris, 1926.

As this first section of M. Pottier's work on Hittite art contains no less than 121 finely drawn reproductions, the exceeding richness of this section of ancient artistic production is beyond all question. This was naturally to be expected when we consider how rich a field of discovery Hittite territory has constituted during the last sixty years or more. It is a matter of considerable regret that we are unable as yet to read the hieroglyphic texts from Hamath and the other sites where these noteworthy inscriptions are found. On the other hand, the cuneiform Hittite inscriptions have been very useful as far as they can be read, and the fact that they are Aryan is a matter of considerable interest, as they must give the earliest form of Aryan speech known. The same may therefore also be said with regard to the art, which in many respects resembles that of the Assyrians, especially in the military scenes of the time of Aššur-našir-pal.

It is only when going through a book like this that one realizes the great progress which has been made of late years in the study of the antiquities of that long-lost nation, the Hittites, otherwise "the Children of Heth". Who would have thought, before the discovery of those antiquities, that "the Children of Heth" had been such a great nation as the researches have since shown them to have been—that the Israelites were once reckoned with the Hittites—as they were also with the Amorites—*Amurrū*, which gave its name to the west cardinal point?

When looking at the pictures in this book so thoroughly

carried out, the thought strikes the reader: How like the Assyrian sculptures those of the Hittites are—and yet how unlike. Was one derived from the other, and if so, which was the earlier? All that can be said is, that the Hittite sculptures seem to have preceded those of Assyria, and that, although they show a certain technique and style of their own, they are to all appearance far from being as finished. This may in part be due to the fact that the stone used by the Hittites is rougher, and therefore must have been more difficult to work satisfactorily. To this must be added the fact that their costumes, manners, customs, and religion were somewhat different, and therefore different in type and feeling. Hittite sculpture may, in fact, have been somewhat less formal, and this, with the smoothness of the stone—generally alabaster or limestone—may have made Assyrian sculpture more polished, though, in its earlier stages, more uncouth. It is doubtful, as all who have studied it will probably admit, whether Hittite art ever began to approach the perfection of Assyrian art from say, the time of Sennacherib to that of Aššurbanipal—especially the latter.

On the other hand, the art of the Hittites seems to have been more grotesque, as well as rougher, than that of the Assyrians from the time of Aššur-našir-pal onwards. In examining it M. Pottier has made full use of the work of his predecessors in the same field, and explains that the book is the outcome of his lectures in 1917–18, and that he intended to expose to the Syrians the scientific work of modern scholars in Oriental lands. The object is praiseworthy, and would be in accord with the latest trend of Oriental thought.

After the *Aperçu Historique*, the author treats of the priority of Hittite art over the art of Assyria, to which I have referred; and then proceeds to deal with the various sites in turn. The chapter which begins with Karkemish is especially interesting. He speaks of the importance of the site and its archaeological history—the explorers who have examined and worked in it, including George Smith, Hogarth, Thompson,

Woolley, and Lawrence, in addition to which, moreover, he mentions "the English consul in Aleppo who had already referred, in 1754, to a sculptured relief on that site which he naïvely described as a "Christian clergyman in his sacerdotal robes". This is Monsieur Pottier's fig. 2, representing a Hittite divinity. It was sent by G. Smith to the British Museum. Unfortunately it is headless, but it has an inscription on the back.

This and numerous other statues, in the usual Hittite style, are given, including the Hittite form of the mother-goddess (fig. 4), who is shown with plaits, wings, hat apparently surmounted by the crescent moon, and holding her breasts. These figures of deities are very numerous, and in many cases are very well carved. Noteworthy is fig. 5, among others, the Assyrian style of dress being very pronounced—but which was the nation that borrowed from the other this fashion of dress?

The human figures are numerous and interesting. From them we get a good idea of the types and the costumes of the various officials, from the beardless eunuchs (similar to those of the Assyrian reliefs) to the short-bearded warriors with crested helmets and spears. In fig. 20 we see a hero with curly side-locks capturing a lion and a bull, the former by seizing its hind-legs, and the latter by grasping its horns—naturally, to do this, the animals have to be on different levels. Other strange scenes of similar daring are reproduced.

All the subjects are depicted and well described, with comparisons with Assyrian and Babylonian art. The next section deals with Zenjirli, where Koldewai worked, and of which the plan is given—a plan interesting owing to its rather circular and symmetrical form. Many are the lion-forms, some of them very strange, among which may be mentioned the double-headed chimera, depicted with a lion's head level with the shoulders and a woman's head above.

Noteworthy is the variety of designs or, rather, details of the sculptures. They are in many cases somewhat rough,

but that makes us wonder all the more, knowing, as we do, the rough nature of the material. There is no doubt that the Hittites who produced these sculptures would have become artists as skilled as the Assyrians in the same conditions of material and of encouragement.

It is one of the most perfect books upon the subject of the Hittites and their art which has yet been published—full of suggestive points, and well provided with material for comparison. The further researches of M. Pottier upon the subject will be looked for with eagerness.

T. G. PINCHES.

FIELD MUSEUM OF NATURAL HISTORY: ANTHROPOLOGY.

Memoirs, Vol. I, No. 1. Report of the Excavations of the "A" Cemetery at Kish, Mesopotamia. Part I. By ERNEST MACKAY. With preface by Stephen Langdon. 20 plates, 63 pp., $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Field Museum—Oxford University Joint Expedition. Chicago, 1925.

As mentioned by Professor Langdon in his Preface, Mr. Mackay deals in this section of the work almost exclusively with the pottery and implements found at the Sumerian palace. The other extensive collections of pottery found by himself and others will be published in a future volume. When complete, the importance of this part of the excavations will be recognized as unexpectedly great. The building furnishes a perfect example of early Sumerian architecture upon a grand scale. Unfortunately this early Sumerian palace contains no records of the early Sumerian monarchs who reigned there more than twenty-eight centuries before Christ, but such things are likely to be found later on. Besides Mr. Mackay, those engaged upon the work were Professor Stephen Langdon; a generous donor, Mr. Herbert Weld, of Queen's College, Oxford; Col. W. H. Lane; Father Eric Burrows, of Oxford; and Mrs. Mackay, a trained

anthropologist, to whose skilled hand all the line-drawings of the pottery found are due. It is a solid work due to the united energies of two great English-speaking nations co-operating.

T. G. PINCHES.

THE ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS AND ORIENTAL RESEARCH. Vol. VI for 1924-5. Edited by BENJAMIN W. BACON. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 10\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + 111. Published by the Amer. Schools of Orient. Research. New Haven and Yale Univ. Press Sales Agency, 1926.

The Annual includes a remarkable article on the Jordan Valley in the Bronze Age, by W. F. Albright, studying the topography, toponomy, ceramics, etc., of numerous sites from Banias to south of the Dead Sea. The larger topics include an account of Hîrbet Kerak (Talmudic Beth-Yerah), south of the Sea of Galilee, which may have been in its day the most important city of northern Palestine; studies of the Sethos stelæ from Beisan (suggested equation of the 'py-rw with the Madianite 'Epher); an expedition to the Dead Sea in 1924, and discovery at ed-Drâ', above the eastern shore, of a settlement of the early Bronze which came to an end c. 1800, a fact which is used to date the destruction of the Cities of the Plain. As to the nature of this event, Dr. Albright gives reasons for accepting the old opinion that they were submerged: no early remains were found at what is certainly the Byzantine Segor (Zoar): the old town must have been lower down the Seil, and is now beneath the waves. One of the general conclusions from this study is the high antiquity of the civilization of the Jordan Valley; most of the sites of the Bronze age here would have been occupied in the first half of the third millenary, and many before 3000: The town sites of the rest of Palestine are mostly much later. It is a very interesting article.

"A new factor in the history of the Ancient East," by E. Chiera and E. A. Speiser, deals with the important

discoveries at ancient Nuzi near Kirkuk. The proper names in the documents discovered there are Hurrian, and the first part of the article contains a good critical summary of what is known of the people in question. The latter part deals with the contents of the tablets, and the peculiar usage of fictitious adoption in evasion (it is supposed) of a law prohibiting purchase of family estate. The other articles, by W. H. P. Hatch, give an account of the convents in Waḍi Naṭrūn, and publish three Coptic fragments (from a history of Dioscoros and two theotokia).

E. B.

DER OIKONOMIKOC DER NEUPYTHOGOREERS "BRYSON"
UND SEIN EINFLUSS AUF DIE ISLAMISCHE WISSENSCHAFT,
Edition und Uebersetzung der erhaltenen Versionen,
nebst einer Geschichte der Oekonomie im Islam mit
Quellenproben in Text und Uebersetzung. Von MARTIN
PLESSNER. viii + 297 pp. Heidelberg: Carl Winter,
1928.

The distortion of names connected with the translation of an ancient Greek work has led to the curious result that the above-mentioned treatise of the Neo-Pythagorean philosopher Bryson in its way through the Arabic version was ascribed to Apollonius, Galen, and one or two other fictitious persons such as Rufus and Barsis. To unravel this tangle was the first task our author had to face, and this he has accomplished satisfactorily. Of the Greek original only two fragments have been saved, but the Arabic version made by an unknown translator fortunately prevented the total loss of this work. This Arabic text was in its turn translated into Hebrew by David b. Solomon Ibn Ya'ish of Seville in the middle of the fourteenth century. These facts alone bear witness to the importance ascribed to treatise in the learned world east and west and one cannot but welcome Dr. Plessner's endeavour to trace Bryson's influence on the ethical literature of Islām.

He shows how numbers of the most distinguished Muslim doctors profited by his teachings, and helped to disseminate them among their co-religionists. We encounter the names of al Dimershqi, the author of a work on the ethics of trade translated by Dr. H. Ritter; of Ibn Abd al Rabīʿ; of the encyclopædic work by the renowned Fakhr al Dīn Al Rāzi, Ibn Sina, Miskawaih, al 'Ijī, and even Al Gazālī's *'Iḥyā*. Special attention is paid by Dr. Plessner to Nāṣir al Dīn al Tūsi whose expositions according to our author owe their existence to an amalgamation with Ibn Sina's discussions on the subject. He assumes, apparently with good reason, that Bryson's influence on Muslim economics was two-fold, first upon Ibn Sina himself, and through him on Al Tūsi. The latter, however, provides the key to the understanding of any theory of economics in Islām. In connection with this the author gives copious and interesting extracts from the *Qabus nāma* of Ibn Qabūs, headed "Five chapters on economics". They show parallels to Nāṣir, while not really being the source of the latter. This is illustrated by specimens of the Persian text. After this follow several chapters of Shahrāzūri's encyclopædic work, edited by our author in an appendix to the book. These texts form an important parallel to the Arabic version of Bryson. The author's summing up and his attempted genealogy of the various texts are sure to meet with general approval. A definite judgment will have to be deferred till a lucky chance makes larger portions of the Greek original available. The author was well advised to supplement his researches by the editions of the Arabic, Hebrew, and Latin versions, a task carried out with commendable efficiency. To this he added a German translation which will be a great help to wider circles of readers. The management of a house, we read in the heading, becomes complete through four matters, viz. money, servants, wife, children. To each of these items a number of paragraphs is devoted showing the advantages of the proper administration of a house, and the loss entailed by incapacity or neglect.

The author has produced a book of historical as well as literary value. His philological treatment of the various Oriental texts is all that is desirable.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

HANDBUCH DER ALTARABISCHEN ALTERTUMSKUNDE I. By
DITLEF NIELSEN, with the collaboration of FR. HOMMEL
and NIK. RHODOKANAKIS. Copenhagen, Busck; Paris,
Geuthner, 1927.

This sumptuous volume, with its beautiful print and paper and 76 illustrations, is a pleasure to handle and read, even apart from its contents. And the names of the editor and his colleagues are a sufficient guarantee that nothing is wanting on this score. Ancient Arabia has at last found a worthy record, brought up to date and as exhaustive as such a record can be. Two more volumes are promised; when the whole work is finished it will long remain the standard authority upon the subject.

Dr. Nielsen, well known in this country for his researches into the old moon-worship of Arabia and its relation to the Sinai and Sinaitic legislation of the Old Testament, contributes an introductory chapter on the history of exploration in Southern Arabia, and a review of the materials for reconstructing the archæology of Arabia and Abyssinia, as well as another chapter on the religion of the ancient Arabians. It is needless to say that both chapters are at once learned, interesting, and full of new points of view. A second chapter is by the veteran Semitist, Professor Hommel, on the early history of Southern Arabia, more especially of the Minæan and Sabæan kingdoms, a subject which he has long since made his own. Then come chapters by Professor Rhodokanakis on "Public Life in the old South-Arabian States" and by Professor Grohmann on "The Archæology of Southern Arabia". The last pages of the volume are occupied by very complete and useful indices.

One of the chief impressions left by the book is the importance of Southern Arabia in the early history of trade, culture, and religion, and how little we still know about it. The country and its monuments are still but superficially explored and the inscriptions already recovered from it, often with great difficulty and even risk of life, are but a tithe of those which must still await discovery. Southern Arabia was the land of the incense-bearing trees, and incense played an important part in the religions of Egypt and Babylonia from an early date. We are only now beginning to learn what a large amount of maritime intercourse must have been carried on at an early period along the coasts of Arabia and the adjacent lands, and how much truth there was in the Babylonian legend which derived the primitive civilization of Babylonia from the waters of the Persian Gulf.

Even the relative dating of the Minæan and Sabæan kingdoms is still a matter of dispute. Like Glaser, Professor Hommel makes that of the Minæans precede Saba and would refer the earliest known Minæan inscriptions to a period as far back as about 1300 B.C. In Saba the kings were preceded by the *mukarrib*, a title the precise signification of which is still uncertain. The first ruler of the country who gives himself the title of "king" is Kariba-'Il Bayyin, the son of Yata'-amar Watar, who, as Hommel points out, is clearly the Karibu-ilu "king" of Saba mentioned by Sennacherib (685 B.C.). His father would be "the Sabæan" Iti-amara of Sargon (715 B.C.). But it must be remembered that the compiler of the Books of Kings at a time when the facts must have been still known, speaks of a "queen of Sheba in the age of Solomon".

The scientific exploration of Arabia begins with the Danish expedition sent out under the auspices of the king in 1761 and the results of it which are embodied in Carsten Niebuhr's "epoch-making" book, and it is therefore fitting that it should be a Danish scholar who puts as it were the final touch

to the work. This splendidly printed and illustrated "Handbuch", despite its title, is as kingly in its appearance as was the expedition of 1761.

A. H. SAYCE.

KURDISCH-PERSISCHE FORSCHUNGEN. Die Mundarten von Khunsâr, Mahallât, Natanz, Nâyin, Samnân, Sîvand und So-Kohrûd. Bearbeitet von KARL HADANK. Berlin und Leipzig : Verlag von Walter de Gruyter & Co., 1926.

This paper-bound volume consists of an introduction containing 120 pages and 269 pages in the body of the book. It is the first sub-section of the four sub-sections which comprise the third part, dealing with the north-western Persian dialects, of the ambitious project inaugurated nearly thirty years ago by Oskar Mann, which contemplates a complete survey of the Kurdish and Persian dialects. This volume professes to deal with no less than seven different dialects, with regard to each of which a certain amount of grammatical material is supplied, and a small vocabulary together with stories, verses and fables translated into German. The method of treatment of these dialects is singularly lacking in uniformity. In the case of two dialects, those of Khunsâr and Nâyin, the specimen passages with their translations cover over thirty pages, while the Natanzî passages with their translation cover only three pages and in the case of the Sîvand dialect only one short fable is given. The vocabularies of these two dialects are ridiculously meagre, and a large proportion of the few words exhibited corresponds with standard Persian. It is difficult to imagine what purpose is fulfilled by giving such words at all. This criticism applies to all the seven vocabularies. The method adopted of dealing with the numerals is curiously inadequate and inconsistent. In some cases a fairly complete list is given, showing no very striking divergence from standard Persian. In the Natanzî only the numbers 1, 3, 4, 10, 18, 30, and 500 are given, while

in So-Kohrûdi the meagre list is confined to 1, 2, 3, 5, and 10. It is difficult to conceive what benefit these lists can be to any one. What would have been useful and interesting would have been a combined table comparing the numerals up to a hundred in all the seven dialects. This, together with a translation of the same story into all the dialects, would have made it possible to see how far the dialects are essentially different and in what the main differences consist. I do not find it possible to have great confidence in the phonetic methods of the scholars who have reproduced the dialectic words in the Roman alphabet. To take an instance, the standard word for a partridge (*kabk*) appears in the Nâyinî dialect as *qêûq* and in the So-Kohrûdî dialect as *kauka*. In view of the facts that words containing the "q" sound are apparently rare in the Nâyinî dialect, and words containing the sound of "k" very common (the ordinary Persian word *kakul* meaning a lock of hair, appears, for instance, unaltered in the Nâyinî list), it seems highly unlikely that *qêûq* really represents the pronunciation of this word. The short lists given do not furnish many points of philological interest, but a few may be enumerated. In the Natanzî the word for the pronoun "I" is *aza*, which seems to come from the Avestan *azem*. In Samnani the word for a wolf, viz. *varg* is much closer to the Avestan *vehrka* than the standard Persian *gurg*. Similarly, the Nâyinî word for the sky, viz. *aur*, is very close to the Avestan *avera*. The Sivandî list contains two curious words beginning with "f", viz. *farm* (sleep) and *fird* (small), in both of which the labiant spirant seems to be a substitute for a guttural spirant. On the whole, however, the material supplied is much too meagre to justify any definite conclusions with regard to the individual peculiarities of the dialects.

R. P. DEWHURST.

GESCHICHTE VORDERASIENS UND ÄGYPTENS VOM 16-11
JAHRHUNDERT V. CHR. FRIEDRICH BILABEL. Mit 2
Karten. 8°, pp. xx + 475. Heidelberg: Carl Winter,
1927. 36s.

The author of this book has embodied in it the latest results of the excavations and investigations carried out in Egypt, Babylon, and the Hittite countries. It is, in a way, a continuation of the Oriental history carried down to the sixteenth century B.C. by Eduard Meyer, but conceived from a much wider point of view. The history of these Oriental nations is shown not only in their mutual relations to one another, largely influenced by geographical conditions, but also as the background of the history of Greece and Rome, leading up to the history of the civilization of the West. Only one portion of this vast programme is here thus far dealt with. Other volumes are to follow which are to complete this great work, showing how antiquity lives even in our modern times, and how profound the influences have been which have emanated from those ancient times and Empires, and have moulded the lives of the Western nations. In order to carry out such an undertaking the author has gone to the sources. He has studied Egyptian documents from the hieratic to the demotic and even Coptic scripts, and he has spent many years in trying to unravel the mysteries offered by the Hittite documents from Boghaz-Koi. A large portion of this history is devoted to what he calls the Second Hatti Empire, the beginnings of which are rather doubtful, and for which there are only hypotheses, but which the author believes had come to an end in the twelfth century B.C. The book is divided into two sections; the one, up to p. 203, contains the historical survey of those centuries, some portions more fully and others less fully described, and the second section, from pp. 207 to 425, contains the literary apparatus reserved for the scholar. In fourteen chapters the author deals exhaustively with all the doubtful and obscure points which require special elucidation. Here again he

reserves a large portion of this section to careful investigation of the Hittite documents, the kings that ruled, their wars, especially with Egypt, and their relation to the other nations. A special chapter is also given to a review of the Babylonian chronology, and the last chapter contains six genealogical tables of the kings of Egypt, of the New Hatti Empire, of Mitanni-Hurri, Amurru, Babylonian and the Assyrian twenty-third dynasty of Babel to Asurbanipal, and the Elamite kings of this period. The author also publishes in the course of his history numerous translations of ancient texts, chiefly Hittite, since the Assyrian and so also the Egyptian are, to a large extent, sufficiently well known through Breasted's work, to which the author refers. The indices and two maps complete the book, which opens up a new view of the history of the Near East, based on original research, profound scholarship, independent investigation, and great power of historical insight into the driving forces which have created and destroyed those empires of old, and which, have been nevertheless the real sources of our modern civilization. The author has been engaged on this work since 1913, long before Boghaz-Koi had given up its secrets, and he is fully aware of the fact that the decipherment of the Hittite documents has just entered upon its first phase, and vast material is still waiting to be read and properly understood. This may prove a weak point in his otherwise masterly presentation of ancient history, but every book which rests on documents yet uncovered by the spade is subject to become antiquated or superseded within a very short space of time. With the material, however, at his disposal, the author has given us a most valuable and fresh contribution to the history of the Orient. It is to be hoped that the other outstanding volumes will follow rapidly, and thus complete a work which would become at the same time a new history of civilization.

M. G.

EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN LANDS: TWENTY YEARS OF LIFE, SPORT, AND TRAVEL. By COLONEL P. H. H. MASSY, C.B.E. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 261, with 56 illustrations and maps. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1928. 12s. 6d. net.

Sir E. Denison Ross in a very interesting preface says: "... none of the books dealing with new Turkey have been written by men who possessed so intimate a knowledge of the old régime as does Colonel Massy. This valuable book is, therefore, of especial interest . . ." The author's intention was to write a handy volume likely to be of use to travellers and those who wish to take a journey to the Eastern Mediterranean may read it with profit. He was one of those British military men who were sent with Consular rank to Turkey to observe the results of Sultan Abdul Hamid's promises to reform the administration of Asia Minor. Their work had more success, perhaps, than was expected by people who knew the Near East and Colonel Massy can claim "that no massacre of Armenians ever took place in that part of Turkey where he was stationed"; a similar claim might be made by some officers of little more than school age who served in Transcaucasia after the British occupation had ceased, and over wide tracts kept the peace between Christians and Moslems. The most interesting sections of this book are the first, "Turkey under the last Sultans," and the fourth, "The Dawn of the Turkish Republic," contrasting the present state of affairs with that under the old régime. As Sir E. Denison Ross says: "Only the . . . institution of the Chinese Republic in 1912, and the resulting changes in everyday life, offer a picture at all comparable . . ."

O. W.

LA CITÉ PONTIQUE DE DIONYSOPOLIS : Kali-Acra, Cavarna, Téké et Ecréné. Exploration archéologique de la côte de la Mer Noire entre les caps Kali-Acra et Ecréné faite en 1920. Recherches d'histoire. By O. TAFRALI, Professeur à l'Université de Jassy. 10 × 6½, pp. 80, avec 16 planches. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1927. 40 francs.

Professor Tafrali, in 1913, published three volumes on Byzantine archaeology and epigraphy, with special reference to Thessalonica and he now describes his digging, in 1920, in the neighbourhood of Baltchik, in the Dobrudja, which he identifies with Dionysopolis and gives (p. 29) a plan of the site of the Acropolis of that city as it now is. The total amount of new material is not great or of very striking interest, and a large number of the illustrations are taken from the works of the Čech brothers Škorpil who worked in Bulgaria more than thirty years ago, where the writer of the present notice made their acquaintance, to be continued a few years later at Kertch (Pantikapaion) where one of them afterwards became Director of the Archaeological Museum and was killed by the Bolsheviks. This pamphlet contains a useful bibliography and list of maps and a collection of the inscriptions found at Baltchik and Cavarna by other diggers and already published elsewhere.

O. W.

KEMÂL RE'İS. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der türkischen Flotte von Hans-Albrecht von BURSKE. 9½ × 6, pp. 83. Bonn (Gebr. Scheur). 1928.

Professor Dr. Kahle's publication (Berlin and Leipzig, 1926) of the text, with German translation and notes, of the Turkish book of sailing directions in the Mediterranean, compiled in 1521, is usefully followed by Herr von Burski's life of Kemâl Re'is, the great admiral whose victories gained for him the rare posthumous title of Ġāzî. An introductory section deals with the sources, including Sanuto's "Diarii",

and various Turkish authors. The biography occupies the bulk of the book, and is followed by an estimate (pp. 75-82) of Kemāl's position in the Turkish fleet, of the previous history of which a brief sketch is given, and the important part played in the navy by sailors of Christian origin is shown. Of these, Kemāl was the one who by his bravery and efficiency established the connexion between the Ottoman Empire and the corsair states of north Africa before his death (in 1510 or perhaps 1511 A.D.).

O. W.

ACTA ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM . . . Primo Sinarum Apostolo et Archiepiscopo Ioanni a Monte Corvino sexcentesimo exeunte ab eius obitu anno reverenter dicata, Ann. xlvii, Fasc. vii, Iulii 1928. 12 × 8½, pp. 179-232, illustrated. Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi), 1928.

This July number of the *Acta O.F.M.* is entirely devoted to the memory of the great Franciscan missionary John of Monte Corvino, who is thought to have died in 1328 at Cambaluc. The fifty-four pages are occupied by (1) a Letter in Latin and Italian from the Pope to the Minister General of the Franciscan Order, (2) an Encyclical Letter from the Minister General to the members of the Order, (3) the Petition to the Pope for the Beatification of John, sent from the First Plenary Council of the Order in China, 12 June, 1924, (4) *Vita et Gesta Fr. Ioannis de Monte Corvino*, by the well known and indefatigable Fr. Hieronymus Golubovich, followed by *Documenta*, i.e. John's Letters, etc., reprinted from his *Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica*, (5) *Martyrologium Franciscanum Sinense*. It will surprise some to learn that the list contains fifty-seven names from John in 1328, to Aurelius Maiquez de Valentia in 1926; but then several of these died in their beds, though no doubt well worthy of the great title of martyr. (6) *Ordo genealogicus Missionum Sinensium*, (7) *De Sociis Fr. Ioannis de Monte Corvino*, by P. Ioseph M. Pou y Marti, (8) *Conspectus Brevis fontium Missionum Fratrum Minorum in Extremo Oriente saeculis, xiii-xiv*, by P. Livarius

Oliger, (9) *Animadversiones in sequentem statisticam*, and (10) a folding Chart of *Sviluppo Storico della Chiesa in Cina*. The whole forms a wonderfully complete collection of all that is known about the life and work of John of Monte Corvino, whose name is indeed worthy of immortality. The *Acta O.F.M.* is written, it seems, at Rome. Had it been edited as it is printed at Quaracchi, the editors would probably have been aware of the articles in this *Journal* for 1914, 1917, and 1921, and some small slips in sections (4) and (7) might so have been avoided. On p. 224 credit is given to Golubovich for a discovery with regard to the end of John's second letter which was in fact published by Yule in 1866.

A. C. M.

LES FRANCISCAINS EN CHINE AUX XIII^e-XIV^e SIECLES,
Xaveriana Nos 42, 44. Par JOSEPH DE GHELLINCK,
 S.J. 6½ × 4, each No., 40 pp. Louvain, 1927.

The first of these little booklets describes the missions of Carpini and Rubruck, the second those of Montecorvino and his successors. Well written and well printed on good paper, they form not only the most readable and pleasant, but the most scholarly, accurate, and complete account of these missions (especially of the third) which has yet appeared; without, of course, having space for all the original documents, which are, however, easily accessible in several recent publications. The two or three errors are obvious slips or misprints of no importance: No. 44, p. 6, quatorze for 24, p. 28 Tait-Ting-ti for T'ai-ting-Ti. There is a short but sufficient bibliography.

A. C. MOULE.

HILLS OF BLUE. A Picture Roll of Chinese History from Far Beginnings to the Death of Ch'ien Lung, A.D. 1799. By A. E. GRANTHAM. With 19 portraits and a map. London: Methuen and Co., 1927.

It would be difficult to gather from the main title—*Hills of Blue*—that this work by Mrs. Grantham is, as revealed by the

sub-title, a history of China from Far Beginnings to the death of Ch'ien Lung in A.D. 1799. As the preface states, "the mark chiefly aimed at was the emphasizing of the human interest of the colourful beauty and ethical significance of that immense drama, the history of Chinese culture, and to trick out the dry facts with the decorative detail gathered in the course of prolonged residence in China and close association with her ancient art." It is greatly to Mrs. Grantham's credit that she has succeeded in fulfilling what she herself describes as "the enormous difficulties of her task" and in making Chinese history interesting to the general reader—a task which has been frequently attempted but seldom with success. She modestly states: "This book is not meant for the learned," and warns "Sinologues not to waste their time on it". But it is hoped that no one, whether he be learned or a sinologue, is so dull as not to enjoy the vivid and picturesque manner in which she has described the varied scenes and characters which make up the Picture Roll of the History of China, to fail to appreciate her enthusiasm for the noble ideas of Confucian ethics and for the beauty of Chinese art, and not to admire her skill in showing how the noble ideals of China have often been revealed by being put into practice in the course of her long history.

Want of space forbids a detailed review of this excellent work but the errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of Chinese names and several misprints should be corrected when a second edition is published, and here the sinologue would be of more use than he is generally supposed to be. The index also requires additions. For example, there is no reference to the Sacred Edict, to which much attention is properly given in the text.

We hope Mrs. Grantham, who has shown herself in the present and her other works so justly appreciative of and sympathetic with China and the Chinese, will see her way to continue her historical labours by bringing her history of China up to date. Her vivid and picturesque style could not

fail to make the modern history of China entertaining and instructive. In the meantime she is to be much congratulated on having written a work which should be read by all who take an interest in China.

J. H. S. L.

GESCHICHTE DER ALTEN CHINESISCHEN PHILOSOPHIE. Von ALFRED FORKE. $11\frac{1}{4} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xvi + 594. Hamburg : L. Friederichsen and Co., 1927.

CHINESISCHE PHILOSOPHIE. Von HEINRICH HACKMANN. $8\frac{1}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 406. München : Ernst Reinhardt, 1927.

The need has long been felt of a history of Chinese philosophy written on a comprehensive plan and giving a clear view of the various currents in the intellectual life of the Chinese. It is rather remarkable, therefore, that two works more or less answering this description should have appeared almost simultaneously. Each of the authors is confessedly a master of his subject, and the only matter for regret, perhaps, is that both books should be in German. In default of an original work in English or French, a translation into one or other of these languages would be very desirable.

Professor Forke's volume contains a detailed and well-documented account of the principal schools of philosophy from the earliest times to the end of the third century B.C., and in due course a further volume comprising the middle and modern periods will be added. So far as possible, the philosophers are allowed to speak for themselves, characteristic passages being translated with the Chinese text subjoined, in order that they may be tested and verified by other workers in the same field.

The author avows that his aim has been to do for Chinese philosophy what Deussen accomplished for Indian philosophy. Whether or no he has succeeded in this ambitious endeavour, there can be no doubt that his work is of a high and scholarly order. He distinguishes twelve schools of philosophy, seven

of which are borrowed from the classification of Ssü-ma T'an in the 130th chapter of the *Shih Chi*: Philosophers of Nature, Confucianists, Mohists, Legists, Sophists and Dialecticians, Taoists. The Legists are further subdivided into an older group, chiefly concerned with the ethics of government, and the later Jurists. Two more schools, the Political Philosophers and the Eclectics, are taken from the Han history, and three are added which cannot well be assigned to any of the above groups, namely the Egoistic school of Yang Chu, unclassifiable writers, and "philosophical hermits".

Professor Forke is conservative in his judgments, and inclined on the whole to accept long-established tradition rather than the revolutionary ideas recently expressed by Hu Shih and others. A curious exception is his theory as to the date of the author of the *Tao Tê Ching*: while admitting that nothing positive can be laid down, he thinks it may be assumed with some confidence that Lao Tzū lived in the fifth century, and places his birth about the time of the death of Confucius. This conclusion, however, rests on a very flimsy foundation. On page 254, and in the index, he leans to the identification of Ko Hsien-kung with the famous Taoist writer Ko Hung. His authority may be Professor Pelliot, who was handling the question some years ago; but there is really ample evidence to prove that Ko Hsien-kung (whose personal name was Hsüan) was Ko Hung's great-uncle. See *Chin Shu*, chap. 72, and *Pao P'o Tzū Nei P'ien*, iv, 1-2.

Professor Hackmann's book, though intended for the general reader, and planned on a rather more modest scale, contains much interesting matter. No Chinese characters are printed in the text, but there is hardly less quotation than in the larger work, and in most cases it is clear that the author has not been content to utilize previous translations, but has gone himself to the originals. A classified bibliography is provided, in which every book has a number by which it is referred to in the notes. This saves considerable

space. Professor Hackmann divides his material into four main periods: (1) what he calls the "unrestricted" period (*die Philosophie in freier Bewegung*); (2) the period of rigidity (*Erstarrung*), beginning with Mencius; (3) the philosophy of Chinese Buddhism; and (4) the Confucian revival under the Sung dynasty, which rather for the sake of convenience than because of any real affinity is stretched so as to include Wang Yang-ming. Of these periods, only the first and the greater part of the second are covered in Professor Forke's present volume. The portion of the work dealing with the rise and development of Buddhism in China is particularly valuable because the subject has been unduly neglected since the days of Eitel and Edkins. It is one which Professor Hackmann has made peculiarly his own, and he emphasizes the debt which Chinese thought, always inclined to be lacking in precision, owes to the subtleties of Buddhist metaphysics. We may note that he, too, accepts Lao Tzŭ as an historical figure, but thinks that he must have flourished in the sixth century B.C., when his ideas of the universe were expounded orally to friends and disciples, and that in the *Tao Tê Ching* we have a record of his teachings compiled at a later date, blended with a number of interpolations from extraneous sources.

LIONEL GILES.

MEMOIRS OF THE RESEARCH DEPARTMENT OF THE TOYO BUNKO (THE ORIENTAL LIBRARY), No. 1. $10\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, 100 pp. and several plates. Tokyo: The Toyo Bunko, 1926.

This volume, which is, we hope, the predecessor of many more, is a specimen of the admirable research work being done by Japanese students.

The authors are particularly to be congratulated on having made their work accessible to the world by writing their articles not in Japanese, but, in four cases, in English, and in

the fifth in French, and on the mastery of those languages which they display.

The articles are all of considerable interest. The first by Professor Kurakichi Shiratori, the Editor, is entitled "A Study on the titles Kaghan and Katun". In this article Professor Shiratori has marshalled a long range of Chinese authorities. It is unfortunate that his main thesis, that the title Kaghan did not appear till the end of the fourth century A.D., is vitiated by the fact, of which he was ignorant, that it appears in the Paikuli inscription, dated a little after A.D. 280, and some of the arguments used to support this thesis would in any case hardly have held water. It is also unfortunate that in attempting elucidations of Chinese renderings of Turkish and other foreign words he should not have been able to make use of the works of Karlgren, Pelliot, and other scholars on the early pronunciation of Chinese. Any system of identification not built on these foundations is necessarily doomed to disaster. But these defects do not greatly diminish the value of the article.

Mr. Kosaku Hamada's article on "Engraved Ivory and Pottery found in the site of the Yin Capital" belongs to a different branch of learning and makes an interesting contribution to the early history of Chinese art.

Mr. Shigeru Kato's article, "A Study of the *Suan Fu*, the Poll Tax of the Han Dynasty," goes well beyond its title, and contains much valuable information on early Chinese systems of taxation. It is difficult to resist the suspicion that in some cases the author tries to read a little more into his authorities than those authorities contain, but in the main he carries conviction.

Mr. Masukichi Hashimoto for his article on the "Origin of the Compass" has a wide range of Chinese and European authorities on which to draw, and shows considerable skill in marshalling his arguments.

Mr. Riuzo Torii's article on "Les Dolmens de la Corée" does not profess to touch more than the fringes of his subject,

but all that he has to say is well worth saying; his article is accompanied by some excellent photographs and an admirable spot map showing locations. We may look forward with considerable interest to the further and more detailed studies which he promises us. G. L. M. CLAUSON.

PHILOLOGY AND ANCIENT CHINA. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. (Series A. Volume VIII of the Publications of Instituttet for Sammenliggende Kulturforskning.) $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, 167 pp. Oslo: H. Aschehoug & Co. (W. Nygaard), 1926.

Professor Karlgren's work now needs no introduction to English scholars, and his present volume is a worthy companion to its predecessors. It contains the text of a series of lectures delivered before the Institute which published it, and is therefore aimed, in Professor Karlgren's own words, at "giving the *humanist in general* an idea of the analogies or differences that Sinology presents compared with other subjects of research", with specific reference, of course, to philology. It falls into three parts, the first a general description of the character of the Chinese language and writing, the second an outline of "the principal tasks and methods of Sinological linguistics", with some indication of the lines on which research should continue, and the third a brief discussion of the problem, which is at present greatly exercising leaders of thought in China and Japan, of getting free in modern language and writing from the cumbrous heritage of the past.

It is unnecessary to say that the Professor's discussions are as lucid and interesting as ever.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS. Part IV, Supplement and Indices. By the late SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH. 10×6 , iv + 378 pp. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1927.

This book falls into two distinct parts. The second is a series of Indices to Volume I, II, and III respectively of the

History. These were made by the Society's Assistant Secretary, Mrs. Davis, under the supervision of Mr. Percival Yetts, with some assistance from Sir Denison Ross, and deserve unqualified commendation.

But regret almost as unqualified must be expressed that the most laudable sentiments of *pietas* should have impelled Sir Henry's children to print the first part of the book, which is in the form of a number of introductory chapters to the History.

The History is, with all its defects, a great work. It "dates" of course, and is the product of a time, now long past, when authors could write voluminous works on periods of Oriental history with no first-hand knowledge of the original authorities, but it has won a place in English literature which is fairly represented by its current price of 50 guineas in the second-hand book market.

But the methods of 1876, will not do in 1927. Sir Henry's children in their brief preface try to take upon themselves the "errors and shortcomings which these chapters may contain", but they cannot be held responsible. There are, it is true, a number of superficial defects which might have been avoided; the system or rather lack of system of transliteration of the Mongol, Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan words and names contained in these chapters is chaotic to an extent which makes it impossible to distinguish whether the faults are to be regarded as mistakes or misprints; but the defects go deeper than such superficialities. The introductory chapters are to a large extent a pastiche of extracts from other authorities, such borrowings being religiously acknowledged, but in some cases, what authorities! The description of the Mongol language is taken from Jülg's antiquated article in the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, with some rather confusing misprints; no reference is made to the work of Ramstedt, Pelliot, Pozdnyeev, and other more recent scholars. For the account of the Sino-Turkish twelve-year cycle, which was adopted by the

Mongols, no later authorities than Rémusat and Klaproth are quoted; no reference is made to the work of de Saussure or even to the remarks in Radloff's edition of the Old Turkish Inscriptions, much less to the fresh information rendered available by the publication of Kashgari's *Dīwān*.

This is bad enough, but worse is to follow when more original work is undertaken. It is difficult to find any excuse for such errors as the following:—

p. 8: "The true Turks may have been the same people whom the Greeks called Tokhari."

p. 9: "The Kazaks, or, as the Chinese call them, Hakas."

p. 86: "The Mongols have no word for right and left." (The actual Mongol words are given on p. 33 except that "right" is printed as "eight".)

p. 129: "The P'ags-pa . . . alphabet . . . consisting of a thousand characters."

Ditto: "A new alphabet . . . to the forty-four Uighurian characters . . . were added fifty-six more."

p. 130: The Mongolian script is written from left to right."

Such quotations are sufficient to show that it would have been best to confine the additional volume to the indices.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

DER BLUMEN KÖSTLICHKEIT. Blumenspiegel. Ein Bändchen Winke für das Blumenstellen (nach den Vorschriften des "Ikenobō"), des Stammhauses der Blumenlehre. Eingeleitet und übersetzt von WILLI PRENZEL. Sonderdruck aus Asia Major, vol. iii, fasc. 3-4. Illustrated. 10 × 7. Leipzig, 1928.

One of the miracles of the day, accepted with scarcely a murmur of surprise, as we accept so many other marvels, is the development of Japan. How is it that she who has been so apt a pupil of the sophisticated West, has yet kept her own simplicity, her individual charm and her indigenous ideals?

Answers to this question may, so it seems to me, be found between the pages of what the author describes as : " a little manual on Japanese flower arrangement, which marks the first attempt to prepare the way in Germany to an art which is one of the most beautiful Japan can give us." Mr. Prenzel explains how his first view of flower arrangement as an aesthetic joy, pure and simple, gave way, under instruction, to a realization of the profound influence Japanese flower arrangement, springing as it does from philosophic principles, exercises upon man's inner being.

An adequate review of this booklet would far overstep the space at my disposal. I can only describe it as a revelation.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

INSECT-MUSICIANS AND CRICKET CHAMPIONS OF CHINA.

By BERTHOLD LAUFER, Curator of Anthropology, Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago.

The leaflets issued by the Anthropological Department of the Field Museum are justly famous ; Dr. Laufer's meticulous attention to detail is proverbial, and the rays of light thrown on the culture of the Far East by his illuminating analyses are brilliant indeed.

Natural science may be, indeed it is, a closed book to the Chinese, but they know that *Homeogryllus japonicus*, which they call Golden Bell, is the only cricket who requires the presence of his female in order to sing ; wherefore the females of other species are fed to birds.

The cricket cult is one of the most curious manifestations of Chinese development. Dr. Laufer points out the intense love of insects as a class felt by the Chinese, and acknowledges the discoveries which their observations have brought about : " The curious life-history of the cicada was known to them in early times, and only a nation which had an innate sympathy with the smallest creatures of nature was able to penetrate into the mysterious habits of the silkworm and present the

world with the discovery of silk. The cicada as an emblem of resurrection, the praying-mantis as a symbol of bravery, and many other insects play a prominent role in early religious and poetical conceptions as well as in art, as shown by their effigies in jade."

The illustrations are extremely interesting, and supply added attraction to a fascinating leaflet.

FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS. By G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE. Constable & Co., Ltd. Price 24s.

Chinese folklore is so complicated in its ramifications that Mr. Willoughby-Meade has done well in confining his observations within certain limits, although the charming alliterative title scarcely does justice to the scope of this book as revealed by the merest glance at the Table of Contents. The chapters are entitled: "What is the Chinese Idea of the Soul?", "Good Spirits and Bad," "Popular Taoism," "Chinese Buddhism of To-day," "Men and Animals," "Dragons and Monsters," "Divination and Magic," "Ancestor-Worship," "Vampires," "The Spirits of Inanimate Objects," "Fêng Shui," "Foreign Devils," "Chinese and Other Folk-tales," "A Chinese Sceptic," "Spiritualism."

Furthermore, ghouls and goblins are both evil manifestations, and Mr. Willoughby-Meade has much to tell us that is far from evil. The chapter on Ancestor-Worship, for instance, is instinct with appreciation of the Chinese point of view in regard to a cherished belief which has no remote connection with goblin or ghoul.

Considering the connotation of our word "soul", I think that Mr. Willoughby-Meade uses it all too frequently as a translation for the Chinese word *kuei*: a spectre, ghost, apparition or manes. Granted, the line of demarcation is difficult to define. Soul, according to Chambers, is that part of man which thinks, feels, desires: the seat of life and

intellect, etc. The "soul" then is the essential "I" which in Chinese belief impregnates the *p'ai wei*, being the ancestral tablets, and the portraits of the deceased. The author refers to this emanation as the "superior soul", and cites rare instances of its transformation; but it is unreasonable to expect the general reader to differentiate too closely between this and the very ordinary *kuei* or inferior soul, which is frequently transformed and makes constant appearances. Mr. Willoughby-Meade's avowed intention is to "interest and amuse those who have not studied the religion, art, or literature of the Chinese, but who may, perhaps, be encouraged to become better acquainted with the outlook of an industrious, gifted, and long-suffering people"; and who, it must be added, should realize that, in turning these delightful pages, they are not reading of matters past. The overwhelming majority of the Chinese people to whom natural science is a closed book, accept the beliefs of their fathers as simply and naturally, albeit with even less comprehension, than we of the West accept the marvels of the radio, or aviation. Last year when the British planes rose into the clear blue sky above Shanghai, the people watched with interest. Amah said: "Country-man think so b'long *lung* (a dragon). My talkee never can, *lung*, no man can see." Her faith in the existence of dragons is absolute, but they do not come within the orbit of the human eye.

Amah, although very clever, is uneducated, but at the same time I received a note from a young man who has had the benefit of considerable education; he wrote in English and said: "My wife and I have been pursued by demons, we are both ill." I hear too that the General who has proved himself to be the most capable administrator among the Tu Chün, never takes a step without consulting his Taoist geomancer.

I cite these concrete examples as there is a tendency in the West to believe that "modern ideas" have engulfed and transformed the "Chinese people". This is far from true.

Mr. Willoughby-Meade has made a valuable contribution to the understanding of the Far East, and it is to be hoped that his charming book may be widely read.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

INTRODUCTION TO THE HISTORY OF SCIENCE. By GEORGE SARTON. Large royal 8vo, xi + 839 pp. Baltimore, U.S.A., published for the Carnegie Institution of Washington by the Williams and Wilkins Company. London Agents: Bailliere, Tindall & Cox. Price 45s.

Dr. George Sarton is well known as a skilful protagonist of the New Humanism, which emphasizes the unity of civilization and the dependence of progress upon the advance of positive knowledge. For many years he has been engaged in preparing material for a comprehensive history of science, and the present book is a general survey of the subject from the time of Homer to that of Omar Khayyam. The ambitious character of Dr. Sarton's scheme will be apparent when it is realized that the volume now under review is only the first of three large series. The first series, which will be completed in eight or nine volumes, is to consist of a purely chronological survey in the form of cross sections of civilization for each half-century. The second series will consist of seven or eight volumes, dealing with surveys of different types of civilization, e.g. Jewish, Muslim, Chinese, Hellenic, and so on. The third series, of eight or nine volumes, will survey the evolution of special sciences, and Dr. Sarton hopes to add also, to each series, special volumes or atlases containing maps, synoptic charts to exhibit the genealogy of ideas, and facsimiles of title-pages, etc.

The author describes this first volume of the first series as a sort of fresco of intellectual progress during the course of two millenniums. "The reader will find in it a history of mathematics from Thales and Pythagoras to Omar Khayyam, a history of theoretical music from Terpander to Guido of Arezzo, a history of astronomy from Philolaos to al-Zarqālī,

a history of geography from Hecataeos to al-Birūnī, a history of exploration from the time of the Phœnician navigators to that of the Scandinavian, a history of medicine from Alcmaeon to Ibn Sīnā—in brief, a vast intellectual panorama extending from the *Iliad* to the *Chanson de Roland*.”

It is a regrettable fact that the development of science is a subject to which orientalists, as a whole, have devoted comparatively little attention. The debt of Western civilization to Islam is universally acknowledged, and many aspects of it have been fully studied. Yet it is, perhaps, in the transmission and development of Greek science that Islam rendered its greatest service to the modern world. In the present book, for the first time, the material available for the general study of this important problem has been classified in a systematic manner, and the way is now clear for more detailed research. To convey an idea of the thoroughness which Dr. Sarton has carried to his task, it may be mentioned that, though no longer a young man, he has recently undertaken the study of Arabic and Hebrew under Dr. D. B. Macdonald and Professor J. R. Jewett. The result is that his bibliographical information is not vitiated by those errors of transcription and transliteration which prove so exasperating to the reader who wishes to make reference to the manuscripts and books described.

The general treatment of the subject is to take each half century separately as material for a single chapter. This unit was chosen as representing a length which approximates to that of a man's intellectual life; and each chapter is called after the most representative man of the period considered. The purpose of such nomenclature is purely mnemonic; it may be difficult to remember that such or such a man flourished in the first half of the ninth century, and such or such another in the second half of the same century, but it is quite easy to recall that the former flourished at about the same time as al-Khwārizmī, while the other will naturally cling in our memory to the personality of al-Rāzī.

One of the most striking features of the book is, indeed, the skill with which Dr. Sarton has arranged and selected his information. Although mainly a work of reference, it is extremely readable, and the short sketches at the beginning of each chapter are masterpieces of their kind.

As an example of the detailed treatment, we may choose Chapter xxviii, which is entitled "The Time of Jābir ibn Haiyān". The various sections of this chapter are as follows: Survey of Science in Second Half of Eighth Century; Religious Background; Cultural Background; East and West; Muslim and Latin Mathematics and Astronomy; Muslim and Latin Alchemy; Japanese Technology; Muslim, Chinese, and Japanese Natural History; Latin and Chinese Geography; Latin, Syriac, Muslim, Hindu, Tibetan, Chinese, and Japanese Medicine; Latin, Muslim, and Japanese Historiography; Muslim Philology.

In the first section, Dr. Sarton deals with the religious background as exemplified in the anti-Talmudic movement of Anan ben David, the foundation of the Mālikite school, the Buddhist renaissance in Tibet, and the work of Wu K'ung. He then considers the cultural background, passing on to a concise description of Muslim and Latin mathematics, astronomy, and alchemy, and the other topics mentioned above.

The remaining sections include in each case bibliographical references to the most important relevant works and articles. The completeness of these references is well illustrated by the fact that no fewer than thirty are devoted to Jābir alone.

In these days of exaggeration in description, one hesitates to use the term monumental, but no other adjective seems appropriate to describe Dr. Sarton's treatise. It is a treasury of learning and a mine of information. No student of the history of science, or, indeed, of civilization, can fail to find it of the utmost assistance and inspiration.

E. J. HOLMYARD.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(October-December, 1928)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Professor Sayyad Abd-ul-Wahhab.	Sayyad Ahmad-ullah Qadri.
Mr. Aziz Ahmad.	Professor D. S. Simpson.
Mr. Md Hazur Alam.	Deraki Nandan Singh, Raja of Monghyr.
Syed Ali Zainalabiden Alsagoff.	Mr. Tarini Prosad Sinha.
Mr. H. W. Bailey.	Mulla Ramoozi Tauheedi.
Mr. Myles Dillon.	Mr. Siraj-ud-din Talib.
Mr. Andrew Fleming.	The Rev. C. J. Mullo-Weir.
Mr. Gerard Heym.	Mr. W. S. Yamini.
Mr. G. R. Hunter.	

Thirty-nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. A. Yusuf Ali read a paper on Education in India : the New Outlook.

The lecturer laid stress on the defects of university education under present conditions, but spoke highly of the Indian student himself.

In offering a cordial vote of thanks to the lecturer, the Chairman spoke of his own deep interest in Indian University education.

13th November

The President in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar, B.A.	Dr. Ishvara Datta.
Mr. Mulk Raj Anand, B.A.	Mr. Sudhir Chandra Dutt.
Mr. Sita Ram Batra, B.A.	M.A., B.L.
Mr. Chandra Narain Saxena	Mr. Henry Field.
Sahitya Bhushan.	Mr. W. G. Goddard, M.A.,
Babu Hansh Chandra, B.A.	D.Litt.
Mr. D. L. Chetty, B.A., B.L.	Mr. Amrit Lal Jain, B.A.

Mr. Bhushan Chandra Joshi.	Syed Mohsin Tirmizey.
Mr. K. A. Narayana Iyer.	Professor Guiseppe Tucci.
Mr. Sham Sunder Lal, B.A.	Mr. Lalit Mohan Varma.
Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamad.	Mr. Otto G. von Wesendonk.
Mr. Jaswant Narain Mathur.	Miss Srimati Kamalabai.
Mr. Parasmani Pradhan.	Mr. S. Babu Reddy.
Mr. Ch. L. Narasimha Rao.	Professor Rakhal Das Banerji.
Mr. M. Sankam Rao.	Mr. M. H. Ismail.
Mr. Sudhir Chandra Roy.	Rai Sahib Pandit Dharam
Pandit K. V. Radha Krishna	Narain Rozdon.
Sastri.	Mr. L. M. Ram Bhatia, B.A.
Mr. A. M. Servai.	Mr. S. C. Nandimath.
Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu.	Mr. Mohammad Mahmud,
Mahadeo Prasad Srivastava.	Gomaa.
Mr. S. Srinivasan.	The Rev. J. W. Rawson.
Mrs. W. S. Strong.	

Nine nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Professor F. W. Thomas gave a lecture on "Some Documents and Languages from Chinese Turkestan", with lantern illustrations.

A cordial vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer.

11th December

The President in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Agha Ashhar.	Pandit Raghunatha Mattu.
Mr. V. S. Bakhle.	Mr. Vidyadhar N. Sardesai.
The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Glyn.	Mr. T. Ram Chander Singh.
Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar.	Mrs. George Swinton.
Mr. Md. Liyaqut Ullah	
Koraishy.	

Twelve nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Harold Bowen read a paper on "Some Notes on Early Muhammadan Titles".

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v-vii, 1855-9.

Griffith, *Rāmāyan of Vālmiki*, tr., vol. iv, 1870.

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Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, Nos. 5, 6; vol. iii, Nos. 9, 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Phoenix, The, vol. iii, Nos. 27, 28, Sept.-Oct., 1872; No. 30, Dec., 1872; Nos. 34, 35, 36, April, May, June, 1873.

Società Asiatica Italiana, Giornale, 1926. Nuova Ser., Vol. i, fasc. 1.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1.

Toyo-Gakuho, vol. xiii, No. 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

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Berthels, E. Bericht über die iranistischen und turkologischen Studien in Russland, 1914-20.

Brockelmann, C. Ibn Ginne über das weibliche Demonstrativpronomen.

Bräulich, E. Eine bildlichen Darstellung der Furcht bei alt-arabischen Dichtern.

Caskel, W. Die einheimischen Quellen zur Geschichte Nord Arabiens vor dem Islam.

Pröbster, E. Streifzüge durch das maghribinische Recht.

- Colin, G. S. Sur une charte hispano-arabe de 1312.
Fischer, A. Prinz Mehmed Sa'id Halim Pascha's "Islam-laschmaq".

Giornale della Società Asiatica Italiana

N.S. Vol. i, Fasc. 4

- Cassuto, U. Studi sulla Genesi.
— Shifchah e Amah.
Morici, G. Imiti e la poesia delle stagioni nel l'India.
Faggioli, P. La versione malese del Pañcatantra e le sue fonti.

Toung Pao. Vol. xxxi, No. 1

- Dragunov, A. Contribution to the reconstruction of Ancient Chinese.
La Vallée Poussin, L. de. Les neuf kalpas qu'a franchis Śākya-muni pour devancer Maitreya.
Margouliès. Le "fou" de Yen-tseu.

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- Boxer, C. R. A Portuguese Embassy to Japan, 1644-7.
White, O. Impressions of Manchuria.
Ponsonby-Fane, R. A. B. Chokei-Tennō: the Emperor Chokei.
Smith, M. Paske. Nagasaki Festivals.

Journal of the Burma Research Society. Vol. xviii, Pt. 1

- Hall, D. G. E. New Light upon British Relations with King Minden.
U Than Tin. Short Account of Taungthas.
Blagden, C. O. and Pe Maung Tin. Talaing Inscription translated.
U Tha Kin. Medieval Burmese Courtship.

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- Unpublished Letters of Charles George Gordon.
MacMichael, H. A. Notes on Gebel Haraza.
Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Preliminary Account of the Ingassana.
Larken, Major P. M. Impressions of the Azande.
Roper, E. M. Poetry of the Haḍendiwa.
Titherington, Major G. W. The Raik Dinka of Bahr el Ghazal Province.

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- Bloomfield, M. The Home of the Vedic Sacrifice.
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Spoer, H. H. and Haddard, E. N. Folklore and Songs from Qubebe.
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Hertz, A. Die Entstehung der Sinaischrift und des phönizischen Alphabets.

Mercer, S. A. B. Some Babylonian Temple Records.

Journal of Indian History. Vol. vi, Pt. 3, 1928

Aziz, Abdul. History of the Reign of Shah Jahan.

Subramanian, K. R. Some interesting Constitutional Points from Teriyapuram.

Srinivasachari, C. S. The Historical Material in the Private Diary of Ananda Ranya Pillai (cont. vol. vii, Pt. 1).

Basu, B. K. Trade of Bengal from the Earliest Times down to the Great War.

Fyldes, Capt. G. B. Sketch of the History of Afghanistan.

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Moreland, W. H. Feudalism (?) in the Moslem Kingdom of Delhi.

Mehta, N. C. Notes on Indian Painting.

Heras, H. A New Partap of Krishna Deva Raya of Vijayanagara.

Sinha, H. N. An Introduction to the Rise of the Peshwas.

Iyengar, P. T. Srinivasa. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

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Narayana Iyer, C. V. Who was the Pandya Contemporary of Chēramān Perumāḷ Nāyanār.

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Ramsingh, Thakur. Maasir-i-Jahangiri.

Chakravartī, P. Philosophy of War among the Ancient Hindus.

Sinha, H. N. The Rise of the Peshwas.

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Srinivasa Iyengar, P. T. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

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Kundangar, K. G. Hosahalli Copper-plate Grant of Harihara II.

Sastri, K. A. N. The Śalivahana or Śāka Era.

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Moraes, G. M. A Marriage between the Gangas and the Kadambas.

Heras, Rev. H. Three Catholic Padres at the Court of Ali Adil Shah I.

Wariar, A. Govinda. The Rajasimhas of Ancient Kērala.

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Joseph, T. K. Thomas Cana (cont. in Pt. dccxx).

Temple, Sir R. C. Notes on Currency and Coinage among the
Burmese. Cont. in Pt. dccix.

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Oldham, C. E. A. W. The Gaydanr Festival in the Shahabad
District, Bihar.

Chakravarti, C. Meaning and Etymology of Puja.

Venkatasubbiah, A. Vedic Studies.

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Bhattachajie, U. Ch. The Home of the Upanisads.

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Hill, the late S. C. Notes on Piracy in Eastern Waters.

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Ho Teacher of the Chaibassa Zilla School.

— Death and connected ceremonies among the Hos of Kolhan.

De Beauvoir Stocks, C. Afghan Stories from the Lolab.

Hosten, H. Fr. N. Pimenta's Annual Letters on Mogor, Dec.
1599, Dec. 1600, and Dec. 1601.

— Eulogy of Father Jerome Xavier.

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Ivanow, W. Notes on Khorásani Kurdish.

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Grierson, Sir G. The Laksmana Sambat.

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Schulman, S. Professor Moore's "Judaism".

Roth, C. Sumptuary Laws of the Community of Carpentras.

Skoss, S. L. The Arabic Commentary of 'Ali ben Suleiman the
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Marx, A. The Darmstadt Haggadah.

Marmorastein, A. Some Unknown Scholars of Angevin England.

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Blondheim, D. S. An Old Portuguese Work on Manuscript Illumination.

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Zelson, L. G. The Tombstone of Moses ibn abi Zardil (d. 1354).

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- ‘Ali ben Suleimān the Karaite, Arabic Commentary on the Book of Genesis, ed. by S. L. Skoss. 10 × 6½. Philadelphia, 1928.
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- Anantakrishna Ayyar, L. K., Anthropology of the Syrian Christians. 10 × 7. Ernakulam, 1926.
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No. 36. Nāṭyaśāstra, vol. 1.

No. 37. Apabhraṃśakāvyaṭrayī.

No. 40. Advayavajrasāgraha.

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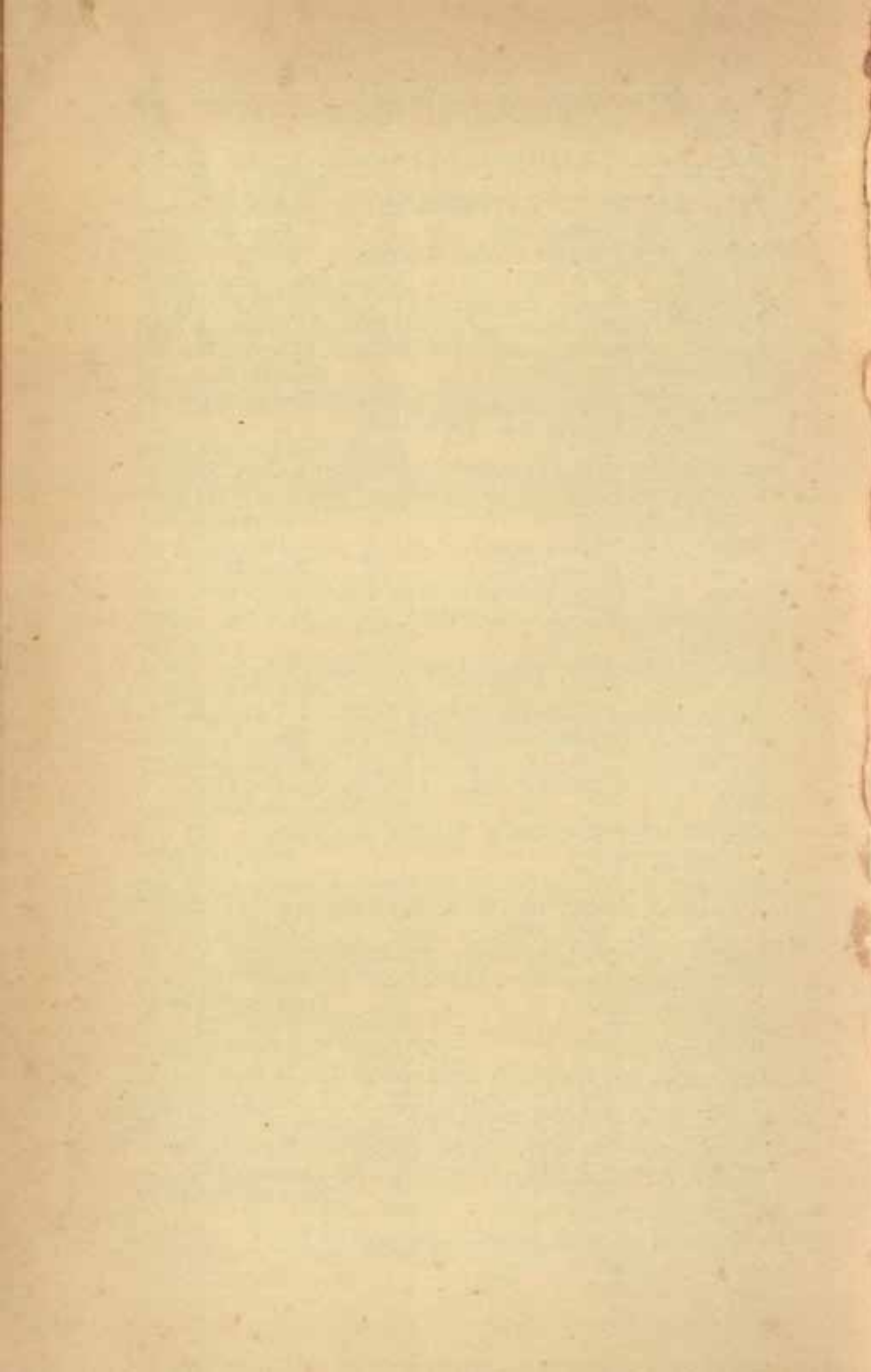
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CORRIGENDA

p. 114, l. 5 *chetiyaghara* read *cetiyaghara*.

p. 115, l. 27 *Praś-āsti* read *Praśasti*.

JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1929

PART II.—APRIL

The Last Buwayhids

By HAROLD BOWEN

THE introduction to the edition of the *fārs-nāmeḥ* of "Ibn al-Balkhī" by Mr. Le Strange and Professor Nicholson contains a long passage dealing with the end of the Buwayhid or Būyid dynasty. This passage, and particularly its footnotes, show that there are points in this section of history that it would be interesting to clear up. I have attempted to clear them up in what follows. For the purpose I have used a number of Arabic and Persian works, indicated respectively in the footnotes to my account by the letters or words preceding each name in the following list.

- Ath. (T.) . Ibn al-Athīr : *al-kāmil*, ed. Tornberg.
- Ath. (B.) . " " " Būlāq, 1290-1873.
- Dh. . Al-Dhahabī : *ta'rikh al-islām* (B.M. codex, Or. 49).
- f.n. . The *fārs-nāmeḥ*, ed. Le Strange and Nicholson (Gibb Memorial, New Series, i).
- H.A. . Hāfiẓ Abrū : *Geography* (B.M. codex, Or. 1577).
- Kh.A. . Khwānd Amīr : *habīb al-siyar* (extract published by Ranking as *A History of the Minor Dynasties of Persia*, 1910).
- M.Kh. . Mir Khwānd : *rawaḍat al-safā* (extract published by Wilken as *Mirchond's Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh*, Berlin, 1835).
- Recueil . *Recueil de textes relatifs à l'histoire des Seldjoucides*, ed. Houtsma.
- .. I . Muḥammad Ibrahim : *History of the Seljuquids of Kirmān*.
- .. II . al-Bundārī's recension of the *nusrat al-fatrah* of the 'Imād al-Dīn of Iṣfahān.

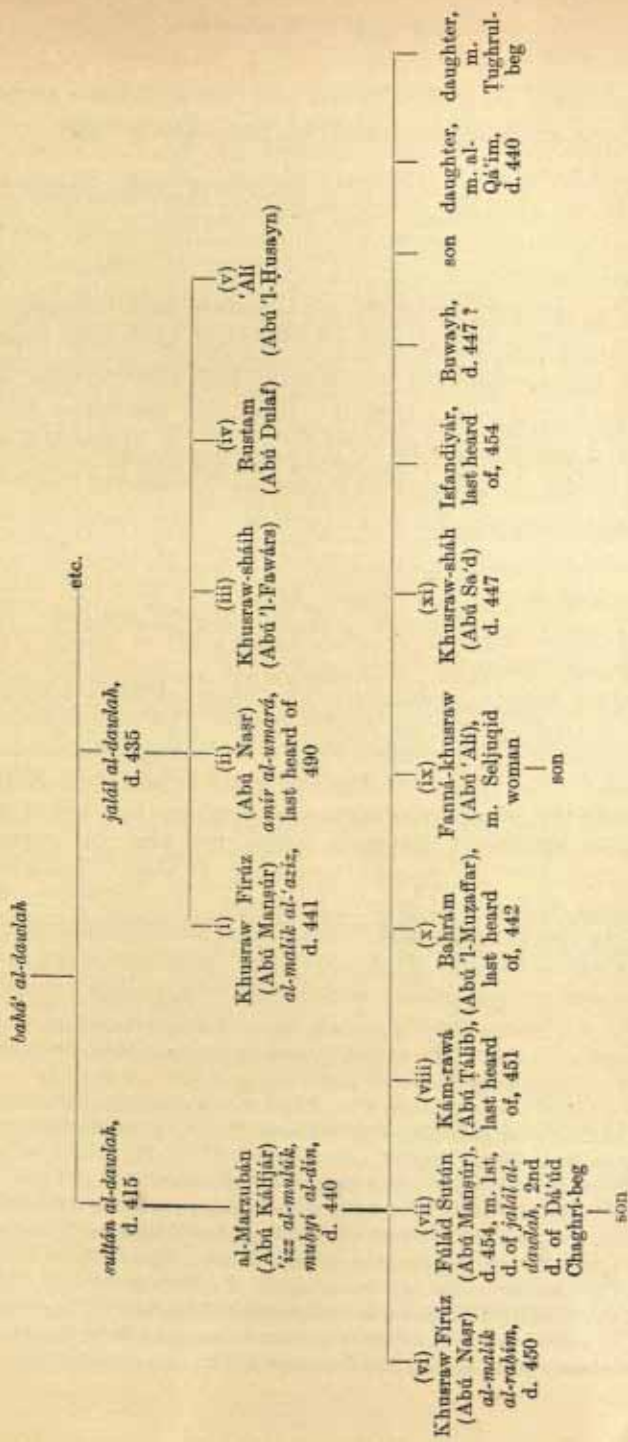
- S.J. . . . Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī: *mir'āt al-zamān* (Paris codex, Arabe, 1506).
 t.g. . . . The *ta'rikh-i guzideh* of Ḥamd Allah the *mustawfi* (Gibb Memorial, xiv).
 zij . . . *al-zij al-sanjari*, almanac compiled by al-Khāzinī (B.M. codex, Or. 6669, fol. 79a—table of the Buwayhid dynasty).

There is no need to comment on any of these works except that of Sibṭ Ibn al-Jawzī and the *zij*. The codex used of the first covers the years 440 to 517, and is extremely detailed from the year 448 owing to the fact that the lost history of Muḥammad ibn Hilāl al-Ṣābī, which the Sibṭ draws upon very freely, began at this date. The British Museum codex of the *mir'āt al-zamān* (Or. 4619) goes down to the year 460; but it omits all but a fraction of the matter contained in the Paris codex from 448 onwards, and appears indeed to contain no more than extracts from the work as it was originally written.¹ It omits a great deal of the matter relating to the Seljuqids, and concentrates on events in Baghdād and in Syria and on signs and wonders. The Paris codex, on the other hand, is especially useful for my purpose, since it elucidates the history of the end of the Buwayhid rule in Fārs. As for the *zij*, though it is named after sultan Sanjar, it cannot have been finished as it stands, even if it was begun, in his reign, which came to an end in 552 (1157), since in the table dealing with the 'Abbāsīd caliphs the compiler shows al-Nāṣir, who succeeded only in 575 (1180).

The rule of the Buwayhids was always more like an ill-regulated confederacy than an empire. Only for a very short space during its life of a hundred years odd ² was it in the hands

¹ Amedroz, however (see *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 854), expresses the opinion that the Paris codex embodies part of a later recension of the work, comprising "added matter, drawn probably from authorities to which the author had later access".

² The first three emirs were recognized and given their titles by the caliph al-Mustakfi in 334 (946); and the last emir was deposed by Tughrul-beg in 447 (1055). 'Alī ibn Buwayh first grew powerful as early as 321 (933), however, and a Buwayhid appears to have held fiefs from the Seljuqids up to 490 (1097).



of one man : generally it was divided between three at least, each one of whom was jealous of, and often actually at war with, the others.

In the year 430 A.H. (A.D. 1038-9) there were two chief Buwayhid princes, between whom was divided what was left of the territories once in possession of the dynasty. For in 419 (1028-9) Maḥmūd of Ghazneh had invaded the Jibāl province and carried off the Majd al-Dawlah captive from Ray; whilst his son Mas'ūd had shortly afterwards occupied Iṣfahān, so that the Buwayhid territories henceforward comprised only al-'Irāq, Khūzistān, Fārs, Kirmān, and 'Umān. In 430 al-'Irāq (except al-Baṣrah) was controlled (nominally) by the Emir of Emirs, Abū Ṭāhir Shīrẓī, entitled *jalāl al-dawlah*. Al-Baṣrah, and the other provinces mentioned, were controlled (more really) by his nephew Abū Kālījār al-Marzubān, entitled *'izz al-mulūk*, and later *muḥyi al-dīn* and/or *al-'imād li-dīn allah*.¹

Abū Kālījār, or Kālízār, is perhaps a Persian rendering of the fairly common Arabic *kunyah* Abū 'l-Hayjā. For *kālízār* is, or was, apparently a Gilānī dialect word for "war", or "fight".² The name is nowhere spelt Kālízār but in the *ẓij*, as far as I know; elsewhere it is always spelt either Kālījār or Kālīnjār, forms that perhaps represent "standard" as opposed to dialect Persian. The Gilānī origin of the word would, of course, account for its first being used under the Buwayhids, and for its being a favourite *kunyah* of theirs (Huart gives a list of seven eminent persons of the period bearing it—all of whom are

¹ The first of these titles is given in the *ẓij*, and by Ath., the *f.n.* making no mention of a title. The second is given by *t.g.* and Kh.A., the latter of whom adds, moreover, *ḥusām al-dawlah*.

² See *Encyclopædia of Islām*, i, 95. I find since writing that these *kunyahs* have already been identified—by Professor Ross (see "On three minor dynasties in northern Persia", *Asia Major*, vol. ii, 210, note), and also that in the *rābat al-ṣudūr* (Gibb Memorial New Series, ii), p. 105, our Abū Kālījār is actually called Abū 'l-Hayjā. In this passage the word *ibn* has been omitted after the word Abū 'l-Hayjā, so that it reads as if *sulṭān al-dawlah* were Abū 'l-Hayjā's (Abū Kālījār's) title. This omission has also caused the author of the article, *sulṭān*, in the *Encyclopædia*, iv, 543, to assert that al-Malik al-Raḥīm was entitled *sulṭān al-dawlah*. Cf. the confusion in H.A., noted below. But there is no other instance of a Buwayhid's taking a title already used, and no other mention of this as a title of al-Raḥīm's.

either connected with the Buwayhids, or themselves from the Caspian coast)¹. The form with Bá (for Abú), invariable in Bayhaqí² and the *fárs-námeh*, shows it, of course, as still more characteristically provincial Persian.

The Jalál al-Dawlah had been created emir in 416 (1025-6); but from the beginning of his emirate his hold on the government had been exceedingly weak. Baghdád was at this time the scene of interminable sectarian riots, complicated by the racial rivalries of the garrison, which was composed of Arabs, Daylamites, and Turks. Moreover, a section of the latter had from the first favoured the claims to the emirate of Abú Káljár, who was the son of a former emir, the Jalál's elder brother, the Sultán al-Dawlah: three attempts had actually been made to displace the Jalál in Abú Káljár's favour; and during the early years of the Jalál's emirate warfare between them was almost continuous. The anarchy at the capital reached its climax in the years following 423 (1032), during which the Jalál was three times obliged to flee for his life. But in 428 (1037) uncle and nephew at last made peace; and the position of both improved. Abú Káljár had always been stronger than his uncle, however. When the Jalál died, in 435 (1044), it was to be expected, therefore, that Abú Káljár should dispute the succession with his heir.³

The *zīj* shows the Jalál al-Dawlah and Abú Káljár as having five sons apiece⁴; but as the compiler professes in

¹ *Encyclopædia*, i, 95.

² *ta'rikh-i ál-i sahluk-tigin*, ed. Morley (*Bibliotheca Indica*). Nâsir-i Khusraw uses the odd mixture Abú Kálinjâr: see *safar-námeh*, ed. Schefer (text), 85, 91 (trans.) 236 (here the all-important word *piar* is not translated, so the passage reads as if Abú Káljár were still alive—in 443), 248, 249.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islâm*, i, 94-5, 1003-4—accounts based on Ath. and M.Kh.

⁴ In *f.n.*, xiv, note, the fact has escaped the editor that the five sons of Abú Káljár are shown as well as those of the Jalál al-Dawlah, doubtless because their names are separated from their father's name by a column written at right-angles. But there is no doubt that these are the names of Abú Káljár's sons. For one thing his name is written specially large as a "heading" to theirs, so that one should not take them (as from their position one might) for the names of the Majd al-Dawlah's family; and, for another, the *zīj* is borne out in naming them as it does by Ath.

the heading under which their names are placed only to show such sons as were known to him by name, they may each have had, as Abú Káljār certainly had, more.¹

The Jalál al-Dawlah's sons (as shown in the *zīj*) were :—

Abú Maṣṣūr Khusruh Fírúz, entitled *al-malik al-'aziz* (i).

Abú Naṣr, entitled *amir al-umará* (ii).

The emir Abú 'l-Fawáris Khusruh-sháh (iii).

The emir Abú Dulaf Rustam (iv).

The emir Abú 'l-Ḥusayn 'Alí (v).²

Only the first two of these are mentioned (as far as I know) elsewhere in histories.

Abú Káljār's sons (also as shown in the *zīj*) were :—

Khusruh Fírúz, entitled *al-malik al-raḥim* (vi).³

The emir Fúlád Sutun (vii).

The emir Abú Ṭálib Kám-rawá (viii).

The emir Abú 'Alí Fanná-khusruh (ix).

The emir Abú 'l-Muṣaffar Bahráṁ (x).

Ibn al-Athír ⁴ reproduces the above list, only adding the *kunya* of (vii), viz. Abú Maṣṣūr, reversing the order of (ix) and (x), and writing Khusraw for Khusruh, Fúlá Sutún for Fúlád Sutun, Kám-rú for Kám-rawá, and Kay-khusraw for Fanná-khusruh. But he also names another son, about whom we know otherwise a certain amount: the emir Abú Sa'd ⁵ Khusraw-sháh (xi); and states that Abú Káljār had still three other sons, not yet grown up when he died—one of whom is named by the Sibṭ, Buwayh, and another, Isfandiyár.⁶

¹ It is a curious coincidence that the *f.n.*, 172, should also attribute only five sons to Abú Káljār.

² In *f.n.*, xv, note, the editor reads three of these *kunya*s differently. For my Abú Naṣr he reads Abú Shujá', for Abú Dulaf Abú Dáma, and for Abú 'l-Ḥusayn Abú 'l-Ḥasan. The *zīj* lacks, except in the bigger headings, nearly all vowel, and a great many diacritical, points: hence the spelling intended is sometimes uncertain.

³ Correct Kh.A., 119, where the text has Khusraw ibn Fírúz.

⁴ Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

⁵ M.Kh., and Kh.A. have Sa'id for Sa'd.

⁶ S.J. ff. 81a and 82b.

Abú Káljār had also at least two daughters, of whom one married the caliph al-Qá'im and died in 440 (1048-9),¹ and the other married sultan Ṭughrul-beg,² whom she fascinated enough to provoke the jealousy of his other strong-minded wife, the widow of the Khwárizm-sháh.³ Something is known, as I propose to show, about all the six sons of Abú Káljār named by Ibn al-Athír.

I may here note that the *zīj* is somewhat confusing in one place, namely the line dealing with the princes al-Malik al-Azíz (i) and al-Malik al-Raḥím (vi). It suggests at first sight that these two titles are to be applied to one and the same man (hence the difficulty in the *fárs-námeh* note, p. xv); but that this is not so is shown by the fact that each title has its own figure—18 and 19 respectively (in "*abjad*" notation)—in the first column (headed "*tartí-bukum*"). In the "*kunyah*" and "name" columns all reference to al-Malik al-Raḥím is omitted, the *zīj* showing simply "Abú Maṣṣūr" in the first and "Khusruh Fírúz ibn Jalál al-Dawlah" in the second. In the last column, on the other hand, the remark "sultan Ṭughrul-beg arrested him, and their kingdom came to an end" does without any doubt apply to al-Malik al-Raḥím. If the compiler himself was confused about the two princes, it was probably first because of the similarity of their titles, and secondly because they both had the same name, Khusruh Fírúz—though different *kunya*s.

The Jalál al-Dawlah designed to succeed him his eldest son, i.e. Abú Maṣṣūr Khusruh Fírúz (i), who had been born in 407 (1016-17), and so was now twenty-eight years of age. During his father's lifetime this prince had been given first the governorship of al-Baṣrah, as long as that province remained in the Jalál's possession, and later the governorship of Wásit. But he had no taste for public affairs, and devoted

¹ S.J., f. 25.

² Ath. (B.), ix, 199.

³ S.J., f. 47b. What Khwárizm-sháh?—possibly Ismá'il ibn Altún-tash, who, on being driven from his capital in 432 (1040-1), had sought refuge with the Seljuqs. See Bayhaqi, op. cit., 866-7, and Ath. (B.), ix, 189.

himself to dissipation on the one hand, and on the other to literature, history, and grammar, becoming in time a very fair poet. His title *al-malik al-'aziz* is said to have been the first to contain the word *malik*¹; but whether, like that of his cousin, *al-malik al-raḥim*, it provoked the caliph's disapproval on account of its being a "name of God"² we are not told.

Al-'Aziz (as I shall call him for convenience) was in Wásit when his father died. The all-powerful garrison at Baghdád wrote to him proffering their allegiance in exchange for a swift payment of the gratuity customary at an accession. But al-'Aziz had only slender means; a long delay ensued; and this Abú Káljār turned to good use by offering, for his part, an ample and immediate payment. He also presented the caliph al-Qá'im with gifts: with the result that his name was inserted in the *khutbah* at Baghdád (as well as in the Ḥulwán district, the Euphrates territory, and Diyár Bakr) in *ṣafar* 436 (September, 1044), either before or after that of al-'Aziz³; and that the caliph bestowed on him the title mentioned above, *muḥyi al-dín*. Abú Káljār set out for Baghdád from the south early in this year, and arrived there, after visiting, like a good Shí'ite, the shrines of the *imáms* at Najaf and Karbalá, in *ramadán* (April, 1045), being careful to humour the garrison by restricting the number of his escort. On hearing of his approach to the capital, al-'Aziz hurriedly left Wásit, intent on reaching Baghdád before him. But his troops mutinied half-way (at al-Nu'mániyyah), turned back to Wásit, and declared

¹ Dh., f. 197a. M.Kh., 52, states that the Jalál al-Dawlah was given the *laqab malik al-mulúk*, but possibly this is merely an Arabic version of *sháhánsháh*, which had been used by several of the earlier Buwayhids. Cf. *chahár maqáleh* (Gibb Memorial, xi, trans.), 19, note 4. The word *malik* is also found on many earlier Buwayhid and Sámánid coins, but only in what may be called "prefatory" titles, which were used by provincial potentates during the fourth century in describing themselves, and were not officially conferred.

² Ath. (B.), ix, 204.

³ Dh., f. 176a.

for his rival. The power of Abú Káljār, was now, in fact, established. Al-'Azíz spent the next five years moving from one provincial court to another, begging assistance wherewith to assert his rights—but always in vain. He visited in turn the Mazyadite Núr al-Dawlah, the 'Uqaylid Qirwásh ibn al-Muqallad, with whom he travelled to Mosul; Abú 'l-Shawk, the lord of Hulwán, the Seljuqid Ibrahím Yinál (Tughrul's half-brother), and finally the Marwánid Naṣr al-Dawlah. He twice led an expedition, in attempts to set himself up, once on Baghdád, and once, after Abú Káljār's death, in 440 (1049), on al-Baṣrah. He died, aged 34, while still with the Marwánid, at Mayyáfáriqín, in *rabī' al-awwal* 441 (August-September, 1049).¹ His host bought from his heirs a famous jewel—*al-jabal al-yáqút*—which he subsequently presented to Tughrul, who in turn presented it to al-Qá'im.²

Abú Káljār lived four years after his establishment as sole Buwayhid sovereign. Most of the details of his life recorded during them illustrate his relationship with the expanding Seljuqid power, which he so feared as for the first time in its history to wall the city of Shíráz.³ Thus in 436 and 437 (1044-6) the "Kákawayhid" of Iṣfahán twice withdrew in his favour the mention of Tughrul's name in the *khutbah*. Then, late in the latter year, when Ibrahím Yinál pushed his raids into the south-western Jibál and Lúristán, Abú Káljār prepared to challenge him, but was incapacitated by an outbreak of disease among his transport animals.⁴ In 439 (1047-8), on the other hand, he resolved to ally himself with the Seljuquids; Tughrul welcomed his advances and instructed Ibrahím Yinál to encroach no further upon Buwayhid

¹ Ath. (B.), ix, 192-3, 195, 205, 209; Dh., ff. 194a, 197a; M.Kh., 52-3. Dh., f. 176a (notice of Jalál al-Dawlah) states that al-'Azíz yielded up his sovereignty of his own accord to Abú Káljār.

² S.J., f. 78b.

³ *f.n.*, 133. He began building in 432 (1040-1), and finished in 440 (1048)—see Yáqút: *mu'jam al-buldán*, iii, 349.

⁴ Ath. (B.), ix, 196-7.

territory. The pact was cemented by two marriages: Ṭughrul married a daughter of Abú Káljār (as mentioned above) and Abú Káljār's second son, Abú Maṣṣūr Fúlād Sutún (vii), married a daughter of Ṭughrul's elder brother, Dá'ūd Chaghri-beg.¹ We learn from the *fārs-námeh* that in Abú Káljār's days the Ismá'īlī, or "Sevener", propaganda—"what," says the author, "they nowadays call the Bāṭinī"—was pushed among the Daylamite troops in Fārs by an able missionary, who even succeeded in converting the prince himself. His religious convictions were not so strong, however, as to blind him to the political dangers of this movement; and, when they were pointed out to him by a sagacious *qāḍī*, he did not scruple secretly to banish the missionary, forbidding him on pain of death to return.² Abú Káljār died on 4th *jumáda'l-úla* 440 (15th October, 1048) at Khannáb,³ in Kirmán, probably from poison. He was on his way to vindicate his sovereignty over that province, which his governor, having been defeated by the Seljuqid Qáwurd, had sacrificed by allying himself with the invader. On Abú Káljār's death his army retired into Fārs; and henceforth Kirmán formed part of the Seljuqid empire.⁴

It soon became clear, after Abú Káljār's death, that the alliance between the Buwayhids and the Seljuquids was to have consequences important for both of them. For as time went on it effectually divided the Buwayhids into two groups, one of which Ṭughrul was able to use in defeating the other. Abú Káljār was succeeded as sovereign by his eldest son, Abú Naṣr (vi), who now took his title, *al-malik al-raḥīm*, in spite, as I have mentioned, of the caliph's displeasure. His reign lasted seven years, during the whole of which he

¹ Ath. (B.), ix, 199; M.Kh., 53; *t.g.*, 432. H.A., f. 95a confuses Abú Káljār with his father, the Sultán al-Dawlah.

² *f.n.*, 119.

³ Ath. has Jannáb.

⁴ Ath. (B.), ix, 203-4; *Recueil*, i, 2-3; M.Kh., 53; H.A., loc. cit. S.J., f. 2b states that it was near al-Ahwáz that Abú Káljār died, and on 15th *jumáda'l-úla*.

was in untrammelled possession of al-‘Iráq; up to the very end, however, he and his next brother, Abú Manşúr Fúlád Sutún (vii), disputed between them the rule of both Fárs and Khúzistán. This opposition was brought about owing in the first place to the circumstance that whereas al-Raḥím (as I may now call him) was in Baghdád when his father died, Fúlád Sutún was with Abú Káljár in Kirmán. In spite, therefore, of the insubordination of the Turks in his force, Fúlád Sutún was able to set himself up at once in Shíráz, to which, afterwards, he never relinquished his claim. In asserting it, it was natural that he should look to his powerful Seljuqid connection; and Tughrul, of course, was far from loath thus to undermine such opposition as the Buwayhid power still offered to his ascendancy.

With the exception of Abú ‘l-Muzaḥḥar Bahrám (x), who became governor of ‘Umán, perhaps in his father’s lifetime—and who, by leaving the direction of affairs in the hands of an incompetent eunuch, provoked there in 442 (1050–1) an insurrection in which he was captured and imprisoned in a mountain stronghold¹—all the elder sons of Abú Káljár took part in these disputes. To begin with all the others were against Fúlád Sutún; but first, in 443 (1051–2), Abú ‘Alí (ix), who until that date had held al-Baṣrah, fell out with, and was evicted by, al-Raḥím,² towards whom he was henceforth inimical; and later, in 447 (1055–6), Abú Sa’d (xi), who was at first his most formidable enemy, temporarily allied himself with Fúlád Sutún against a local rebel.³ The remaining brother, Abú Tálíb Kám-rawá (viii), was perhaps the most closely attached to al-Raḥím. But he, too, seems later to have made his peace with Tughrul.⁴

Fúlád Sutún had lorded it in Shíráz only a few months when he was attacked, defeated, and captured, with his

¹ Ath. (T.), ix, 387.

² Ibid., 403–4.

³ Ath. (B.), ix, 226.

⁴ S.J., f. 296.

mother, the lady Khurásúyeh,¹ by al-Raḥīm's troops, commanded by Abú Sa'd (*shawwāl* 440 : March-April, 1049). Next year al-Raḥīm appeared in Fārs in person, but was soon obliged to retire, owing to the quarrels of the Turks in his army. He left Abú Sa'd and Abú Ṭálib behind to represent him ; but in the meantime, Fúlád Sutún had escaped from his confinement and collected a large force, with which he easily possessed himself again of the whole province. In *dhú'l-qa'dah* (March-April, 1050) al-Raḥīm made another attempt against him ; but was so badly beaten that he and his two allied brothers were obliged to abandon not only Fārs but Khúzistán as well.² The loyalty of Fúlád's men was so uncertain, however, that he was unable to obtain any firm footing in Khúzistán. Al-Raḥīm re-occupied al-Ahwáz four months later, and in 443 (1051-2) a detachment of his army, after heavily defeating Fúlád Sutún, retook Shíráz, which Abú Sa'd, who was again in command, continued to hold till the end of 445 (beginning of 1054).³ In the meantime, however, al-Raḥīm, with his main force, had once more been driven back into al-'Iráq by Fúlád and certain local allies, who were now, for the first time, supported by reinforcements supplied by Ṭughrul.⁴

At the beginning of 444 (May, 1052), therefore, whilst Abú Sa'd was in possession of Shíráz and its district (having so effectively routed Fúlád's men that they were hiding in bands in the mountains), Fúlád himself was in precarious

¹ Her name is given in the *f.n.*, 166, and by S.J., *f.* 81a. It is stated in the introduction to the *f.n.*, p. xiv, that she is referred to in the *zīj*. But I think it is clear that the *sayyidah* there mentioned is really a much more famous lady, the mother of the Majd al-Dawlah, who did, in fact, as the *zīj* adds, reign twenty years and die in 418 (1027-8)—the date, which is much too early for our *sayyidah*, being again given in "*abjad*" notation : *tá-yá-há*.

² Ath. (B.), ix, 207, 208-9 ; M.Kh., 54.

³ Ath. (B.), ix, 210.

⁴ It was these skirmishes that caused Násir-i Khusraw, then on his way home, to write : " I stayed in Mahrúbán because they said that the roads were unsafe on account of the sons of Abá Kálinjár, who were fighting and quarrelling with one another . . ." see *safar-námeh* (text), 91 (trans.), 249.

occupation of Khúzistán, and al-Raḥím confined to al-'Iráq. It was at this point, however, that al-Raḥím fell out with Abú 'Alí, whom he drove from al-Baṣrah in *sha'bán* of the same year (December, 1052-January, 1053), after which he advanced on al-Ahwáz and obtained by a treaty with their respective lords the towns of Tustar and Arraján. Abú 'Alí, on his expulsion, fled by sea to the coast of Fárs, through which he made his way, accompanied by his mother, to Iṣfahán, where he sought Ṭughrul's support. Ṭughrul (just recovered from what all had supposed a fatal illness) received him with enthusiasm, gave him a Seljuqid lady to wife, presented him with fiefs, and promised to help him against his overweening brother.¹

This was the beginning of the end for al-Raḥím. Towards the end of 445 (beginning of 1054) Abú Sa'd, whose rule had become exceedingly unpopular, was evicted from Shíráz by Fúlád Sutún, who, as soon as he had re-established himself, caused Ṭughrul's name to be inserted, for the first time, before al-Raḥím's and his own in the *khuṭbah*.² Then, in 446 (1054-5), Ṭughrul, as good as his word, supplied Abú 'Alí with a force of Turkmáns, with which he invaded Khúzistán and occupied al-Ahwáz. And with this al-Raḥím, although in 447 (1055) he was momentarily recognized by a local rebel as sole sovereign in Fárs,³ was finally driven back into al-'Iráq. This was the year of Ṭughrul's first famous entry into Baghdád and his final recognition by the caliph. Al-Raḥím, seeing that his cause was hopeless, agreed, before the sultan's arrival, to acknowledge his suzerainty, and put his case for negotiation into the hands of al-Qá'im. This did not save him, however. Although Ṭughrul at first undertook to "change nothing" in al-Raḥím's state,⁴ a riot that broke out in Baghdád on the morrow of the Seljuqids' entry was attributed to

¹ Ath. (B.), ix, 219-20, 222.

² Ibid., 222; M.Kh., 54.

³ Ath. (B.), ix, 225-6; M.Kh., loc. cit., states that al-Raḥím occupied Fárs in person this year.

⁴ S.J., f. 10a.

al-Raḥīm's machinations. Ṭughrul thereupon arrested him, together with many of his supporters; and the Buwayhid *khutbah* was finally abolished in Baghdād at the end of *ramadān* (December, 1055). Al-Raḥīm was first confined in the fortress of al-Sīrawān, capital of the district of Māsabadhān in the southern Jibāl.¹ But in *rabīʿ al-awwal* 448 (May-June, 1056), he was translated to Ray, to the castle of Ṭabarak²; and there he remained until his death, which occurred in 450 (1058-9), or, according to Ḥāfiẓ Abrū, in 455 (1063).³

The rule of the Buwayhid dynasty is generally reckoned, as in the *zīj*, to have come to an end with the arrest of al-Malik al-Raḥīm, because he was the last of the house to reign in Baghdād.⁴ Nevertheless, it continued a few years longer in Fārs. In 447 (1055), as I have noted, Fúlād Sutún and Abú Sa'd, after having fought ever since their father's death, combined against a rebel, the warden of the citadel of Iṣṭakhr, who for some months actually defied them in Shīrāz.⁵ But after his defeat and the arrest of al-Raḥīm, they soon fell out again; and in the end Abú Sa'd was betrayed and killed,⁶ together, it would appear, with one of the younger sons of Abú Kálījār, by name Buwayh.⁷ With this, Fúlād's sovereignty was at last established in Fārs; he had no rivals of his family to fear, and enjoyed the support of the Seljuqids. Yet he soon succeeded in undermining his own position.

¹ See Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 202; Ath. (B.), ix, 227-9; M.Kh. 54-6.

² S.J., f. 14a.

³ Ath. (B.), ix, 244; *t.g.*, 433; H.A., loc. cit. (this may be merely a copyist's error, however).

⁴ The *f.n.*, on the other hand, being concerned only with the affairs of Fārs, ignores al-Raḥīm practically altogether, stating that he died soon after his father (which is misleading); and makes Abú Kálījār's effective successor Fúlād Sutún, p. 172 (Abú Naṣr = al-Raḥīm, Abú Maṣṣūr = Fúlād Sutún).

⁵ Ath. (B.), ix, 226.

⁶ M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.

⁷ S.J., f. 81a.

Fúlád Sutún owed such successes as he had had to the vizier that he had inherited from his father: Abú Manşúr Hibát Allah ibn Aḥmad al-Fasawí, entitled *muhaddhib al-dawlah*, and generally known as *al-'ádíl*, or *ṣáhib-i 'ádíl*.¹ Abú Káljár had appointed this man to succeed his former vizier (Bahrám ibn Máfannah, also known as *al-'ádíl*) on the latter's death, in 433 (1041-2)²; and he had proved himself a very able minister, "possessed of sagacity, capability in affairs, and courage."³ Ibn al-Athír makes two further references to the *ṣáhib*. In 434 (1042-3), he writes, the *ṣáhib* was sent to withstand a Seljuqid attack on Kirmán⁴; and in 444 (1052-3) he tried to come to an understanding with certain Turkmán insurgents in Fárs, only to be imprisoned by them for his pains and robbed of three castles⁵; the *fárs-námeh* also mentions him as the founder of an incomparable library at Fírúzábád.⁶ That Fúlád Sutún had been able on each occasion to recover his position as he had was due entirely to the *ṣáhib*, who, as is stated by the Sibṭ, made absolutely his own the cause of Fúlád Sutún and his brother, Abú Sa'd.⁷ It was perhaps natural, therefore, that once his security was assured, Fúlád should look upon his benefactor with jealousy and resentment. His mother, Khurásúyeh, who was a lady of irregular life, instigated him against the minister. One day in 449 (1057-8), accordingly, Fúlád Sutún entered the *ṣáhib's* house in Shíráz with his Daylamites, and killed him, his son,⁸ and his

¹ The identity of the al-Fasawí of Ath. with the *ṣáhib-i 'ádíl* of the *f.n.* is established by S.J., ff. 27b and 81a.

² Ath. (T.), ix, 344.

³ *f.n.*, 166.

⁴ Ath. (T.), ix, 349.

⁵ Ath. (T.), 401. By an error in the index to Tornberg's edition, this reference is attached to Ibn Máfannah—owing probably to the fact that both he and al-Fasawí were called *al-'ádíl* Abú Manşúr. But that it should really be attached to al-Fasawí is clear, since Ibn Máfannah had died ten years earlier.

⁶ *f.n.*, 139.

⁷ Possibly this means that he had striven to reconcile them.

⁸ S.J., f. 81a, names him Burmúzeh (?).

attendants, as they sat at work, after which he pillaged his money and effects.¹

"This folly and childishness" on the part of Fúlád Sutún brought chaos into the affairs of Fárs, which now remained without any effective ruler.² And in the end they were his own undoing: for a certain powerful chieftain of these parts had been advanced by the murdered minister, and now bided his time to avenge him. This chieftain was named in full Abú'l-'Abbás Faḍlawayh (al-Faḍl) ibn 'Alawayh ('Alí) ibn al-Ḥasan ibn Ayyúb; he was of the Rámání clan of the Shabánkárah, a group of Kurdish shepherd tribes, reputed to have been settled in Fárs since Sasanian times, and much given to fighting.³ Faḍlawayh had been brought to the *shāh*'s notice by a commander named Jábí, of whom the minister had a high opinion, and had attained a prominent place in the Buwayhid service.⁴

Faḍlawayh was provoked into actual rebellion, it appears, by learning of the Fúlád's intention of putting him also to death in order to have no rival in his realm. We learn nothing of the course of their contest; but in 454 (1062) Faḍlawayh was finally victorious, when he captured both Fúlád and his mother at the gate of Shíráz. He imprisoned and killed Fúlád in the fortress of Pahan-diz; the immoral Khurásúyeh he destroyed by shutting her up in a waterless bath and causing it to be heated. Faḍlawayh then set up in Fúlád's place another of the younger sons of Abú Kálíjār, by name Isfandiyár. But he now became himself the real ruler of Fárs, and rewarded his fellow-tribesmen for their support with pay and the gift of some castles.⁵

¹ S.J., f. 27b; f.n., 166; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120.

² f.n., 172.

³ *Encyclopædia of Islām*, iv, 241.

⁴ f.n., 166.

⁵ Ibid.; S.J., f. 81a; M.Kh., 56; Kh.A., 120. *l.g.*, 433, followed by M.Kh. and Kh.A., puts Fúlád Sutún's death in 448, saying that he had reigned eight years. But the authority of S.J. is, of course, far superior: his whole account of the subsequent contest between Faḍlawayh and

His triumph was ephemeral, however. For although the notables of the province had supported him in his conflict with Fúlád Sutún, the Turks and Daylamites of the army resented his usurpation, and secretly invited the ruler of Kirmán, Qáwurd-beg, Tughrul's nephew, to invade Fárs and displace him. In *rajab* of this year, accordingly (July-August, 1062), Qáwurd advanced on and laid siege to Shíráz. He had been warned to expect a show of resistance; but after three days the garrison capitulated, and he entered the city. Faḍlawayh had fled on his approach; and though Qáwurd followed him, and in a fight killed some of his supporters, he made good his escape to the mountain stronghold of Jahram.¹ Qáwurd then installed himself in Shíráz, caused Tughrul's name and his own to be inserted in the *khutbah*, and sent the young Isfandiyár and his mother prisoners to Kirmán.² This was the end of the Buwayhid power in Fárs. I may here ignore, therefore, the further contest of Qáwurd and Faḍlawayh for the province, only touching on it again below to explain how Fúlád Sutún was eventually avenged.

As for the other two sons of Abú Káljár, Abú Tálíb Kám-rawá (viii) and Abú 'Alí Fanná-khusraw (ix), the first seems to have followed the example of the second, and, after the arrest of al-Raḥím, to have made up to Tughrul, for we find them both present on the brilliant occasion of Tughrul's first interview with al-Qá'im, in *dhú'l-qa'dah* 449 (January, 1058).³ After this, however, Abú Tálíb must have incurred the displeasure of either the sultan or the caliph, possibly by

Qáwurd follows convincingly on this beginning, and is dated in detail. Perhaps the error is due to a reckoning of Fúlád's reign as from the death of Abú Káljár instead of from the arrest of al-Raḥím. The editor of the *tabaqat-i nāsiri* (*Bibliotheca Indica*), 174, note, states that it was in 459 that Faḍlawayh killed Fúlád Sutún, but he cites no authority for the statement.

¹ Jahram was famous for the castle of Khurshah (see Le Strange, *op cit.*, 254), where Faḍlawayh was later besieged by the Nizám al-Mulk (*f.n.*, 131; *S.J.*, f. 117b).

² *S.J.*, f. 82b; *f.n.*, 166. In *Recueil*, ii, 31, it is stated that Qáwurd took Shíráz in 455 (the next year), perhaps because it was not, in fact, till then that he first decisively beat Faḍlawayh.

³ *S.J.*, f. 296.

an ill-timed display of his Shí'ite sympathies, with the result that he was imprisoned in a house in west Baghdád, where he remained in confinement till early in *dhú'l-qa'dah* 450 (December, 1058-January, 1059), the month of the entry into Baghdád of the Shí'ite champion, al-Basásirí. Abú Tálíb was then released by a detachment of al-Basásirí's men, who thereupon hoisted a standard for him opposite the *dár al-mamlakah*. They had been ordered ahead to spy out the land, and now, since the Shí'ite population of al-Karkh had received them with acclamation, sent back word to the general urging him to advance on the capital. Then, when it was evening, they carried Abú Tálíb in a litter to the village of 'Aqarquf, where next day al-Basásirí met them. The interview between the prince and the general was unsatisfactory, however; and Abú Tálíb found himself in the general's train with "neither his affairs regarded nor his deserts recognized".¹ Al-Basásirí determined, nevertheless, to make use of him. In *ṣafar* of the following year (March-April, 1059), having occasion to send a letter to Egypt, he chose Abú Tálíb as his envoy. "But," writes the Sibṭ, "he sent only Abú Tálíb Kám-rawá,² son of the prince Abú Káljár ibn Buwayh, and the small she-elephant; he sent no money or anything . . ." ³—this because he was on bad terms with al-Mustansir's vizier. And that, I believe, is the last we hear of Abú Tálíb.

Abú 'Alí, on the other hand, prospered under the Seljuqid régime, although Ṭughrul's triumph involved, in the first place, a disappointment for him. In 448 (1056-7) the vizier al-Kundurí arranged a fiscal contract with a former ally of

¹ S.J., f. 486.

² S.J. has Káfúr here, but—apart from the consideration that this would be a most unlikely name for a Daylamite (being usually reserved, facetiously, for negro slaves)—elsewhere he has Kám-rú and Kám-rawá, which latter, since it agrees with the *zif's*, I have taken to be the correct version of this name.

³ S.J., f. 556.

Fúlád Sutún (the Táǵ al-Mulúk Hazárasp ibn Bankír) for al-Baṣrah and Khúzistán. This move annoyed a number of Daylamites from these parts that had come to court, but it annoyed none more than Abú 'Alí, who had hoped with the defeat of al-Raḥím to have al-Baṣrah restored to him. He appealed to Ṭughrul through his Seljuqid wife and the son that she had borne him, reminding Ṭughrul also that he was his brother-in-law. Ṭughrul did not respond. He did, however, grant Abu 'Alí the city and district of Qirmísín (Kirmánsháh) in fief.¹

During the rest of Ṭughrul's reign Abú 'Alí appears to have been a frequent visitor at the headquarters camp. Thus in *al-muḥarram* 448 (March–April, 1056) he witnessed the marriage of al-Qá'im with Ṭughrul's niece Khadijah (Arslán Khátún)²; in 449 (1057–8), as I have mentioned, he was present at the first meeting of Ṭughrul and al-Qá'im³; in *ṣafar* 452 (March–April, 1060), after the defeat of al-Basásirí, he came back to Baghdád with Ṭughrul⁴; and finally, in 455 (1063), he was in Ṭughrul's train when the sultan returned from his last tour in Adharbayján.⁵

Abú 'Alí's relations with Alp Arslán seem to have been equally amicable. After the new monarch's first triumphant campaign in Georgia and Armenia, he returned at the end of 456 (1064) to Hamadán, and was there met by a concourse of minor potentates. Abú 'Alí was among them, and now, presumably because he asked for it, Alp Arslán granted him a revenue contract for the province of al-Baṣrah, in return for which Abú 'Alí surrendered the fiefs of Qum and Qáshán (for which he had perhaps exchanged that of Qirmísín in the interval⁶). Abú 'Alí hastened to al-Baṣrah; but Hazárasp,

¹ S.J., f. 115; Ath. (B.), ix, 229.

² Ath. (B.), ix, 231.

³ S.J., f. 296.

⁴ Ath. (B.), x, 3.

⁵ S.J., f. 87b; Ath. (T.), x, 15.

⁶ Unless *qumm wa qáshán* has here been written in error for *qirmísín* or *qirmásín*.

in whose hands it still was, objected, on learning of his approach, that the sultan had no good reason for evicting him. And he went on to argue that Abú 'Alí's appointment was ill-advised; both he and his father, Abú Káljār, had lorded it in the province: he would be too hazardously popular with the inhabitants.¹ So Abú 'Alí was again disappointed—for though it is not stated explicitly that Alp Arslán revoked his order, it is to be presumed that he did, since Hazárasp remained in possession. However, Alp Arslán gave him, perhaps in compensation, the fief of Nawbandaján in Fárs.²

After this we learn nothing more of Abú 'Alí till 461 (1068-9). Alp Arslán devoted the whole of that year to a campaign in Fárs and Kirmán against his brother Qáwurd-beg and Faḍlawayh, now allied in revolt. Soon after the sultan's arrival in Fárs, Faḍlawayh's brother al-Ḥasan (Ḥasanawayh) came to him claiming to have broken with the rebels, and undertaking to obtain for him some of Faḍlawayh's castles and treasure. After a time, however, when he failed to fulfil this promise, Alp Arslán suspected that he was acting as Faḍlawayh's spy. One day, accordingly, after a carouse, he summoned Ḥasanawayh and, in spite of his excuses, decreed his death. He first handed him over to Abú 'Alí, who was present, saying: "Take him and kill him, for his brother killed yours." But Abú 'Alí pointed out that a son of Fúlád Sutún, who was also present, had a better right of vengeance. Ḥasanawayh was therefore placed before the young man, who, with a knife that the sultan gave him, cut his throat. As for Faḍlawayh, he was captured in this same year, and in the next was killed in an attempt to escape from the citadel of Iṣṭakhr.³

¹ S.J., f. 99b.

² M.Kh., 57.

³ Ath. (B.), x, 26-7, places the campaign against Faḍlawayh in 464 (1071-2), and calls him Faḍlún—possibly confusing him with the Shaddádid of Arrán, against whom, though he does not mention it, Alp Arslán had moved in 460 (1067-8), see S.J., f. 111b. But S.J.'s time-table of Alp Arslán's reign is in general far more detailed, and I think, more convincing in passages where they disagree, than Ath.'s.

Abú 'Alí lived almost another thirty years, for the most part, it appears, "in ease and freedom from care" at Nawbandaján. Whenever he came to court the sultan entertained him honourably, seating him by his side. He was a favourite, indeed, with all the Seljuqids, and enjoyed the privilege of a standard and kettle-drum. He died in 487 (1094).¹

Abú 'Alí is the last of the sons of Abú Kálíjár of whom, as far as I know, anything is recorded. Three years after his death, however, in 490 (1097), the second son of the Jalál al-Dawlah, Abú Naşr (ii), distinguished himself by incurring sentence of death for heresy (*ilhád*). He was obliged to flee for his life, and sought refuge, only to be repulsed, with the Mazyadite Sayf al-Dawlah, after which he wandered from place to place. Abú Naşr had held al-Madá'in (Ctesiphon) and Dayr al-'Áqúl in fief from Malik-sháh. He also owned two houses in Baghdád, in the *darb al-qubbár* (?). The caliph (al-Mustazhir) gave orders after his flight that these houses should each be converted into a mosque, one for the Ḥanafites and one for the Sháfi'ites; and he appointed for each an *imám* and a *mu'adhdhin*. What happened to Abú Naşr in the end is not known. He may well have been, as the Sibṭ says he was, "the last of the Banú Buwayh to ride a horse."²

POSTSCRIPT.—With regard to note 3 of page 244, I find that Fadlawayh and the Shaddádíd Faḍlún of Ganjah are explicitly identified by the author of the *zubdat al-tawárikh* (B.M. codex, Stowe 7, ff. 24b-25a). Perhaps this is the source of Ath.'s confusion.

¹ *t.g.*, 433; M.Kh., 57; Kh.A., 120-1.

² S.J., f. 230b.

A Visit to an "Astronomical" Temple in India

BY GIUSEPPE TUCCI

IN Assam, near Gauhāṭī, on the southern bank of the Brahmaputra, there is one of the most famous places of pilgrimage in India, I mean the temple of Kāmākhyā. Kāmākhyā is one of the names for the Indian *devī*, *Kālī*, or *Durgā*; in fact, Kāmākhyā is the *devī* herself in one of her most jolly aspects, as may be gathered from the Paurāṇic and the Tāntric literature connected with her cult, as for instance the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, the *Yoginī-tantra*, the *Kāmākhyā-tantra*, the *Kāmarūpa-tantra*, etc. The temple and all its neighbourhood for twelve *krośas* is considered one of the *pīṭhas*, or holy and consecrated places: the hills and rivers near it have been identified with some of the most renowned *tīrtha-sthānas* of India, with the purpose of associating with that revered spot some of the most sacred religious traditions of India.¹

One of the hills is called Citrācala, and on it is a temple dedicated to the nine planets (*grahas*).

"Astronomical" temples are rather rare in India; and therefore during my last visit to the Kāmākhyā hills I tried my utmost to see the Navagraha temple of Gauhāṭī.

The temple must have been built before the definite redaction of the *Kālikā-purāṇa*, which prescribes the Citrācala as one of the places to be visited by pilgrims during their

¹ A description of all the places near the Kāmākhyā temple which are visited by pilgrims can be found in the *Yoginī-tantra* or in the *Kālikā-purāṇa* (ed. in Bengali type, Baṅgabāsi Press, pp. 491 ff.). My friend, Professor Bhūyān, who is in charge of the Assamese Museum founded in Gauhāṭī and is himself an enthusiastic research worker in the field of Assamese history, has found in one of the Buranjīs or Assamese chronicles a list of all the sacred places as recorded in the *Yoginī-tantra*, with their vernacular names and the exact distances from each other. The chapter will, when published, be of the greatest importance for the study of the topography of the Kāmākhyā hills. For other references see the *Kāmākhyā-māhātmya* (in Sanskrit and in Bengali) compiled from various sources by the *pāṇḍās* of the temple (Śivakṛṣṇa Śarmā and Viṣṇukānta Śarmā).

yātrā to *Kāmākhya*. It is situated on the top of a beautiful hill covered with very thick jungle, and the only person living there is a *pāṇḍā* (temple guide); but a Brahmin priest (*purohita*) sometimes resides there for a few months, and, as I am told, he is a very good astrologer (*jyotishī*) and horoscope maker. It is a pity that when I visited the temple he was out on tour in the Assam valley.

The temple, which is surrounded by a big wall, consists of a small rectangular *pronaos*, where a *linga* is worshipped, and of a large circular room, where the nine planets are placed. These are represented by nine cylindrical pieces of black stone, each one of which has been erected on a wide elevated base. This is circular, but with a prominence, in which a small channel, which surrounds the cylinder also, is cut. The central pillar is supposed to represent *Sūrya*, the sun, and around it there are the other eight planets, *Candra* (Moon), *Maṅgala* (Mars), *Rāhu* (the dragon's head, or ascending node), *Śani* (Saturnus), *Ketu* (the dragon's tail, or descending node), *Bṛhaspati* (Jupiter), *Budha* (Mercurius), *Śukra* (Venus).¹ They are placed according to the following scheme :—

¹ Each one of these planets has many names. The most common are given in the *Rāja-mātaṇḍa*, a book on astrology attributed to the famous king Bhoja, but quite different from the work of the same title and ascribed to the same author (Winternitz, *Gesch. Ind. Lit.*, iii, p. 461) (Venkatesv. ed., p. 1) :—

- (a) sun: Ādityaḥ savitā sūryo bhāskaro 'rko divākaraḥ,
tigmāmsus tapano bhānuḥ sahasrāmsuḥ prabhākaraḥ.
- (b) moon: Śītāmsuś candramāḥ somo mrgāṅkas tu niśākaraḥ,
śītaraśmir niśānāthaḥ śaśāṅkaḥ śaśalāñchanah.
- (c) maṅgala: āṅgārakaḥ kujo bhaumo lohitāṅgo mahisutaḥ,
āraḥ kṣitisuto vakraḥ krūrākṣaś ca nigadyate.
- (d) budha: budhaś candrasuto jñeyo vibudho bodhanas tathā,
kumāro rājaputraś ca tārāputras tathaiḥ ca.
- (e) bṛhaspati: suramantri surācāryo gurur jivo bṛhaspatiḥ,
āṅgiromśaḥ smṛtas tajjñair giriśovacasām patib.
- (f) śukra: bhrgujo daityamantri ca daityādhyakṣaḥ purohitaḥ,
uśanā bhārgavaḥ kāvyaḥ śukro daityagurus tathā.
- (g) śani: sauriḥ śanaīścaraḥ paṅguḥ koṇaḥ sūryasutas tathā;
mandah śaniś ca mātāṅgī chāyāputro'sitāmbarah.
- (h) rāhu: upaplavas tamo rāhuḥ surāṇiḥ śiphikāsutaḥ
- (i) ketu: ketur brahmasuto jñeyo dhūmravaṇṇaḥ śikhī tathā.

<i>Rāhu</i> (4)	<i>Śani</i> (5)	<i>Ketu</i> (6)
<i>Maṅgala</i> (3)	<i>Sūrya</i> (1)	<i>Brhaspati</i> (7)
<i>Candra</i> (2)	<i>Śukra</i> (9)	<i>Budha</i> (8)

All the cylinders are of the same shape and size, and, so far as I could see in the darkness of that room, there is no inscription anywhere; so that, for their identification, I had to rely completely on what the *pāṇḍā* told me. I was rather surprised when the *pāṇḍā*, who accompanied me, began to make his *praṇāma* and to recite his formulas to the various *grahas*, because he followed an order quite different from that of the real disposition of the various cylinders around *sūrya*. As far I can recollect and after comparing the notes which I took as soon as I went out from the temple, he followed this order:—

Sūrya, Śoma, Maṅgala, Budha, Guru, Śukra, Śani, Rāhu, Ketu, that is to say, the order of the *grahas* (except *Rāhu* and *Ketu*) as presiding divinities of the seven days of the week. This order, which does not always correspond with that given in the astronomical or astrological works, is the same as that which we find in Tāntric ritual, as well as in the Vedic sacrifice of the *graha-yāga*. How then can we explain the difference between the disposition of the planets in the temple and the *praṇālī* or method followed by the priest in his *pūjā*? The reply is to be found in the fact that the temple represents the *maṇḍala*,¹ or sacred circle, the construction of which is subject to certain rules and must

¹ The *vedi* is always an elevated altar: the rules of its construction are rather complicated, as may be gathered from the various rituals connected with it. The *maṇḍala* or sacred enclosure which is designed upon it is quite different from the *yantra* or symbolic image of the various gods; in fact, the *maṇḍala* is a *sādhāraṇāsana*, as every divinity can be adored upon it, while the *yantra* is a *viśeṣāsana*, viz. it is particular to each god. I have dealt very largely with all these points, specially so far as the Paurāṇic and Tāntric rituals are concerned, in my forthcoming book on the *Durgā-pūjā*.

follow a special order, which is different from the series of the planets as they appear when the *maṇḍala* has been completed.

The rules for the construction of a *maṇḍala* of the nine planets have been laid down in various works connected with the *graha-yāga*, as, for instance, the *Matsya-purāṇa* (*adhyāya* 93) the *Graha-yāga-tattva* of Raghunandana, etc.¹ These books prescribe that after the building of a *vedī* or square altar, the height of which must be half its length, the *maṇḍala* is to be made upon it. That is to say, the space on the surface of the *vedī* must be divided into nine equal parts: first of all, in the central space (*kṣetra* or *koṣṭha*) the sun is to be designed: he must be red and circular; then in the south-eastern corner (*dakṣiṇa-pūrva-koṇa*) the moon, white, in the shape of a half-moon; in the south (of *sūrya*) *Maṅgala*, red and triangular; in the north-eastern corner *Budha*, yellow and in the shape of a bow; at the north (of *sūrya*) *Bṛhaspati*, yellow and in the shape of a lotus with eight leaves; in the east *Śukra*, square and white; in the west *Śani*, black and in the shape of a snake; in the south-western corner *Rāhu*, black, in the shape of a dolphin; in the north-western corner *Ketu*, in the shape of a sword and smoke-coloured. If we remember that in Tāntric ritual the *pūrva* is always the upper side of a *maṇḍala*, we have the scheme as shown on the next page.

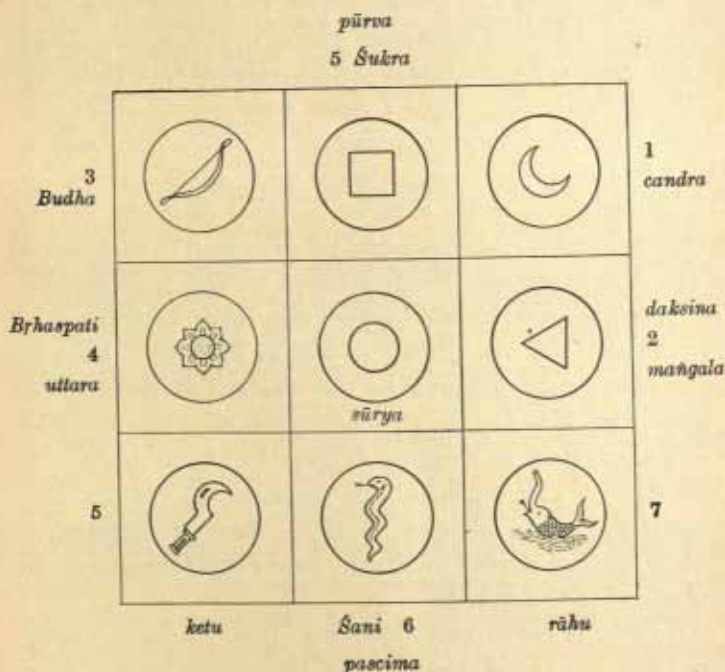
It is evident that the disposition of the planets in the *nava-graha* temple of Gauhātī corresponds to the above *maṇḍala*,² while the method of the *pūjā* is in full accordance with the usual order of the *grahas* in the various Vedic, Paurāṇic, and Tāntric rituals. This follows the daily rotation of the planets.

I said before that the planets are represented in the temple

¹ Cf. *Yājñavalkya-smṛiti*, 290-303. The *Graha-yāga-tattva* by Raghunandana has recently been critically edited in Bengali type and with a very useful introduction in Bengali by Pandit Satīśchandra Siddhāntabhūṣaṇa in the *Saṃskṛta-sāhitya-pariṣad-grantha-mālā*, No. 10, Calcutta, 1925. Fig. 1 has been reproduced from that book.

² The door of the temple must face the *pūrvā* or *prācī* dig of the *maṇḍala* (cf. *Pūjā-prakāśa*, by Mitrāmīśra, p. 240).

of Gauhātī by nine cylinders of stone of the same size and shape; but we are told by various sources that in the *nava-graha-yāga* the nine planets were represented by real images, made of materials varying with the different planets; according to the rules laid down in the *Yājñavalkya-smṛti* (i, 292) the *pratimās* must be made of the following substances: *Sūrya* of copper (*tāmra*), *Candra* of crystal (*sphaṭika*), *Maṅgala* of red sandal, *Budha* and *Brhaspati*



of gold, *Śukra* of silver, *Śani* of iron, *Rāhu* of lead (*śīsa*), *Ketu* of lead or brass (*kāṁsya*). But it is evident that, if one's wealth does not allow such costly statues, simple earthen images will do. I must add that according to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (adhyāya 93, v. 15) each *graha* has its own *adhidevatā* and *praty-adhidevatā*, that is to say a presiding and sub-presiding divinity.

	<i>Adhīdevatā.</i>	<i>Pratyadhīdevatā.</i>
Sūrya.	Īśvara.	Agni (fire).
Candra.	Umā.	Āpah (water).
Maṅgala.	Skanda.	Prthivī (earth).
Budha.	Hari.	Viṣṇu.
Bṛhaspati.	Brahmā.	Indra.
Śukra.	Indra.	Śaci.
Śani.	Yama.	Prajāpati.
Rāhu.	Kāla.	Sarpa.
Ketu.	Citrāgupta.	Brahma.

I did not succeed in grasping the formulas that the *pāṇḍā* who accompanied me recited before each planet; he was illiterate and had no knowledge whatever of Sanscrit, though he had been trained to repeat the few *mantras* that he recited in the daily services. But I know some of the *mantras* to the nine planets; they are preserved in Tāntric texts such as the *Kālī-tantra*, or in *smṛti* works such as the *Tattvas* of Raghunandana (here the *mantras* are those prescribed for the *graha-yāga* only). Other *mantras* are preserved in the chapter of the *Matsya-purāṇa* already referred to, and in anthologies like the *Stava-kavaca-mālā*,¹ where they have been collected from various sources, Tāntric as well as Paurāṇic. Many of these *mantras* are followed by the *dhyānas* of the different planets, that is to say, by the description of the forms under which they must be meditated upon by the devotees. As these *dhyānas* are in general very interesting even from the iconographic point of view, I think that the translation of them as they appear in Tāntric works will prove useful to students of Indian religion.

"He (the devotee) must meditate upon *Sūrya* as having four arms and two lotuses and in the *varada* and *abhaya mudrā*²; upon the moon as with the hands in the *dāna*

¹ There are many editions of the *Stava-kavaca-mālā*. One of the most popular in Bengal is that collected by Kālīprasanna Vidyaratna, where *stotras*, *dhyānas*, and *mantras* to the various *grahas* may be found in the third khaṇḍa. Other anthologies, such as the *Stotra-ratna-mālā* (Veṅkatesvara ed.) and *Bṛhat-stotra-ratnākara* (id.), must also be mentioned here.

² The *abhaya-mudrā* consists in stretching the arm in front of oneself in an almost horizontal direction so that the top of the hand is as high as the head. The thumb is bent upon the palm; the palm of the hand

mudrā and holding the ambrosia ; upon *Maṅgala* as a little hunchback and with a stick in his hands. He must meditate upon the son of Soma (*Budha*) as a young boy with his curled hair moving on his forehead ; upon the guru (of the gods, *Bṛhaspati*) with the sacrificial thread, a book, and the rosary (*akṣa-mālā*) ; upon the guru of the demons (*Śukra*) as blind ; upon *Śani* as lame, and upon *Rāhu* and *Ketu* as having deformed bodies and heads and being in terrific posture. The sun must be meditated upon as having a red body, the moon as white, *Maṅgala* as tawny, *Budha* as yellowish-white, *Śukra* as yellow, *Śani* as black, *Rāhu* and *Ketu* as of various colours. These are the colours of the planets" (*Kālī-tantra*, ed. by Kālīprasanna Vidyāratna. Another *Kālī-tantra* is edited in the Sanskrit Sāhitya Pariṣat, 18th Ullāsa).

A more detailed *dhyāna* of the planets, with the exception only of the sun and the moon, can be found in the chapter of the *Kālikā-purāṇa* already referred to :—

"*Maṅgala* wears a red garment ; he holds the pike (*śūla*), arrows, and a club. He has four arms ; his car is drawn by goats. He is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

"*Budha* wears a yellow garment and holds the pike ; he is adorned with a yellow garland and (anointed) with yellow anointment. He holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and a club. He stands on a lion, and is in the *varada-mudrā*.

"*Bṛhaspati* is fair as gold, wears a yellow garment, and stands on a golden bench. He holds in his left hand the *akṣa-mālā*, the pot used by ascetics (*kamaṇḍalu*), and the stick. He is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. He must be meditated upon as having four arms and possessed of omniscience.

"*Śukra* must be meditated upon as continually adored by the gods, as having a beautiful aspect, wearing a white garment, of white complexion, sitting on the snake *Śaṅkha*, looks towards the earth. *Varada-mudrā* or simply *vara-mudrā* : arm stretched as before, but a little inclined towards the earth ; thumb as before, the back of the hand towards the earth. There are very many *mudrās* : cf. *Pūjā-prakāśa*, p. 123, *Bṛhat-tantra-sāra*, 391.

with four arms. He holds in the right hand the *akṣa-mālā* and the noose ; the left hand is in the *abhaya* and *varada-mudrā*.

"*Śaṇi* is blue, like sapphire : he holds the pike and is in the attitude of the *abhaya-mudrā* ; his vehicle is a vulture. His weapons are the noose and the bow.

"*Rāhu* is on one side in the attitude of the *abhaya* and the *varada mudrās*, but on the other side he holds the sword and the shield ; he sits on a lion, and is of black colour.

"*Ketu* is smoke-coloured with wide eyes, a tail, and four arms. He sits on a corpse and holds in his hands a sword, a shield, and arrows."

According to the *Matsya-purāṇa* (adhyāya 94) the *dhyāna* of the *nava-grahas* is somewhat different :—

"*Sūrya* : His car is drawn by seven horses ; he sits on a lotus, and holds a lotus in each hand. His colour is like that of the central part of a lotus. He has two arms.

Candra : White horses, white car, and white garment. Two arms ; in one the club, and the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

Maṅgala : Red garland, red garment. Four arms ; three hands, holding arrows, a pike, and a club ; one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*.

Budha : Yellow garland and garment ; colour like that of the *karnikāra* flower ; four arms, three holding sword, shield, and club, the other in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. Standing on the back of a lion.

Bṛhaspati : Yellow colour, four arms, one in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding the stick, the *akṣa-mālā*, and the *kamaṇḍalu*.

Śukra : Like *Bṛhaspati*, but of white colour.

Śaṇi : On a vulture, four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a pike, arrows, and a bow. Colour like sapphire.

Rāhu : On a lion ; of blue colour. Four arms, one in the *varada-mudrā*, the others holding a sword, a shield, and a pike. Terrific aspect.

Ketu: Smoke-coloured; two arms; one hand in the *varada-mudrā*, the other holding a club. Deformed aspect."

In the *Graha-yāga-tattva* of Raghunandana other small differences may be met with. According to the *dhyānas* quoted in this book the moon sits on a white lotus. His horses are ten in number. The vehicle of *Maṅgala* is a goat. He has four arms; in the upper right hand he holds arrows, the lower is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude; in the upper left hand he holds the club; the lower is in the *abhaya-mudrā* attitude. *Brhaspati* sits on a lotus. *Śukra*, id. *Śani*, black colour, black garment. *Rāhu*, id.

Other *dhyānas* can be found in some recent compilations (*nibandha*), as, for instance, the *Dhyāna-kalpa-druma* (by Gurunāth Vidyānidhi), or the *Purohita-darpaṇa*, by Sureścandra Mohan Bhaṭṭācārya, 20th ed., p. 127), which are generally followed by the priests and believers in Bengal.

Sūrya: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *kṣatriya* caste, and to the *Kāśyapa-gotra*, red, as born in the *Kaliṅga* country, holding a lotus in each hand. He looks towards the east; his car is drawn by seven horses. The measure of his body is of twelve fingers (*aṅguli*). His presiding god is *Śiva*, his sub-presiding god *Agni*.

Candra: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *vaiśya* caste and to the *Ātreya-gotra*, as born from the ocean, wearing a white garment, with one hand in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*, the other holding the club. His car is drawn by ten horses; he sits on a white lotus; his presiding *devatā* is *Umā*, the sub-presiding *devatā* the water. His face looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of one hand (*hasta*).

Maṅgala: He must be meditated upon as belonging to the *kṣatriya* caste and to the *Bhāradvāja-gotra*, as born in the *Avantī* country, red, supported on a goat, wearing a red garment and a red garland, with four arms; he holds in the upper right hand an arrow and with the lower left arm a club: the

lower right arm is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude, and the upper left arm is in the *abhaya-mudrā*. He is the son of the earth, his presiding divinity is *Skanda*, his sub-presiding divinity is the earth. He looks towards the sun, and the measure of his body is of four fingers.

Budha: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the *vaiśya* caste, as born in the *Magadha* country, red, wearing a red garment, looking towards the sun; his vehicle is a lion, and he is born from the moon. He has four arms, holding in the upper left hand a shield, in the lower left hand a club, in the lower right hand a sword; the upper right hand is in the *varada-mudrā*. Measure of his body, two fingers. His presiding divinity is *Nārāyaṇa*, his sub-presiding divinity is *Viṣṇu*.

Bṛhaspati: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the *Āṅgīrasa-gotra*, as born in the *Sindhu* country, yellow, wearing a yellow garment. He has four arms and sits on a lotus. He holds the *rudrākṣa-mālā* the stick, the *kamaṇḍalu*. The lower right arm is in the attitude of the *varada-mudrā*. He looks towards the sun. His presiding divinity is *Brahmā*, the sub-presiding divinity *Indra*.

Śukra: Must be meditated upon as belonging to the Brahman caste, and to the *Bhārgava-gotra*, as born in the *Bhojakaṭa* country. He stands on a lotus, looks towards the sun, is white and wears a yellow garment. He has four arms, in which he holds the *akṣa-mālā*, the *kamaṇḍalu*, and the stick. One hand is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. Measure of his body, nine fingers. His presiding divinity is *Śakra*, and the sub-presiding divinity is *Śacī*.

Śani: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Surāṣṭra* country, as belonging to the *Śūdra* caste, and to the *Kāśyapa-gotra*; black, wearing a black garment. His vehicle is a vulture. He is born from the sun. He has four arms and holds bow and arrows. His presiding divinity is *Yama*, and the sub-presiding divinity is *Prajāpati*.

Rāhu: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Malaya*

country, as belonging to the *Taiṭhina-gotra*, and to the *Śūdra* caste. His vehicle is a lion; he is black, and wears a black garment. He has four arms, in which he holds a sword, a pike, and a shield; one arm is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. He looks towards the sun; his presiding divinity is *Kāla*, the sub-presiding divinity is a snake. Measure of his body, twelve fingers.

Ketu: Must be meditated upon as born in the *Kuśa-dvīpa*, belonging to the *Śūdra* caste, and the *Jaiminīya-gotra*, smoke-coloured. He wears a garment smoke-coloured, and looks towards the sun: his vehicle is a vulture, and he has a deformed aspect. He holds a club; one hand is in the *varada-mudrā* attitude. His presiding divinity is *Citrāgupta*, and his sub-presiding divinity is *Brahmā*. Measure of his body, six fingers.

According to the *Kālī-tantra* the special *mantras* or mystical formulas for the various planets are the following¹:—

Sūrya: *praṇava māyābīja tigmarāśmine ārogyadāya vahnivallabhā*, that is to say: *Oṃ hrīm tigmarāśmine ārogyadāya svāhā*. "Oṃ hrīm unto the sun whose rays are pungent and who bestows health."

Soma: *kāmabīja māyā vāṇībīja amṛta karāmṛta plāvaya*, twice: *vahnipriyā*; *klīm hrīm aiṃ amṛta-karāmṛtaṃ plāvaya plāvaya svāhā*. "*Klīm hrīm aiṃ*; let the ambrosia of the moon overflow."

Maṅgala: *vāṇī gagana repha ā bindu māyā sarvaduṣṭān nāśaya*, twice, *vahnipriyā*: *aiṃ, hrām, hrīm sarvaduṣṭān nāśaya nāśaya svāhā*. "*Aiṃ hrām hrīm* destroy, destroy all the wicked."

Budha: *māyā lakṣmī saumya sarvān kāmān pūraya vahnipriyā*: *hrīm śrīm*, etc. "*Hrīm śrīm*; O gentle one, fulfil all (my) desires."

Bṛhaspati: *tārā vāṇī suraguro abhīṣṭaṃ yaccha yaccha*

¹ In order to give an idea of this kind of literature I reproduce the *mantras* as they appear in their esoteric language, adding, however, a translation of those passages which convey some meaning.

agnivallabhā : *om aiṃ*, etc. "Oṃ aiṃ; O guru of the gods, bestow upon me what I desire."

Śukra : six *ś* with long vowels : *śām śīm śūṃ śaiṃ śauṃ śa*.

Śani : *gagana repa* with four long vowels, *sarvaśatrūn vidrāvaya* twice : *mārtaṇḍasūnave namaḥ. hrām hrīm hrūṃ hrauṃ*, etc. "*Hrām*, etc., dispel all enemies; *namas* unto the son of the sun."

Rāhu : *ra ā bindu hrauṃ bhrauṃ soma śatro śatrūn vidhvaṃsaya*, twice *rāhu* in the dative case, *namaḥ* : *rām*, etc., *rāhave namaḥ*. "*Rām*, etc., O enemy of the moon, destroy the enemies; *namas* unto *Rāhu*."

Ketu : *krūṃ hrūṃ ketave namaḥ*. "*Krūṃ*, etc., *namas* unto *Ketu*."

For other formulas used in the worship of the *nava-grahas*, which is very common in every Tāntric *pūjā*, cf. *Bṛhat-tantra-sāra*, by Kṛṣṇānanda, 2nd Pariccheda.

I do not need to quote here the *mantras* used in the *Graha-yāga*; they can be found in *smṛti* works like the manual of Raghunandana already referred to. Moreover, these *mantras* are taken in their totality from the Vedic literature.

ADDENDUM.—When I wrote this article the volume of C. R. Kaye, *Hindu Astronomy* (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, N. 18), was known to me only by name. Recently I saw it and found that it deals also with the iconography of the *Nava-grahas*. It should therefore be referred to in my article. To the sources concerning the *Nava-grahas* we may add *Agni-purāṇa* (A.S.S.), p. 62, *Bhaviṣyā-purāṇa* (Veṅkaṭeśvara Press), p. 503, *Nāradya-purāṇa* (ibid.), p. 122, *Viṣṇudharmottara* (ibid.), p. 62, *Meru-tantra* (ibid.), p. 492.

GIUSEPPE TUCCI.

Akbar II as Pretender : A Study in Anarchy ¹

By R. B. WHITEHEAD

(PLATE VI)

A KBAR SHĀH, son of the Mughal emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, was elevated to the throne of Delhi as pretender eighteen years previous to his accession as Akbar II, and money was struck in his name. The addition of another claimant to the dynastic list was communicated in a joint paper by Mr. S. H. Hodivala and myself, which appeared in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for the year 1922, and to which I invite reference. I had found a copper coin of Aḥmadābād mint bearing the name of Akbar Shāh and date A.H. 1203, which made me conjecture whether Ghulām Qādir Khān, the "unspeakable Rohilla", raised another prince to the Mughal throne after the puppet Bedār Bakht (A.H. 1202-3), who might or might not be identical with the Akbar Shāh, eldest surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam II, who succeeded his father in the regular way as Akbar II in the year A.H. 1221 (A.D. 1806).² I put the matter to Mr. Hodivala, a leading authority on Mughal history, and his reply was that "it has not yet been possible to find an absolutely complete and satisfactory solution of the problem connected with the Akbar Shāh coins of A.H. 1203, but there would seem to be fairly good grounds for answering the question in the affirmative". The fullest account of the transactions which led to the deposition and blinding of Shāh 'Ālam II is in the *Ibratnāmāh* (Book of Warning) of Faqīr Khairu-d-dīn Muḥammad, but this work closes soon after recounting the terrible cruelties practised on the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam and his family by the infamous Ghulām Qādir, whose atrocities the author describes

¹ Read at the Oriental Congress, Oxford, on 31st August, 1928.

² Bedār Bakht, "of wakeful fortune." He was a son of Aḥmad Shāh Bahādur, and grandson of Muḥammad Shāh.

at length.¹ Mr. Hodivala's search through other contemporary histories was infructuous, but he discovered a clue to the solution of the puzzle in Seton-Karr's *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes*.

Since the appearance of the above paper I have discovered more material, both documentary and numismatic, and I propose to make a connected story of it all.

GĦULĀM QĀDIR KHĀN.—His grandfather Najibu-d-daulah, a Rohilla chief, was Paymaster General, then Chief of the Nobility in the reign of 'Ālamgīr II. The town of Sahāranpūr and surrounding districts were bestowed on the Rohilla; this fief included Meerut and the fort of Ghausgarh. Najibu-d-daulah was succeeded in 1770 by his son Zābitah Khān, and the latter by Ghulām Qādir Khān in A.D. 1785.

AKBAR SHĀH.—Akbar Shāh, the eldest surviving son of Shāh 'Ālam, became heir-apparent after the death in June, 1788, of Prince Jahāndār Shāh, Jawān Bakht.

This contribution is concerned with a lurid episode in the decay of the Mughal Empire. It was the year A.D. 1788 (A.H. 1202-3). Shāh 'Ālam II had been on the throne for nearly thirty years. The house of Taimūr had long ceased to exercise any effective rule outside the walls of the palace-fort at Delhi, and the emperor was merely a figure-head under the control of the latest upstart power. A popular rhyme current at the time of a former 'Ālam Shāh of Delhi was equally true of his namesake three hundred years later.²

Bādshāh i 'Ālam

Az Dihli tā Pālam.

The emperor of the world,

(Whose dominion extends) from Dihli to Pālam.³

Peace and security had vanished, and the countryside was the prey of contending factions. Shāh 'Ālam, destitute of

¹ See H. G. Keene's *Fall of the Mughal Empire*.

² C. J. Rodgers, *Coin Collecting in Northern India*. Allahabad, 1894, p. 116.

³ Pālam is now a station on the Rajputana-Malwa Railway, about seven miles from Delhi.

energy, weak of will, and infirm of judgment, "the pageant of every successful party," soon had the mortification to perceive his authority totally annihilated. Not only was the capital helpless to defend itself against threats from outside ; there was unceasing party violence within, owing to the unrestrained dissensions and jealousies of the Mughal nobles. The unfortunate emperor called upon Mahratta aid, and Madhava Rao Sindhia, Rajah of Gwalior, took possession of Delhi in January, 1785. Sindhia's resources were amply sufficient to restore law and order, and to enforce respect towards the emperor.

Towards the end of 1785 died Zābitah Khān, ruler of Sahāranpūr ; he was succeeded in his territories by his eldest son Ghulām Qādir Khān, "a youth proud, cruel, and ferocious. To him it was reserved to disgrace the house of Timoor, and to add the last outrage to the miseries of a long and most unfortunate reign" (W.F., pp. 139, 140). The first act of Ghulām Qādir Khān was to appear in open rebellion, and his example was followed by the Rajah of Jaipur. Sindhia lost a pitched battle in the year 1787, and the check was so severe that the Mahratta retired as far as Gwalior, where he awaited reinforcements. A force under Ismail Beg, a leading Mughal noble, started to reduce the fort of Agra which was still in the hands of the Mahrattas.

These events deprived the emperor of his protector, and the stage is now set for the ensuing tragedy. Ghulām Qādir Khān had arrived before Delhi with an armed force, and had fired upon the palace from the opposite bank of the river Jumna. There are lucid accounts in letters written to Warren Hastings in England, where he was undergoing his impeachment, by his friends and correspondents in India.¹ Major William Palmer, British agent with Sindhia, reports to Warren Hastings by a letter dated Sindhia's Camp near Gwalior,

¹ *Warren Hastings Papers*, vol. xl, British Museum Library. I am indebted for this reference to the kindness of Mr. T. G. P. Spear, St. Stephen's College, Delhi. I have modernized the spelling of personal names.

30th December, 1787, that Sindhia has no present prospect of retrieving his affairs. "Ghulām Qādir Khān, son of Zābitah Khān, is making a rapid progress in the reduction of forts subject to Sindhia in the Doab (region between the Ganges and the Jumna). He commands about two thousand desperate Rohillas and has a good train of artillery. Ghulām Qādir is exceedingly obnoxious to the Shah whom he lately cannonaded in his palace, which the old King will never forgive, although he was forced into an accommodation by the chiefs who dreaded the return of Sindhia to power. The country had a better prospect of repose from the rule of Sindhia than from the chiefs who have dispossessed him."

Major Palmer wrote on the 5th March, 1788. "The situation of the Shah in this scene of distraction is truly deplorable. No person being yet appointed to the conduct of his affairs in the room of Sindhia, nor any of the competitors powerful enough to assume it, no revenue is allotted to his support and he suffers the severest personal distress."

Ghulām Qādir had already made one attempt on Delhi where he arrived with a small but efficient force in the autumn of the year 1787. With the connivance of Manṣūr 'Ālī Khān, the imperial Nazir (Comptroller of the Household), he entered the palace and petitioned the emperor for the vacant office of Amīru-l-Umrā. But on this occasion he was foiled by the arrival of the Begum Somroo's disciplined troops, and had to retire to Sahāranpūr (W.F., pp. 148f.) Subsequently Shāh 'Ālam displayed some show of energy, and occupied the early months of the year 1788 in reducing turbulent chiefs in the neighbourhood of Delhi. There was a successful action against the fort of Gokulgarh in which the Begum Somroo behaved with great gallantry, and was rewarded with the title of the emperor's "most beloved daughter"¹ (W.F., p. 169). Shāh 'Ālam then returned to his capital.

¹ The title فرزند عزیزه figures on the Begum's seal. Gokulgarh is near Rewari, now in the Gurgaon District of the Punjab; coins were struck there in the name of Shāh 'Ālam.

Meanwhile Ghulām Qādir had been playing fast and loose with his associate Ismail Beg, and the latter had sustained a severe defeat by the advancing Mahrattas under the walls of Agra. The Mahrattas could have taken immediate possession of Delhi, but Sindhia tarried at Muttra, and the unfortunate Shāh 'Ālam was left exposed to the treachery of his servants and to dethronement, plunder, and loss of sight. Ghulām Qādir had joined forces with Ismail Beg, the two had occupied Delhi, entered the palace-fort, and seized the persons of the emperor and the royal household. These events happened in July, A.D. 1788.

Ghulām Qādir's object was to extort all he could in the time at his disposal from the citizens of Delhi in general, and in particular to force the emperor to disclose the whereabouts of the hidden treasure which was said to exist in various parts of the palace. His occupation lasted ten weeks ; it was a large-scale dacoity of a prolonged and horrid nature. What Ghulām Qādir's contemporaries found unpardonable was the fact that he did not even respect the honour of the Haram. I propose to avail myself of three parallel narratives : Jonathan Scott's account published only six years after the event, the authoritative announcements in the *Calcutta Gazette*, and letters written at the time to Warren Hastings.

The *Calcutta Gazette* for Thursday, 21st August, 1788, announces " Revolution at Delhee. On the 2nd instant, Ghoolam Cadir Khan and Ismail Beg Khan deposed the King Shah Aalum, and placed on the throne of Hindostan Beidar Bukht, son of Ahmud Shah, and grandson of Mohummud Shah. The circumstances of this revolution extracted from the authentic Delhee papers are as follows". In brief, the confederates having extorted mandates from the king, and desiring the neighbouring chiefs to join them and a prince of the blood Sulaimān Shikoh¹ for the expulsion of Sindhia, confined every person in the metropolis suspected of possessing wealth. Great alarm was excited, and the

¹ " As magnificent as Solomon."

king summoned Ghulām Qādir to the presence. The latter represented the great want of money for the troops, and concluded a long parley by the ultimatum that if His Majesty desired peace, he must pay ten lakhs of rupees, otherwise Ghulām Qādir would take what he could. The king replied that had he possessed any money, he would not have been reduced to his deplorable position. Thereupon the confederates summoned a young prince from the seraglio named Bedār Bakht and made him king. The deposed emperor, with Akbar Shah, the eldest prince, and seventeen other princes, were sent to a place called the Asad Burj (Lion Tower)¹; the conduct of Ghulām Qādir was most insulting to the king and his family. According to a journal of the "monstrous transactions of the unfeeling Gholaum Kaudir" quoted at length by Jonathan Scott, the deposition took place on the 26th July (J.S., pp. 285 f.). The utmost menaces were employed to force Shāh 'Ālam to produce money and jewels. Private apartments were searched, floors dug up and ceilings pulled down, ladies stripped and whipped; the palace was filled with cries and lamentations. On 10th August, Shāh 'Ālam was blinded (J.S., p. 293). "The mode in which they deprived the king of his eyes appears to have been peculiarly cruel. The instrument used was a short sharp-pointed dagger, the use of which must have made this horrid act of barbarity agonizing to the last degree. The old man is, however, said to have survived the torture and to be alive, although he refuses assistance, and it is thought he cannot live long"² (C.G., 4th September).

By the middle of August the Mahrattas were outside the city walls. On 26th August, Bedār Shāh requested Ghulām

¹ To prevent rebellions, all scions of the royal family, male and female, passed their lives in confinement within the precincts of the palace-fort.

² The philosophic side of Shāh 'Ālam's nature came to his aid. Con- temptible as an autocrat, he could yet endure with fortitude and survive a great physical calamity. W. Francklin gives the translation of a lament said to have been written by the king after the loss of his sight (W.F., pp. 180, 250).

Qādir to dethrone him as he was weary of a dignity which did not afford him and his family the most common necessities of life. By this time the confederates had quarrelled over the division of the booty; Ismail Beg withdrew and made overtures to the Mahrattas. Ghulām Qādir's affairs had grown desperate and he prepared to evacuate the palace. Early in October he crossed to the east bank of the Jumna, taking with him the titular emperor Bedār Shāh, Akbar Shāh, and other sons of Shāh 'Ālam, together with two aged Begums. A detachment of Mahrattas took possession of the city and palace, and Shāh 'Ālam was released from his confinement. "New coins were ordered to be struck in the name of Shah Aulum, who was again treated as emperor; but he wished to decline the throne in favour of Akbar Shah, whom he had always intended for his successor" (J.S., p. 304).

"Gholaum Kaudir a few days after his departure from Dhely, disgusted at some behaviour of Bedar Shaw, or hoping to obtain an accommodation with the Mahrattas by regaining the favour of Shaw Aulum, dethroned his newly made sovereign, and acknowledged as emperor Akber Shaw. Such was the affection of Shaw Aulum to his son that on hearing of his exaltation he wrote to Gholaum Kaudir and the treacherous Nazir, assuring them of his pardon for the injuries he had sustained by their conduct, and thanking them for placing his son on the throne. He entreated Rana Khan, the Mahratta general, to acknowledge Akber Shaw; but that chief refused, saying that he could not do so while the prince was in fact only a prisoner in the hands of Gholaum Kaudir Khan" (J.S., p. 304). This evidence that Akbar Shāh was enthroned by the execrable king-maker in succession to Bedār Shāh is corroborated by the *Calcutta Gazette* of the 30th October. According to this issue "the latest papers received, dated 17th October, mention that Golaum Cadir had in his camp proclaimed King Meerza Akber Shah, the favourite son of Shah Aalum, and that the latter was highly pleased with this intelligence". Further proof is contained

in a letter from John Hollond, Madras, to Warren Hastings, dated the 31st January, 1789 (Hastings, p. 269). "You will no doubt be informed by some of your correspondents in Bengal of the Revolutions that have lately taken place at Delhi, Ghulam Cawdir's seizing the Person of the King, his depriving him of sight and setting his son Mirza Akbar on the throne will most probably be particularly detailed to you and with more minuteness than it would be possible for me to attempt. By the latest advices received from that quarter we are informed that Scindia after suffering great reverses of fortune had recovered his former Power, that he was in possession of Delhi, and had replaced the old King upon the throne. That celebrated capital of the Empire seems to have been doomed to be a scene of perpetual convulsion, anarchy and distress."

Jonathan Scott, author of the *History of the Dekkan* from which I have already quoted, writes to Warren Hastings from Netley on the 20th May, 1789 (Hastings, p. 414). "I have a dreadful account of the unfortunate fate of Shaw Aulum and his family. The poor old thing had his eyes put out, wanted common necessities, and was often beaten by the abominable Golaum Kadir, who made the young Princes sing for his amusement. Upon the approach of the Mahrattas, Golaum Kadir evacuated Dhely, carrying with him nineteen of Shaw Aulum's Sons and the poor aged Empress Mallekeh Zummaneh¹ to his Camp threatening to murder them, but some days after, having a quarrel with his King Bedar Shaw, who had displeased him by going into the Bazar to fly a Kite, he deposed him and proclaimed Akber Shaw the favourite son of Shaw Aulum. . . . Perhaps you may have these and later accounts. If you have, I shall esteem it a great favour if you will let my Brother send them me, as I wish to make use of them in my history."

I will now finish with Ghulām Qādir. He was pressed back

¹ Widow of Muḥammad Shāh.

by the Mahrattas and their allies to Meerut, where he stood a siege; he had great fighting capabilities. The *Calcutta Gazette* for 4th December, 1788, observes: "Nothing particular has of late transpired at Delhi; the last accounts from that quarter announce the continuance of Golaum Kadir Cawn accompanied by his new elected King Mirza Akbar Shaw, his late King Bedar Shaw, and several other Princes at a place called Meerut, about four days march from his Capital Saharunpoor. His army experiences every distress from the scarcity kept up by the Mahratta army who cut off all his supplies and have hitherto prevented him from proceeding into Ghousghur." On 1st January, 1789, is this item of news: "We understand Golaum Cadir Kawn has at length met a fate which will probably lead to a due return for his cruelties. On the 18th ultimo (December) the Fort of Meerat was stormed by the Mahratta chiefs, and Golaum Cadir fled with three hundred horse. He was probably taken. The Princes were all found safe in the Fort of Meerat." According to Scott (J.S., p. 304) the assault took place on 21st December, 1788. Ghulām Qādir escaped, but his horse fell under him and he was brought in a prisoner to the Mahratta camp; there he was placed in an iron cage, his nose, ears, hands and feet were cut off, and in this mutilated condition he was sent to Delhi, but died on the road. His accomplice, the treacherous Nazir, was trodden to death under the feet of an elephant (W.F., p. 184). The princes were escorted back to the capital, where they returned to their former confinement.

Akbar's short-lived assumption of imperial honours was known to certain well-informed people—John Hollond had heard of it in distant Madras, Jonathan Scott knew about it, the *Calcutta Gazette* had it—but apparently it has yet to be discovered in indigenous chronicles. William Francklin was familiar with Delhi, and had an audience of His Majesty Shāh 'Ālam and Mirza Akbar Shāh on 11th March, 1794 (W.F., p. 211), yet his otherwise fully informed and lucid narrative,

published only ten years after it, fails to mention this event.¹ Why did Ghulām Qādir choose Bedār Bakht?² We are told that the favourite amusement of this poor puppet king was to fly kites in the streets of the metropolis. Ghulām Qādir wanted a pliant tool, but he was soon dissatisfied with his titular's stupidity and childishness, and the idea of replacing Bedār Shāh by Akbar Shāh soon occurred to him. On 7th August, Ghulām Qādir told Shāh 'Ālam that "he was sorry for his treasons, but would make amends by seating his son Meerza Akber on the throne" (J.S., p. 292). What is the approximate duration of the reign of each pretender? According to the journal quoted by Scott, Bedār Bakht was raised to the throne on 26th July; Keene says 29th July; the *Calcutta Gazette*, 2nd August. His coins are of the first regnal year, and of Hijrī years 1202 and 1203. The first day of Muḥarram (New Year's Day), A.H. 1203, corresponded with 2nd October, 1788. Jonathan Scott does not give the exact day of Ghulām Qādir's final departure from Delhi with the princes (J.S., p. 303), but Keene says 11th October. The unique rupee of Akbar Shāh as pretender struck at Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) mint is dated A.H. 1202; the other known coins 1203. The Shāhjahānābād rupee appears to have been issued before Ghulām Qādir abandoned Delhi, yet we are told that Akbar was made king in Ghulām Qādir's camp after leaving the capital. Of course, the rupee may have been coined in intelligent anticipation of the event. It is safe to say that Bedār Bakht's deposition and Akbar Shāh's accession took place in the first fortnight of October, 1788. The latest date for the conclusion of Akbar Shāh's pretender-ship is that on which the Mahrattas stormed Meerut, 18th or 21st December, 1788.

¹ The List of Authorities includes three indigenous chronicles of Shāh 'Ālam's reign.

² What share chance played in the choice of a prince under similar circumstances is dramatically told by W. Irvine with regard to the accession of Rafi'u-d-darjāt, a consumptive youth of twenty, who succeeded Farrukhsiyar ("The Later Mughals," J.A.S.B., 1904).

THE COINS OF BEDĀR BAKHT

In Francklin's history of Shāh 'Ālam we read that "Bedar Shah was saluted by the rebels as emperor of Hindostaun under the title of Jehaun Shah" (W.F., p. 176). The diary used by Jonathan Scott records that on 30th July, 1788, "thirty thousand rupees were found buried in the floor of a room, besides some plate. The Rohilla sent the latter to the mint and commanded coins to be struck in the name of Bedar Shaw, with the following inscription: The supporter of the true religion of Mahummud, Bedar Shaw, by the grace of God stamped coins throughout the world" (J.S., p. 288). According to the Persian chronicle called Miftāḥu-t-tawārīkh, the coin couplet of Bedār Bakht was:—

حامی دین نبی بیدار شاه
سکه زد در هند از فضل اله

The supporter of the religion of the Prophet, Bedār Shāh,
By the grace of God stamped coins in Hind.

This is a variant of Scott's couplet. But the distich as found on all existing gold and silver coins of Bedār Bakht is:—

سکه زد بزر وارث تاج و تخت
شاه جهان محمد بیدار بخت

Struck coin on gold, the heir of crown and throne,
Shāh Jahān Muḥammad Bedār Bakht

Bedār Bakht's 'alam' was Muḥammad, and his imperial name Shāh Jahān; this confirms Francklin's statement.

On the reverse side of the gold and silver coins are the usual formula *Sanah aḥad julūs maimanat mānūs zarb*, "struck in the first regnal year associated with prosperity," the Hijrī year 1202 or 1203, and the name of the mint which is either Aḥmadābād or the capital Shāhjahanābād, the latter being

associated with its honorific epithet *Dāru-l-khilāfat*, "seat of the Khalifate." These coins are very scarce, silver being even rarer than gold.

The legends on the unique copper coin, of Aḥmadābād mint, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, with the rest of Mr. H. Nelson Wright's coins of the later Mughals, are *فلوس بیدار شاہی* and *سنہ احد ضرب احمد آباد* with a sword as mint-mark. Perhaps Ghulām Qādir Khān had a partisan in power at the distant capital of Gujarat. The fact remains that not only were coins struck at Aḥmadābād bearing the names of both pretenders, but the local series issued in the name of Shāh 'Ālam under Mahratta and British auspices was interrupted just at this time by money of Shāh 'Ālam of imperial type in all three metals, which is identical in style with the coins of Bedār Bakht. I invite a comparison of the reverse of P.M. Cat. 2858 with the reverse of 3248.

THE COINS OF AKBAR SHĀH AS PRETENDER

The coins of Akbar Shāh as pretender are quite different from those struck by him as emperor (P.M. Cat., Nos. 3250 f.). The unassigned silver coin P.M. Cat. 3277, of date A.H. 1203, which bears the name Akbar Shāh, can now be assigned with certainty to the reign of Akbar Shāh as pretender. I found a duplicate of it in the Jullundur City bazar in 1920, which shows that the mint is Sahāranpūr, Ghulām Qādir's capital,¹ with its honorific epithet *Dāru-s-surūr*, "abode of pleasure." The coin couplet is :—

زد سکہ در جهان به فضل الہ


حامی دین محمد اکبر شاہ

Struck coin in the world by the grace of God,
The supporter of the religion of Muḥammad, Akbar Shāh.

¹ There is an allusion to "Seharunpore, the capital of the late Gholauṃ Cadir Khan" on p. 46 of W. Francklin's *Military Memoirs of Mr. George Thomas*, Calcutta, 1803.

This couplet is a slight variant of that said by the author of the *Mukhtaṣar-i-Siyar-i-Gulshan-i-Hind* to have been stamped on the coins of Akbar II (C. J. Rodgers, *J.A.S.B.*, 1888, p. 32).

In my paper "Some Notable Coins of the Mughal Emperors of India", part ii, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1926, I published a newly discovered and unique couplet rupee of *Shāhjahānābād* mint, bearing date 1202.

Copper coins of Akbar *Shāh* as pretender were struck at *Sahāranpūr*, *Shāhjahānābād*, and *Aḥmadābād* mints—see the contribution just mentioned. Both silver and copper issues of *Sahāranpūr* mint bear the mark  on the reverse side. There are thus five known issues of Akbar *Shāh* as pretender, and apart from the coin in the Punjab Museum, each issue is represented by a single specimen. All five were in my collection and went with it to the British Museum in April, 1922.


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EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI

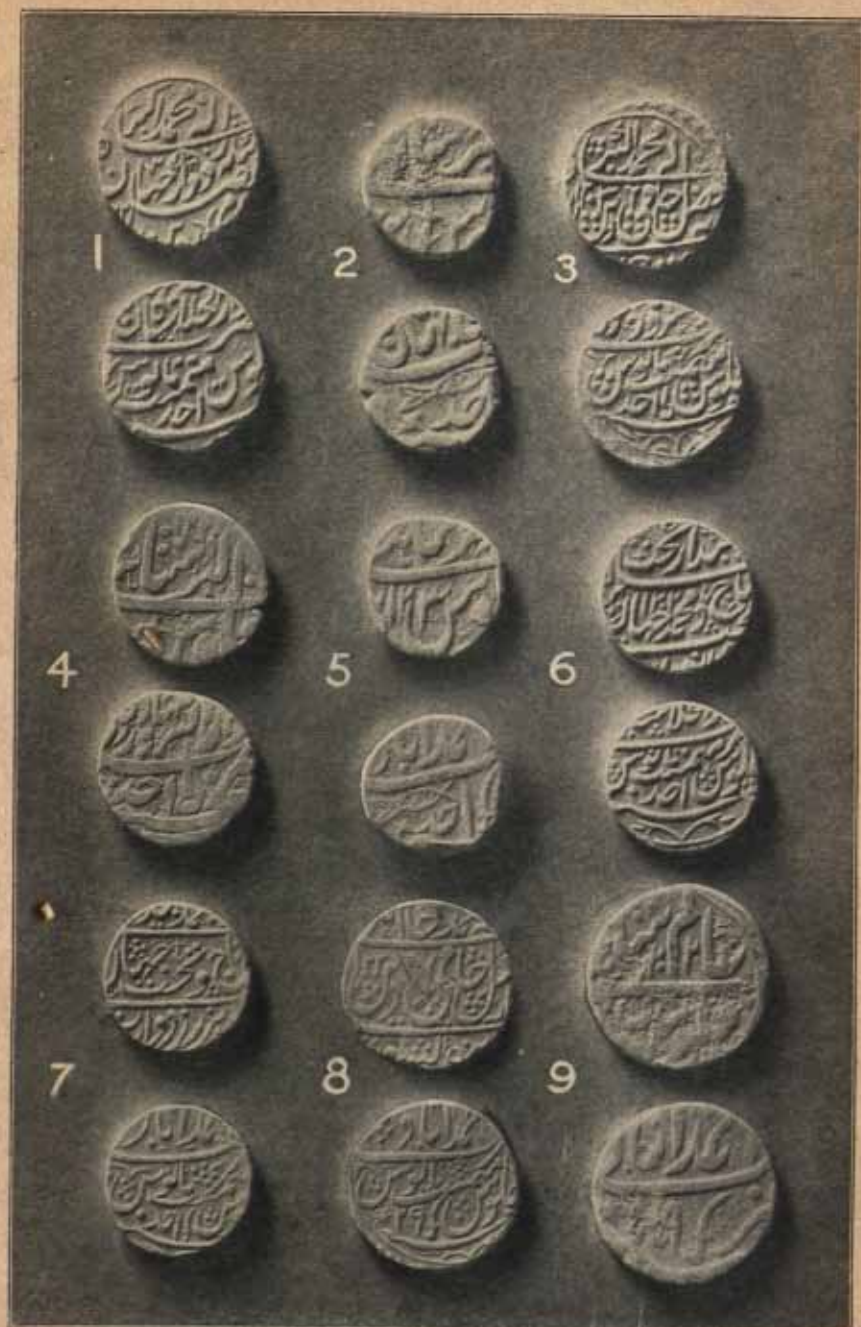
LIST OF COINS

FIG.

- 1.—Rupee of Akbar *Shāh* struck at *Dārū-l-khilāfa* *Shāhjahānābād* in A.H. 1202, first regnal year.
- 2.—*Fulūs* of Akbar *Shāh* struck at *Shāhjahānābād* in A.H. 1203, first regnal year.
- 3.—Rupee of Akbar *Shāh* struck at *Dārū-s-surūr* *Sahāranpūr* in A.H. 1203, first regnal year. Mint mark .

- 4.—*Fulūs* of Akbar *Shāh* struck at *Dāru-s-surūr* Sahāranpūr in the first regnal year; Hijri date off the coin. Mint mark 5.
- 5.—*Fulūs* of Akbar *Shāh* struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1203, first regnal year. Mint mark a sword.
- 6.—Rupee of Bedār Bakht struck at *Dāru-l-khilāfat* Shāhjahānābād in A.H. 1202, first regnal year.
- 7.—Gold coin of Bedār Bakht struck at Aḥmadābād in the first regnal year; Hijri date off the coin. Mint mark a sword.
- 8.—Rupee of *Shāh 'Ālam* II, imperial style, struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1202, regnal year 29. Mint mark a sword.
- 9.—*Fulūs* of *Shāh 'Ālam* II, imperial style, struck at Aḥmadābād in A.H. 1202, regnal year 29. Mint mark a sword.

All the above coins are in the British Museum; a duplicate of 3 is P.M. Cat. 3277. Issue 8 in gold is P.M. Cat. 2858. The legends on the reverses of P.M. Cat. 2858, and of 7 and 8 above are similar in type and style.



Coins of Akbar Shāh as Pretender, and of Bedār Bakht.

Hippokoura et Satakarni

By J. PRZYLUSKI

QUAND on cherche à décomposer les noms des villes indiennes énumérées dans les Tables de Ptolémée, on constate que plusieurs d'entre eux sont formés d'un nom grec et d'un mot indien signifiant "ville".¹ Hippokoura (Ptolémée, vii, 1, 83) est un bon exemple de ce type de composés. Ce nom, formé du grec *hippos* "cheval" et de l'indien *kura* "ville", signifie "ville du cheval". Mais de quel cheval s'agit-il ? Et pourquoi servait-il à désigner la cité ?

* * * * *

Les rois Andhras portent souvent un nom : *Satakani* en prâkrit des monnaies, sanskritisé en *Śātakarṇi*. On veut y voir le nom d'une seule dynastie, mais cette opinion est douteuse, car on trouve des *Śātakarṇi* pendant une durée de cinq siècles et il est peu probable qu'une même famille se soit maintenue au pouvoir pendant une période si longue et si troublée de l'histoire indienne.

Dans la littérature sanskrite, *Śātakarṇi* alterne avec *Śātavāhana* et *Śālivāhana* et on trouve dans les inscriptions : *Sātakani*, *Sadakani*, *Sāda°*, *Sati°*. Aucune étymologie satisfaisante n'a été donnée de ces formes et une explication, pour être valable, n'en devra négliger aucune.

"On est tenté, dit M. Barnett,² de rapprocher (les *Satakani*) des *Sātiyaputa* (Aśoka, Inscription II), des *Setae* que Pline décrit aussitôt après les Andhras et de la tribu des *Śātaka* ou *Sātaka*." Cette remarque indique la voie que nous allons suivre.

Si l'on pose *Sātiyaputa* = *Satakani*, il reste, après avoir retranché *Sata* et son dérivé *Sātiya*, l'équivalence *puta* =

¹ Cf. *Bul. Soc. Ling.*, xx, p. 218 et suiv.

² *Cambridge History of India*, i, p. 599.

kani. Il faut donc examiner si *kani* peut être un mot andhra ayant le même sens que *puta* "fils" en moyen-indien.

En munda, on a *kon* "fils" et cette racine est commune à un grand nombre de langues austroasiatiques.¹ La voyelle *o* de *kon* est très ouverte et voisine de *a*. *Kani* paraît bien être la notation d'un ancien mot austroasiatique réduit à *kon* dans la plupart des langues modernes. Un *i* final se rencontre encore en juāng où *koni* a le sens de "fils". *Satakani* signifie sans doute "fils de Sata" et *Śātakarṇi* est une sanskritisation de ce nom tribal qui peut avoir été porté par plusieurs dynasties.

Les langues mundas ont en outre *han* et *hapan* "fils". Le premier provient de **kan* par amuïssement de l'initiale² et le second est analogue au premier avec, en outre, un infixe *pa*. Cet infixe est utilisé en munda pour former des noms collectifs et le P. Schmidt a montré³ que les infixes sont parfois d'anciens préfixes introduits dans le corps du mot. Il est donc possible que *hapan* < **pahan*. Si l'on pose un mot andhra tel que **Satapahana* on conçoit aisément qu'il ait été sanskritisé sous la forme *Śātavāhana*.

Enfin la forme munda sans infixe *han* "fils", aurait pu donner **Śātahana*. Un nom analogue est précisément attesté par Hemacandra⁴ qui cite le patronymique *Śālāhaṇa*, lequel se relie à *Śātahana* comme *Sālivāhana* à *Śātavāhana*. Les équivalents mundas de *Sātiyaputa* sont donc susceptibles d'expliquer non seulement le *Śātakani* des inscriptions, mais, en outre, une série de formes plus ou moins sanskritisées : *Śātakarṇi*, *Śātavāhana*, *Śālāhaṇa*.

Puisque, dans *Śātakarṇi*, *Śātavāhana*, etc., le second élément se ramène à un original munda, il reste à examiner si le premier terme peut s'expliquer de la même manière.

¹ *Les Langues du Monde*, p. 396.

² Cf. "Un ancien peuple du Penjab, les Udumbara," *Journ. As.*, 1926, i, p. 26.

³ *Grundzüge einer Lautlehre der Khasi-Sprache*, p. 708.

⁴ Hemacandra, *Deśināmāṇī*, et cf. Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et la Brhatkathā*, p. 26.

On trouve dans les inscriptions *Sāta*° et *Sāda*°. Voici le nom du "cheval" dans un certain nombre de langues mundas :

santali	<i>sadām</i>
mahle	<i>sādām</i>
mundari	<i>sādām</i>
birhar	<i>sādām</i>
dhangar	<i>sādām</i>

Sātakani = *Sādakani* pouvait donc signifier "fils du cheval". Il apparaît ici que les résultats de nos analyses se confirment réciproquement. Hippokoura, nom de la capitale des Andhras, signifie "ville du cheval" et le patronymique des rois Andhras peut s'interpréter "fils du cheval". Le même dieu, vénéré sous la forme du cheval, aurait donné son nom à la ville royale et aux princes considérés comme ses descendants. D'autres faits viennent à l'appui de cette interprétation.

Les recherches récentes de M. Dumont sur l'*aśvamedha* ont mis en lumière le rôle procréateur du cheval dans les familles princières. Les rois Andhras, nous le savons, ont célébré le sacrifice du cheval. Or, le rite final de cette cérémonie consacrait une union magique, et partant féconde, entre la première reine et le cheval sacrifié. Les princes issus de cette union pouvaient donc s'appeler "fils du cheval".

Le doublet *Sātiyaputa*/*Śālivāhana* est enfin susceptible d'expliquer deux formes qui paraissaient s'exclure dans les manuscrits de Pline. Au VI^e livre, § 104, de l'*Histoire Naturelle*, la *lectio vulgata* est *Cœlobothras*. Mais certains manuscrits, et parmi eux les plus anciens, ont *Celebethonas*. Sous ce dernier mot, M. Sylvain Lévi a proposé de restituer une forme *Çālavādhana* ou *Çālavāhana*. "Une modification très légère et parfaitement autorisée par la paléographie, permet de substituer au groupe *th* le groupe *ch* avec lequel il est confondu souvent dans la graphie du X^e siècle; on arrive ainsi directement de *Celebechonas* à *Çālavāhana*, le

ch étant la transcription la plus exacte du *h* indien.”¹ Celebechonas est en effet voisin de Çalavāhana. Mais il ne suit nullement que la lecture Cœlobothras soit à rejeter. °bothras est évidemment la transcription du mot sanskrit *putra* que nous avons trouvé dans Sātiyaputra. Il semble bien que Pline ait consigné dans son œuvre deux variantes d'égale valeur entre lesquelles les copistes ont cru légitime de choisir.

* * * * *

A. Cunningham a décrit une série de monnaies des Andhras, parmi lesquelles deux portent l'image d'un cheval. Sur plusieurs monnaies de cette série, on lit, à côté d'un nom royal, un titre terminé en °kura.² M. Rapson, qui a corrigé les transcriptions de Cunningham, lit les deux titres : Viṣivāyakura et Sivalakura.³ M. Sylvain Lévi, dont l'attention s'est portée récemment sur ces inscriptions énigmatiques, a dû répéter à son tour ce que disait déjà M. Rapson en 1908 : “No satisfactory explanation has yet been given of the forms Viṣivāyakura and Sivalakura.”⁴

Si *kura* est un mot anaryen signifiant “ville”, Viṣivāya et Sivala doivent désigner la ville où résidaient les rois qui inscrivaient ces noms sur leurs monnaies ; autrement dit, ces princes ont dû prendre pour titre le nom de leur capitale. Un tel usage est attesté dans l'Inde ancienne. Le roi que les historiens grecs appellent Taxilès portait le nom de sa ville Takṣaśilā, et Strabon (XV, i, 36) nous apprend que le roi des Prasi devait “ajouter à son nom de famille le surnom de Palibothros, comme fit par exemple Sandroktotos auprès de qui Megasthène fut envoyé comme ambassadeur.”

Comme l'avait déjà suggéré Cunningham, Sivalakura doit être en relation avec Śiva. Sivala paraît bien être un dérivé moyen-indien de Śiva. Il semble que le roi çivaïte

¹ *Journ. As.*, 1890, ii, p. 549, n. 4.

² *Coins of Ancient India*, p. 108.

³ *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra dynasty*, p. xxxvii.

⁴ *Journ. As.*, Janvier-Mars, 1925, p. 56.

Mādhariputra ait donné à sa capitale et pris pour lui-même le nom du dieu.

Quant à Viṣivāyakura, il ressemble singulièrement au titre royal Beleokouros noté par Ptolémée. M. Sylvain Lévi qui lisait Baleokouros¹ a déjà observé cette ressemblance. La leçon Beleokouros adoptée par M. Renou² laisse encore mieux apercevoir le parallélisme des formes.

Dans les Tables de Ptolémée, la capitale du roi Beleokouros est appelée Hippokoura. Il semble que

Hippokoura
 *Beleokoura
 Viṣivāyakura

soient trois noms d'une même capitale. Ceci admis, si l'on isole l'élément *kura* "ville" commun à ces trois noms, il reste : viṣivā(ya) = beleo = hippos = cheval.

On a précisément en sanskrit *vaḍavā* "jument" et *vaḍava* "cheval qui ressemble à une jument" auxquels correspond en pali *vaḷavā* "jument" ou "cheval". Il est possible que dans Hippokoura *hippo*^o soit la traduction grecque de l'indo-aryen *vaḍavā*, *vaḷavā*. Examinons de plus près cette conjecture.

Phonétiquement, l'équivalence *baḍavā*^o/*vaḷavā*^o = *beleo*^o suppose, d'une part, une contraction de *vā* en *o* et, d'autre part, un changement de timbre des deux premiers *a*. Le premier phénomène n'a rien de surprenant ; toutefois, dans les transcriptions grecques de noms géographiques indiens *o* < *va* est généralement noté *ô* : Peukelaôtis = Puṣkalāvātī, Hydraôtēs = Irāvātī. Le changement de timbre des deux premiers *a* de **vaḍavā**kura*/**vaḷavā**kura* > **vaḷaokura* sous l'influence de l'*u* de *kura* serait une conséquence de la loi d'harmonie vocalique. Cette loi s'applique précisément dans les langues munda et j'ai montré ailleurs que le mot indien *kura* "ville" appartient au vocabulaire ancien de ces

¹ *Journ. As.*, 1925, i, p. 56.

² *La Géographie de Ptolémée, l'Inde*, vii, i, 83.

langues.¹ Il est donc vraisemblable qu'un nom de ville tel que Valāvākura ait été prononcé *beleokura par les populations anaryennes de l'Inde ancienne.

Beleo°, noté par Ptolémée, était sans doute une forme populaire en usage chez les marchands et les marins, tandis que Viḷivāya°, gravé sur les monnaies, était probablement emprunté à la langue administrative, c'est-à-dire à un autre niveau linguistique. Viḷi° correspond à Bele°; vā tend à restituer l'ancienne forme sanskrite dont la syllable vā s'est contractée en o; la terminaison -ya rappelle valāhaya du prākrit jaina. Il semble, en somme, que Viḷivāya soit un compromis entre une forme populaire transcrite par Ptolémée : Beleo° et une forme littéraire en -vāya, plus voisine du sanskrit vadavā que le prākrit valāhaya.

* * * * *

Cette discussion n'a pas uniquement servi à établir l'exacte concordance des témoignages indiens et grecs. Elle projette également quelque clarté sur l'histoire politique et religieuse des Andhras. Le titre Viḷivāyakura, rapproché du texte de Ptolémée, indique que la capitale de ce peuple portait le nom du cheval mythique. C'est dire que dans la religion des Andhras, de même que dans le Vishnouïsme, le cheval était l'incarnation d'un grand dieu. Sous Māḍharīputra, le titre du roi change : lui-même et sa capitale empruntent leur nom à Śiva; ce doit être la conséquence d'une réforme religieuse. Sous le roi suivant Vāsiṣṭhīputra, l'ancien titre royal et par conséquent l'ancien culte sont restaurés. Observons en outre que les monnaies de Māḍharīputra sont parfois d'anciennes pièces de son prédécesseur qui ont été frappées de nouveau. Le même fait se reproduit sous le roi qui succède à Māḍharīputra. Ce procédé irrespectueux est la négation de l'autorité du roi précédent. La réforme

¹ Les transcriptions grecques de noms indiens, qui reproduisent sans doute des formes populaires, sont riches en faits d'harmonie vocalique : Ambulima > Embolima, Hiranyabāhu > Erannoboas, Puṣkalāvati > Peukelaōtis.

religieuse paraît donc avoir été accompagnée d'une révolution politique. Tout se passe comme si la tradition vishnouïte avait été brusquement rompue par l'usurpation d'un roi çivaïte, puis renouée par son successeur.

Enfin les suggestions qui précèdent sont susceptibles d'éclairer certains aspects de l'histoire littéraire de l'Inde. On sait que la tradition indigène associe au nom de Hāla, qui est un roi Śātakarṇi, la floraison de la littérature prākrite, de même qu'elle rattache au souvenir de Vikramāditya le renouveau de la littérature sanskrite.¹ Quand on voudra mesurer la part des influences anaryennes dans le développement de la littérature prākrite, on ne devra pas perdre de vue que l'onomastique des Andhras contient un important élément austroasiatique.

¹ Garrez, *Journ. As.*, vi série, xx, p. 199 et suiv.

Fragment of an Expiation-Ritual against Sickness

BY THE REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

THE text here published occupies part of the Reverse of British Museum tablet Rm. 2,160 and includes part of two prayers, with the accompanying ritual. The first prayer is addressed to some goddess, the second is to the stone *šadanu*. Of the Obverse, only a few signs remain. My thanks are due to the Trustees of the British Museum for their kind permission to publish this text, and I have to acknowledge gratefully the help accorded to me by Professor Langdon in interpreting and restoring it, and by Mr. C. J. Gadd in collating for me some of the lines.

Rm. 2,160

Reverse

1. [il]āni (?) ištār[āti (?)]
 gods goddesses
2. [ana-ku annannu mār annanni šá il-ī] annannu ištār-ī
 [annannī-tum] ¹

I am so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so,
 whose goddess is so-and-so,

3. [ša] lib-ba-šū-nu itti-īā šu-zu-zi-in-ni
 with whom their heart has been made angry (?),
4. ša (?) egirrū-īā lum-mu-nu ² la šu-te-šu-ru p[a-da-ni (?)] ³
 Whose thoughts have been made wicked, whose way has
 not been made straight.

5. . . . -ni-iš ú-še-mu-nin-ni pi-rit-tam gi-lit-tam a-d[ir-tam
 iš-ku-nu-ni (?)] ⁴

Like . . . they have made me ; terror, panic (and)
 melancholy they have prepared for me ;

¹ This formula has usually *il-šū* and *ištār-šū*. The formula is fully discussed by Langdon, *R.A.* 16, 49 ff.

² Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 30, 31.

³ Cf. *PSBA.* 1918, 108, 20.

⁴ Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 29, 8-10.

6. [pa-a]r-da šunāti-ia lum-mu-na id [āti-ia]
Horrible are my dreams, disastrous are my omens ;
7. [ik (?)]-ka-pap¹ ka-bīt-ti ba-šu-ú i-na . . . -[ia (?)] . . .
Bent is my stomach, there are in my
8. ša ilu-ti-ki rabī-ti tidū-ma ana-ku lā idū-[ú]
Which thy great divinity knows, but I know not.
9. ila zi-na ištār zi-ni-tum šul-li-me-im-[ma]²
Make thou the angered god and angered goddess to be at
peace with me,
10. ki-mil-ti ili u ištari šup-ṭi-ri ia-[a-ši]
The wrath of god and goddess relax for me ;
11. hi-ṭi-it ár-ni abi ummi aḥi aḥati māri mārti ardi u [amti]³
The sin of the wrongdoing of father, mother, brother,
sister, son, daughter, man-servant, or maid-servant,
12. tap-pi-e it-ba-ri ru'-u-a ru-ut-ti ù lub-bu-ru . . .⁴
Of comrade, associate, male friend, female friend, or . . .
13. wa-ak-ta-nar-ru-ma dalīli-ki lud-lu-[ul]
. (?), and I will sing thy praises.
-
14. III-šù iman-nu-ma idē-šù ana arki-šù tutār(?) -ma a-du
murša-šù . . .
Thrice he shall recite (it). His arms behind him thou
shalt turn (?), and as long as his sickness [lasts]
15. ana pan kakkabāni mē ù šikara ša-du-nu tanak-ki-ma
lā tuš-ki-[en]
before the stars water and . . . beer libate and do not
kneel.
16. ina ūri ina ḥa-a-me uttēl⁵ ma ina šir-ti X šiklê aban
šad[āni⁶] . . .

¹ Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 30, 31.² Cf. *RA.* 16, 68, 7.³ Cf. *Šurpū*, viii, 51.⁴ Cf. *Šurpū*, viii, 41.⁵ Or read perhaps *tuttēl*, "thou shalt sleep."⁶ Cf. Geller, *ATU.* i, 303, 15-38, especially lines 22 and 32, and see *ibid.*, p. 339, note on line 15, for a note on the *šadānu* stone, which seems to have been some kind of sparkling jewel.

On the roof he shall sleep, and in the morning ten shekels of *šadānu*-stone thou shalt

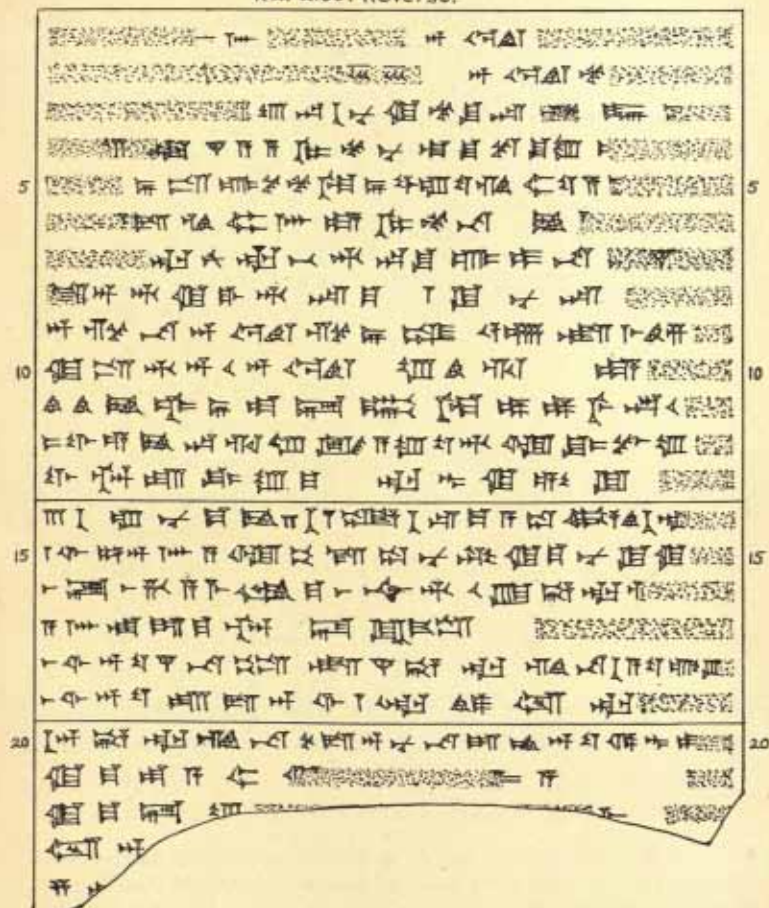
17. *mē tu-ra-ma-ak šamna taptāššaš*

With water wash thyself and anoint thyself with oil

18. *ina pan^a Šamši niknakka burāši tašakkan^{aban} šadāna šu-a-tū tanašši*

Before Shamash a censer of cypress thou shalt place, and this *šadānu*-stone thou shalt remove.

Rm. 2160. Reverse.



19. *ina pan* ^a *Šamši ta-da-an-ši* ¹ *ana ēli kīām ika* [*bbi*]
 Before Shamash thou shalt put (give) it. Over it he shall
 speak as follows :
-
20. *šiptu* ^{aban} *ka-gi-na šad-da-an-nu na-ra-am* ^a *Šamši daiāni*
š [*i-ri* (?)] ²
 Incantation. O *kagina*-stone, *šadānu*, darling of Shamash
 the far-famed judge,
21. *ki-ma abi a-lid* [*-ia* (?)] ³ *ār-nu*(?) [*-ú-a*
- Like my father, my begetter, [forgive] my wrongdoings ;
22. *ki-ma ummi šup* [*tir* (?)]
- Like my mother, dissolve [my sins (?)] ;
23. *kīma* ^{au} [*Šamši* (?)] ⁴
- Like Shamash, [enlighten my darkness (?)]
24. *za* (The rest of the tablet is missing.)

¹ For *tanaddanši*.

² Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 25, 2 and 40, 1.

³ Cf. King, *Magic*, No. 11, l. 38.

⁴ Cf. King, *Magic*, No. 12, ll. 34 f.

A Prayer to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk

By THE REV. C. J. MULLO-WEIR, M.A., B.D.

THE fragment K. 2784, published by Langdon in his *OECT.* vi, pl. xxii, belongs to the same tablet as K. 7593, which was edited by King, *Babylonian Magic and Sorcery*, No. 62. We now have, therefore, an almost complete text of the earlier part of a hymn to Ea, Shamash, and Marduk. I have to thank Dr. H. R. Hall and Mr. C. J. Gadd, of the British Museum, for permission to collate the reunited tablet, and Professor Langdon for his kindness in helping me with the interpretation of the text.

K. 2784 + K. 7593

Obverse

šiptu ^{1u} É-a ^{1u} Šamaš u ^{1u} Asar-[lù]-dug ilāni rabūti
da-i-nu di-en mati mu-šim-mu [š]imāti mu-uš-ši-ru ušurāti
mu-us-si-ku is-ki-e-ti šá šamē-e u irši-tim at-tu-nu-ma
šimāti šá-a-mu ušurāti uš-šu-ru šá ḫati-ku-nu-ma

5. šimāt balāti at-tu-nu-ma ta-šim-ma ušurāt balāti at-tu-nu-
ma tu-uš-ša-ra

purus balāti at-tu-nu-ma ta-pār-ra-sa šipat-ku-nu balātu
ši-it pī-ku-nu šá-la-mu e-piš pī-ku-nu ba-la-tu-um-ma
da-i-nu di-en mati ka-bi-su irši-ti rapaš-ti
e-ma šamū-ú ir(?)¹-bu ka-bi-su ki-rib šamē-e rāḫūti
at-tu-nu-ma

10. mu-nak-ki-ru lum-ni šá-ki-nu dum-ki nu-pa-si-su idāti
ittāti limnēti

šunāti p[ar]-da-a-ti² limnēti lá ṭābāti mu-šal-li-tu ki-e
lum-ni

mu-pa-aš-ši-ru aršašē e-ma idāti ittāti ma-la ba-šá-a
ana-ku annannu mār annanni šá ṭl-šū annannu ištar-šū
annannī-tum

šá idāti ittāti limnēti út-ta-nab-šá-nim-ma

¹ The sign seems rather to be Ú, or KIT, or KAL.

² Cf. iv R. 60, Obv. 44 (= Langdon, *Bab.*, iii, 25, 44); iv R. 17, Rev. 16; Ebeling, *KAR.* 76, 3, and see Zimmern, *OLZ.* 1917, 104, note 3.

15. *pal-ḥa-ku-ma ad-ra-ku u šu-ta-du-ra-ku*

[ina] lumun attalē ^{11u} Sin ina lumun attalē ^{11u} Šamši
 ina lumun kakkabāni šá šu-ut ^{11u} É-a šu-ut ^{11u} A-nim
 šu-ut ^{11u} Enlil

ina lumun kak[kab]āni(?) šá ana kakkabāni ḥarrāni
 is-ni-[ku(?)]

ina lumun [kakkab]āni(?) šá ana a-ḥa-meš it-te-iḥ-
 ḥ[u-ú]

20. [ina lumun matī (?)] ina lumun ali

. (Remainder broken off)

Reverse

. (Beginning broken off)

. ^{11u} É-a [^{11u} Šamaš u ^{11u} Asar-lù-dùg(?)]

[da-lil ilu-ti-ku-nu(?)] rabī-ti ana pan ni[šē(?) rapšāti
 lud-lul(?)]

. [g]úl dū-a-bi

TRANSLATION

Obverse

Incantation: Ea, Shamash, and Marduk, ye great ⁶gods,
 Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who
 appoint fates, who fashion destinies,¹

Who divide the portions for the heavens and for the
 earth;

To appoint fates and to fashion destinies¹ is in
 your hand;

5. Ye are they who decree the fates of life; ye are they
 who fashion the destinies of life;

Ye are they who ordain the decree of life; your incantation
 is life;

The utterance of your mouth is peace; the speech² of
 your mouth is life;

¹ Literally "forms".

² Literally "work".

- Ye are they who judge the cause of the land, who tread upon the wide earth,
 Who, when ¹ the heavens enter (?), tread in the midst of the distant heavens,
 10. Who oppose evil, who provide welfare, who blot out unlucky prodigies and signs,
 Shivering dreams, evil and not good; who sever the threads of evil,
 Who perform expiations for prodigies and signs,² how many soever there be;
 I, so-and-so, son of so-and-so, whose god is so-and-so, whose goddess is so-and-so,
 Upon whom evil prodigies and signs have come,
 15. Am afraid, melancholy and cast into gloom.

On account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the moon;
 on account of the evil omen of an eclipse of the sun;
 On account of an evil omen in the stars of Ea, or of Anu, or of Enlil;

On account of an evil omen of stars (?) which block (?) the paths of (other) stars;

On account of an evil omen of *stars* which have approached one another,

20. *On account of a disaster to the land; on account of a disaster to the city;*

.

Reverse

.

. Ea, Shamash and Marduk,

The praise of your great godhead before the wide-dwelling peoples I will sing.

Incantation against all kinds of evil (?)

¹ Or "where"; or "as".

² Literally, "who loosen spells with regard to prodigies and signs."

Lines 16 ff. of the Obverse appear to be a citation of various forms of evil portents, which might be inserted, in whole or in part, into the body of the prayer, as occasion demanded. I have attempted to restore the lines on the Reverse, assuming that these form the end of the prayer on the Obverse, but this assumption may be wrong. The remainder of the Reverse is occupied by a ritual and the colophon of Ashurbanipal's library. The tablet formed part of a series, and the catchline for the next tablet runs: [*šiptu bēl*] *bēlē šar šarrāni*.¹

¹ Possibly a prayer to Enlil; cf. Langdon, *PSBA.* 1912, 153, 7 (= King, *Magic*, 19, 4 = Ebeling, *KAR.* 68, 14).

An Unknown Turkish Shrine in Western Macedonia

By MARGARET HASLUCK

THE Turkish shrine to be described below lies in Greek Macedonia, where there are now no Turks. But the paper will describe the shrine as it was in 1923, a year before the Turks were removed from Greece to Asia Minor under the terms of the Lausanne Convention for the Exchange of Populations between Greece and Turkey.

The shrine has remained unknown because it is so remote from the ordinary routes even of scientific travel. To reach it one must journey seven hours west from Salonica along the Monastir railway line to Sorovitch, motor 56 kilometres south to Kozani in two and a half hours, ride four hours eastwards past Sari Gueul, the Yellow Lake, to the village of Ineobasi, and finally climb an hour and a half up the mountain above Ineobasi. The shrine is thus fifteen hours distant from Salonica, the nearest point of access for western travellers.

Pilgrims may go to the shrine on any day that they choose, but as usual in Turkey, Friday, the day of *juma*, is the best day for making the pilgrimage. Accordingly I started from Ineobasi early in the morning of Friday, 13th April, 1923. The village watchman came with me as my guide and escort. We began to climb at once, and from the first our pilgrimage was difficult. The gradient was considerable, and the path was littered with fragments of the limestone of which the mountain is composed. These fragments shifted their position under our feet or sent their sharp edges through our boots at every step. After half an hour the sun was high enough, and therefore hot enough, to distress us. Those who have travelled among treeless limestone mountains, where the rock is practically bare of soil, will recall what

happens in such circumstances. The limestone sucks in every ray of the sun, grows burning hot underfoot, and sends up waves of heat round the unfortunate traveller.

When the watchman and I had climbed for about an hour, an interesting scene made us forget our toil and trouble. Some Turkish women who were climbing just ahead of us, stopped at a detached boulder by the wayside. One of them moved towards it and laid her brow and lips to it three times, murmuring "Bismillahi", "in the Name of God", as she did so. Then she turned and scratched her back against the stone, for all the world like a cow that scratches its tail against a gate. The stone was a *bel tashi*, waist stone, and it cured pains in the backs of those who went through the ritual just described. No reason for its powers was known. It was not associated then or ever with any holy man. It simply stood on the Sacred Way, an isolated, upright, somewhat rectangular rock as broad and half as tall again as a man.

Passing the *bel tashi*, the watchman and I turned into a singularly narrow gulley, with steep limestone sides and a dry torrent bed at the bottom. For a quarter of an hour we climbed along the side of this gulley under appalling conditions. Not a breath of air stirred, the limestone chips were fiery hot to our tread, and the glare was intense. Such difficulties suggested that the sanctity of many natural sites of pilgrimage may be partly due to the effect on the human organism of the effort to reach them. Any natural phenomenon that is beyond the understanding of ignorant people must be particularly impressive if it can be reached only after an exhausting, nerve-racking journey. And a striking phenomenon lay ahead of us, as an exhausting journey lay behind us.

This striking phenomenon was nothing less than a spring of icy-cold water that rose in a shallow cave. Its coolness could not but seem miraculous to people who saw only that the bare and blistering mountain-side was within a few feet

and did not realize that the slope of the mountain was so sharp that a huge mass of rock protected the water from the sun's rays.

As we arrived, a group of women were sitting at the mouth of the cave, while inside a small child was undergoing treatment. An old woman, the recognized attendant of the cave, dipped a jug into a pool of water that lay on the left, poured most of the water over the child's head, hands, and bare feet, and then held the jug to the child's lips for the child to drink the rest of the water. Next she scraped her fingers along the roof, where drops of water slowly gathered. With her wet fingers she touched the child's brow, cheeks, and feet. Then she filled a pitcher at the pool and in return for a silver coin gave it to the child's grandmother. The latter was to take the water home to give to the child or any other of her household who might fall ill. Both on the way and at home she had to be careful not to spill any of it, and all of it must be drunk. It would be a *gunah*, a sin, not to drink it.

The spring was a *lija*, a curative spring, of cold, not hot, water, be it noted, and it was presided over by Lija Baba. It worked its cures for patients who drank its water or who washed in it, that is to say, for patients who came into intimate contact with it. It was particularly potent against headache and stomach ache. It was all the more sacred for rising in a cave, since caves tend naturally to be regarded with awe.

The spring was not the only attraction of the cave. There were other objects of interest, as the old woman presently went on to demonstrate. With her grandchild she crossed to the opposite side of the cave. There earth covered the floor and also a ledge a little above it. First of all the old woman took earth from the floor and rubbed it on the child's head, *kel olmasin*, to keep it from becoming scurvy, as so often happens in these regions. Then she took earth from the ledge and rubbed it on the child's brow, *bean olsun*, "for the sake of appearances," one might say, probably as

a simple tonic or prophylactic. Finally she scooped up a little water with her hand from a low pool below the ledge and washed the child's cheeks and her own face with it. This pool, however, was of secondary importance. The other was the more important. The earth in both places was sacred only because of its proximity to the first and more sacred pool. And the earth from the ledge was infallible in cases of headache.

All this time one of the women outside held a cock. The old grandmother was to kill and eat it a little later in front of the cave. Without such a sacrifice, *kurban*, her pilgrimage would be *nafile*, null and void. A sheep would have been a more acceptable offering, but a cock was as much as she could afford.

Meanwhile the women we had left at the "waist stone" had arrived. Among them was a young woman with her infant son in her arms. Moving forward to a hole like a natural arch in the rock adjacent to the cave, she passed her infant three times through the hole. Four other children she had borne had died, but she hoped to change her luck and to save this last child by passing it through the holed stone, the *delikli tash*, at Lija Baba's shrine, by bringing it, that is, into contact all round with the rock, the symbol of strength.

No more "cures" were visible or reported as existing in Lija Baba's domain, but there were two interesting places down in the gully, some 30 feet from the cave. Under our very eyes a woman took her daughter's child down to a heap of ruined, but definitely rectangular, masonry that lay beside the bed of the torrent. The old woman led the child three times round this heap, and then she bent herself, and made the child bend, to kiss the last corner with her brow and lips three times. She hoped this circumambulation of the ruins would make the child stronger than it was.

The form of the ruins suggested a rectangular building, perhaps a tomb-chamber, but their outline was not distinct

enough for me to identify their purpose and the Turks could give me no information. They knew the place only as a *nishan yer*, a *vakuf*, a holy place where signs and portents might be expected. Perhaps it was once the hut of some forgotten attendant of the cave.

The ruins themselves did not appear to be used for divination, but a tiny patch of green and level ground beside them gave omens. That very morning the turf had been turned up at two different points with a knife or other small instrument. A childless woman, said the watchman, must have dug each little pit to see if she was doomed to remain childless. As she dug, she was sure to have repeated some simple Moslem prayer, mingling religion and superstition in the usual fashion of backward people. If a worm had appeared as the result of her digging, she would bear a son. If an insect had appeared, she would have a daughter. If neither worm nor insect had appeared, she would remain barren. Apart from her natural grief at the last suggestion, its consequences might be very serious for her. Turks believe so strongly in omens that the woman's husband might act on the omen and marry another wife in order to beget children.

As to the origin of the sanctity of this patch of ground, I can only suggest that its greenness in such bare surroundings had struck the Turks as miraculous. Probably nothing more than accident had determined the superstition which they had attached to it. It would be only natural to poke about in such a place with a stick or a knife, and if a childless woman had done so and had later had a child, the superstition would spring into life as a matter of course.

Remounting to the cave from the bottom of the gully, the watchman and I passed a short distance round the shoulder of the hill and so came to an immense cave with two entrances, the home of In Baba, Cave Baba. Lija Baba was apparently a colourless saint, but In Baba had a considerable personality. He lived somewhere inside his cave, and had done so since the world dried up and men were created, as the watchman put

it in his Turkish phraseology. But In Baba was invisible, and his exact whereabouts in the cave were unknown. Hence the candles that were lit in his honour every Friday and Monday evening, were set in the middle of the cave to ensure his realizing for whom they were intended. Invisible though he was, he could make his presence disagreeably felt. Human beings were permitted to sleep in his cave, but if a sinner took advantage of his permission, In Baba would visit him during his sleep and slap him soundly. Sometimes too, he appeared to sleepers in their villages, demanding candles or a *kurban* from them. On such occasions he gave precise instructions about his wishes, and if his victim disregarded his orders, he punished him with sickness or other disaster. He had his whims, too. He welcomed sheep in his cave and could shelter as many as three or four hundred of them. Goats, however, he declined to receive, for they are destructive animals. Though now invisible, he seems once to have been visible, since he is said to have "disappeared". With him "disappeared" his horse and mule. A hoofprint of each, turned to stone, may be seen at one entrance to his cave.

In this veracious life-history there is nothing that could not be paralleled elsewhere in Moslem hagiology. Moslem saints frequently appear to men in dreams, and other cases where they have "disappeared" are recorded. I need cite only Khidr (Khizr), the Mahdi, and Christ Himself. Stones with curious natural markings are commonly enough interpreted as sacred hoofprints or footprints. The invidious distinction drawn by In Baba between sheep and goats is due to the Bektashi sympathies of the watchman who was my informant. As Shias, the Bektashi dervishes and their sympathizers abhor the Caliph Yezid and all his relatives because of the Caliph's treatment of the Imam Husain. Now Moawiya, the father of Yezid, was bearded, and Bektashis relate the beard of goats to Moawiya's beard and hate the animals accordingly. For this interesting Bektashi

belief I am indebted to Monsieur Ekrem Bey Vlora, the present Chargé d'Affaires for Albania in London. As already said, the watchman of Ineobasi attributed In Baba's ban on goats to their destructiveness.

Like Lija Baba, In Baba had a holed stone in his cave. It relieved the sick or the childless who passed three times through it. He also owned a *nishan yer* where omens, *isharet*, were given. This spot was well inside the cave, where a number of stalactites hung from the roof. The watchman said there were forty of them, but forty being a common mystic number in the Near East, I counted them and found but thirty-seven. The omens they gave appeared to be all of peace or war. Thus, when Macedonia was at peace, water dripped from them. When Macedonia was at war, no water dripped from them. Moreover, in 1912 a great stone fell from the roof, terrifying the Turks. Their terror was justified, and the omen proved true, some months afterwards, when the Balkan war, with its disastrous consequences for Turkey, broke out.

Most of this information the watchman gave me as we sat outside In Baba's cave. In itself it was good to sit and talk there, and that was the best place for pilgrims to offer *kurban*. But there was still something to see. Rising, the watchman led me farther round the hill, first to an enormous natural arch and then to a small cave. Both arch and cave were sacred to In Baba. The arch was almost an animals' hospital. If foals and calves died year after year, the run of death could be checked by passing their mothers through this arch. Only big animals were supposed to be passed through it, but the watchman had passed a ewe through a few months before. He had done so more as an experiment than anything else, for sheep were not supposed to benefit here, but the ewe had a flourishing lamb this year, whereas the two she had had before had died at birth.

In the small cave a holed stone had an interesting property. The hole is so small that passage through it is always difficult,

but should a sinner essay the passage, the rock contracts miraculously and prevents her from passing through. Its sole mission is to relieve childless women. Just before our visit some one had achieved a successful passage. This was evident from the scraped condition of the earth on the floor of the arch. Probably the successful woman was one of those who had dug for an omen down in the gully.

So far as I am aware, there was no other form of cult at this shrine. Summing up, therefore, we note that within a very small area we have two sacred springs, three sacred caves, four holed stones, one of them with an ordeal attached, two sacred footprints, two saints, both with the characteristic vagueness of Turkish saints, and sacred earth. Most of these sacred objects worked cures, some, like the springs, being general practitioners, others, like the waist stone or the last *delikli tash*, being specialists. After prayer and *kurban* they worked their cures by such forms of contact as drinking, rubbing, circumambulation, and passage. And as might be expected from Moslems who in some ways rate animals very high, animals shared the benefits of the shrine with their masters. Finally, two of the sacred spots gave omens. The range of the shrine's activity is the widest known to me outside the great centres of Moslem population.

Since 1924 the Turks have been gone from Macedonia, but the shrine is not yet completely deserted. Greek, Bulgar, and Vlach Christians from the surrounding district still frequent it for healing as they did in Turkish times.

[The frequentation of Moslem shrines by Christians and the principles underlying the practices above described are treated exhaustively in *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* (Oxford, 1929) by the late F. W. Hasluck.]

Some new Vannic Inscriptions

By A. H. SAYCE

Nos. XCIII-C

ONE of the most important Vannic inscriptions—or rather series of inscriptions—yet found in Armenia was discovered and excavated in 1916 by Professor Marr and Mr. Orbeli immediately under the walls of the citadel of Van. Here they found steps and niches cut in the rock, at the back of one of which was the monument in question. Under its vaulted roof was a rectangular stone stela standing on a pedestal. The sides of the stela were inscribed, as also was the pedestal; while two other inscriptions were engraved on either side of the stela on the wall of the rock behind it. Exceptionally good photographs were taken of the inscriptions, which have been edited by Professor Marr with transliteration and translation as well as an elaborate commentary. The volume containing them, *Archæological Discoveries at Van in the year 1916* (Petersburg, 1922), is a very sumptuous one and more than equal in matter and appearance to any of the previous volumes of the Archæological Society of Russia.

The upper part of the stela is broken, and consequently a few lines have been lost at the commencement of each of the texts on its sides, while the text A on the north side of the pedestal stone is, with a few variations, the same as that of Sayce XLIX on a rock near the gate of Tabriz.

At the foot of the monument a Christian interment was discovered, an Armenian inscription below the east wall of the western niche indicating that it belonged to the middle of the ninth or tenth century. Up to that date, therefore, the monument can have been only partially covered.

In continuation of my old numeration I have numbered the new inscriptions XCIII м, etc., the Topzawa inscription (*JRAS.* July, 1906) being LII τ and the Kelishin inscription LVI κ.

XCIII M

A. On the north side of the pedestal stone

1. AN Khal-di-[ni]-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-[i]-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldis-gods I prayed, the beings multitudinous,
ka-ru-ni MAT Ma-na-ni
who have subjected the Mannians'
2. MAT-ni-e la-qu-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
land to the rule (?) of Sarduris
D.P. Ar-gis-te-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
son of Argistis ; to Khaldis the giver ;
3. AN Khal-di-ni-ni [gis]-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi
to the Khaldis-gods the multitudinous, the givers, I prayed,
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-ni
on behalf of Sarduris
4. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi D.P. AN[RI]-du-ri-[s] a-li-e
son of Argistis. Sarduris says :
us-ta-a-di MAT Ba-bi-lu-ni-e
On approaching of Babilus
5. MAT e-ba-ni gi-di kha-[u-bi]
land the wall, I conquered
MAT Ba-bi-lu-u MAT e-ba-ni-a ku-dha-a-di
the people of Babilus, after marching
pa-ri
from
6. MAT Ba-ru-a-ta-i-ni-a AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni
the land of Baruatainia. To the Khaldis-gods, the powerful,
D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
Sarduris
7. a-li-e kha-u-bi III E-GAL-MES a-gu-nu-ni-li ma-nu-li
says : I took 3 palaces : all their spoil
gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
by force I seized ;

8. XXIII ALU-MES I UD-ME-ni as-gu-u-bi
 23 cities in one day I captured ;
 E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi
 the palaces I destroyed ; the cities I burned ;
 MAT-ni-a tu-bi
 the people I removed ;
9. ha-se-MES SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi
 the men (&) women of them I carried off ;
 VIIIMCXXXV TUR-se-MES na-khu-bi
 8,135 children I took,
10. XXVM NISU u-e-di-a-ni-[MES] VIM
 (&) 25,000 old men, 6,000
 NISU gu-nu-si-ni-i IIMCCCC
 mighty men, 2,500
 ANSU-KUR-RA-MES pa-ru-bi
 horses I carried away ;
11. XIIMCCC GUD pa-[khi-]ni XXXIIMC LU su-se
 12,300 oxen, 32,100 sheep ;
 i-na-ni nu-e nu-na-a-bi me-i-a-li
 the city of the king I went as far as ;
12. NISU a-si-MES-se pa-ar-tu-s pa-ar-tu-[u] i-u
 the infantry were carried off as captives : thus
 MAT e-ba-ni as-u-la-a-bi
 the country I desolated (?).
13. i-ku-ka-ni MU ta-ra-ni us-ta-di
 The same year the second time on approaching
 MAT E-ti-u-ni-e-di MAT Li-qi-u-e-
 the land of Etius, of Liqius
14. e-di-a MAT-e-di-a-ni ALU MAN-nu-si
 the people, the royal city
 D.P. A-bi-a-ni-i-ni-i a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a
 of Abianis, all the spoil by force
 kha-u-bi
 I took ;

15. ALU Ir-u-i-a-ni ALU MAN-nu-ši D.P. Ir-ku-a-i-ni-i
the city of Iruias, the royal city of Irkuais,
 a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
all the spoil
16. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi [ALU] Ir-ma-a-ni
by force I took; [the city of] Irmas,
 ALU MAN-nu-ši D.P. U-e-da-i-ni-i a-gu-nu-u-ni
the royal city of Uedais, the spoil
17. ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi MAT-ni
in full by force I took. Over the land
 ALU Bu-i-ni-[i]-al-khi NISU bu-ra-as-tu-bi
of Buis I appointed a governor.
 me-si-ni pi-i
His name
18. ha-al-du-bi me-e-s D.P. AN RI-[du-ri]-e a-ri-e-ne
I changed. He to Sarduris gave
 i-na-ni-li IV E-GAL-MES
the city; 4 palaces
19. MAT e-ba-ni-a-tsi-e kha-[u]-bi ha-se-MES SAL
in his country I took; the men (&)
 lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-bi
women of them I carried off;
20. IIIMCCCC TUR-se-MES XMCCCC NISU u-e-di-a-ni
 3,500 children, 10,500 old men,
 IVM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i
 4,000 mighty men
21. pa-[ru]-u-bi VIIIMCCCCXXV GUD pa-khi-ni
I carried off; 8,525 oxen
 pa-ru-bi XVIIIIM LU su-se-MES
I carried off; 18,000 sheep
 pa-ru-bi
I carried off.

22. i-[ku-ka-]a-ni MU si-is-ti-ni us-ta-di
The same year for the 3rd time on approaching
 MAT Ur-me-u-e-e-di-a XI E-GAL-MES kha-u-bi
the land of Urmes 11 palaces I took,
23. khar-khar-su-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu is-ti-ni-ni
I dug up. the men (&) women of them
 pa-ru-u-bi MC TUR-se-MES na-khu-bi
I carried off; 1,100 children I seized,
24. VIMCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES IIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i
 6,500 women, 2,000 mighty men,
 IIMCCCCXXXVIII GUD pa-khi-ni
 2,538 oxen,
25. VIIM LU su-se-MES D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
 8,000 shezp. Sarduris
 D.P. Ar-gis-ti-[khi-]ni-s a-li-e a-li
son of Argistis says: the sum
 NISU tu-khi
of the captives
26. III MAT e-ba-na I MU a-du-bi PAP
of the 3 lands in one year I counted: in all
 XIIMCCCCCCCCXXXV TUR-se na-khu-bi
 12,735 children I took;
 XLVIMCCCCC SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-bi
 46,600 women I carried away;
27. XXIIM NISU-MES gu-nu-si-ni-i pa-ru-u-bi
 22,000 mighty men I carried off;
 IIMCCCC ANSU KUR-RA-MES pa-ru-bi
 2,500 horses I carried away;
28. XXIIMCCCXXXV GUD pa-khi-ni LVIIIMC LU su-se
 23,335 oxen, 58,100 sheep
 pa-ru-bi AN Khal-di-i-a is-ti-ni-e
I carried off. For this people of Khaldis

29. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU
 these (?) conquests (?) in one year
 D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
 Sarduris son of Argistis
 za-du-ni
 made.

1. *Ma-sê* "existences" in lxxxvi, 39, shows that D. H. Müller was right in deriving *ma-si-ne* from *ma* "to be".

The new inscription, No. XCVIM, 46, seems to show that *karu* has no connection with *kuru* "to give", and consequently my old translation of the formula in which it occurs must be revised. In F 22 (XCVIIM) it must signify "to subject" or something similar, and we must assign a meaning like that of "rule" or "power" to *laquni* (or *tequni*).

5. *Gi-di* makes it clear that my old rendering of *gis*, *gês* as "wall" was right. The campaign against Babilus is described in XLIX, where I have suggested its identification with the Babylsa of Strabo. As it was apparently in the country of the Minni it could not be Babylon, though the mention of "the wall" would suit Babylonia, which was defended on the north by the "Median Wall", the Kar-Dunias of the Kassites.

9. M. de Morgan and subsequently Professor Nikolsky found that in the Atam-Khan inscription (No. LIII) the first syllable (*ar*) of the name of Argistis (l. 2) is expressed by the ideograph of "son" or "child", which consequently must have had the phonetic value of *ar*.¹ Nikolsky further found that in l. 1 *usma-si-ni* "the gods" or "spirits" must be corrected to *ba-o-si-ni* which will thus be a synonym of *alsuisini* "powerful".

10. SAL takes the place of NISU in No. XLIX. *Uediani* has no connection with *ueli-dubi*, as I supposed formerly, and the passages in which it occurs, where the determinative

¹ This was pointed out by Dr. Belek as long ago as 1904 in the *Z.D.M.G.*, lviii, p. 165.

is sometimes "man", sometimes "woman", indicate that it signifies "old". *Gunus(e)* is translated by the Ass. *litu* "force", "strength", in the Topzawa texts; hence *gunusi-ni* will be "the able-bodied", "the warriors", rather than "slaves" or "captives" as I once proposed, taking the word in a passive sense. *Gunusá* "by force" would correspond to the Ass. "with weapons".

11. *Meiali* appears to signify "as far as", "up to." But perhaps we ought to divide the words *mei ali* and translate: "of him all the troops as captives were carried away." See note on XCVm, 44, 45.

12. The passive 3rd pers. form *partû* is interesting. The root is that of *parubi*, *parbi*. In XLIX, 12, we have *partus* [*s*] *jeri partu*. The photograph gives *as-u-la-a-bi*, not *as-ga-la-a-bi*.

17. Literally "I placed a governor over the inhabitants of the land of Buis".

18. In *arê-ne* I now read *ne*, supposing it to be equivalent to the usual *-ni* (see xxxix, 5). But, since the character has the value of *dha* (*ta*) in the name of Malatijeh, my old reading may be the more correct, *arê-ta* having the same 3rd pers. suffix as *partû*, *têrtu*, etc. (*JRAS.* 1906, p. 621). If so, *-ta* (or *-ti*?) would represent the singular and *-tu* the plural.

19. In this line the signification of the suffix *-tsê* (*-zê*) is clear and my old explanation of it must be corrected.

24. The number of women is not 6,600 as in the older copies.

27. The 12,000 of the older copies must be corrected to 22,000.

29. The true interpretation of *arniusini-li* is given by lxxvii, 10, and lxxix, 20. But we have still to determine the shade of difference between the two forms *arniusini-li* and *arnisini-li*. With the first we can compare *ebani-u-kê* "part of the country". We should expect *inili* "these"; *inanili* is difficult to explain.

XCIVM.

B (IX). On the east side of the stela in the west niche.

Face A (first column)

The commencement of the inscription is lost.

1. ka-ru-ni
(to the Khaldises) who have subjected of . . .
2. MAT-ni-e te-qu-a-li
the country to the power (?)
3. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-ka-[i]
of Sarduris
4. [D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
son of Argistis,
5. AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni-[e]
to Khaldis the giver,
6. AN Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-[e]
to the Khaldis-gods, the multitudinous,
7. [ku]-ru-ni-ni us-ta-bi
the givers, I prayed
8. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-i-[ni]
on behalf of Sarduris
9. D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
son of Argistis.
10. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
Sarduris
11. a-li-e is-ti-e-di
says : In this
12. us-ta-di MAT Ma-na-i-di
campaign to the land of the Mannians
13. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni kha-u-bi
the country I captured ;
14. ALU-MES SARAP-bi khar-khar-su-[bi]
the cities I burnt, I dug up ;

15. [MAT] e-ba-a-ni-a tu-[bi]
the people I took;
16. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-[bi]
men (&) women I carried away
17. MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di
to Biainas.
18. ALU Da-ar-ba-ni E-[GAL]
Of the palace of the city of Darbas
19. a-gu-nu-u-ni ma-a-[nu]
all the spoil
20. gu-nu-u-sa-a kha-u-[bi]
by force I seized.
21. [NISU ?] ir-di-MES is-ti-ni
The workmen of them
22. [kha-]su-u-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni
I acquired. The country
23. [MAT] e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di
in parts of the country
24. a-bi-li-du-bi i-ku-ka-ni
I burnt. The same
25. sa-a-li si-is-ti-i-ni
year a third time,
26. ki-e-i-da-nu-u-li
after mustering
27. [NISU] khu-ra-di-ni-e-li
the soldiers
28. MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
in the land of the son of Erias,
29. MAT e-ba-ni kha-a-i-[tu]
the country they overmastered.
30. ALU-MES khar-khar-si-tu-li
The cities having been dug up

31. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a TI-[MES]
the people alive,
32. ha-se-MES SAL lu-tu-MES
men (&) women
33. MAT Bi-a-i-na-di pa-ar-[tu]
to Biainas were carried off.
34. AN Khal-di-i-ni-i-ni
To the Khaldis gods,
35. al-śu-u-i-si-ni
the powerful,
36. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
Sarduris says :
37. a-li NISU ta-u-tu-khi (?)
The sum of the captives
38. is-ti-ni za-du-u-bi
of them I made (was as follows)
39. IIIMCCXXV TUR-se
 3,225 *children*
40. is-ti-ni-ni na-khu-u-bi
belonging to them I took ;
41. IVMIXCXXVIII SAL lu-tu-MES
 4,928 *women ;*
42. PAP VIIIMCLIII NISU UN-MES
in all 8,153 persons
43. a-li-ki za-as-gu-u-bi
partly I killed,
44. a-li-ki TI a-gu-u-bi
partly alive I brought away ;
45. CCCCXII ANSU KUR-RA-MES
 412 *horses,*
46. VIMCCCCCLXV GUD pa-khi-ni
 6,665 *oxen,*

47. XXVMCCCCCCCXXXV LU su-se
25,735 sheep
48. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
Sarduris
49. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
son of Argistis says :
50. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
For this people of Khaldis
51. [i]-na-a-ni-e-li
these (?)
52. ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
conquests (?)
53. [su]-ši-ni sa-a-li za-du-bi
in one year I made.
54. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s
Sarduris
55. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
son of Argistis says :
56. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH na-khi-di-ni a-dhu
Of a long life the leading may they decree !

21. The ideographic MES suggests that *irdi* is a foreign word. Perhaps it represents the Ass. *ardu* "slave" (for which see G 3, No. XCVIII).

30. *Kharkharsi-tuli* is a compound of *kharkharsu* and *tu*.

37. The signification of *tautu(khi)* is given by the context. It seems to be a compound of *tu* as in *tukhi* "prisoners" and a root *tau* which is new.

56. The signification of *nakhi-di-ni* is given in the Kelishin text (No. LVI), where *nakhuni* is rendered by the Ass. *nasi* "raised", "brought". For *inukanê* cf. lxxxvii, 4-11 : *inukâni esini-ni* D.P. *Gilurânê GIS-TIR-ni-kai pari* D.P. *Ispilini* D.P. *Ba-tu-khi-ni-ni GIS-NU-KHIR-ni-di IXCL JU* "the length of the place to the wood of Giluras from the

garden of Ispilis son of Batus being 950 cubits".¹ *A-dhu* for *a-tu* will be the 3rd pers. pl. of a "to speak" (whence the common *a-li* "he says").

XCV_M

C (10). The second column of the stela (Face B) on its north face.

The commencement is lost.

1. MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-[śu]-u-i-si-[ni]
In the land of Quldis to the Khaldis gods, the great ones,
2. [D.P.] Kha-kha-a-ni SARRU MAT Khu-sa-a-al-khi
Khakhas king of the Khusians,
NISU UN-MES-ra-[ni]
[his] people
3. e-di-ni ta-as-mu-u-bi pa-ru-bi
on behalf of, I devoted as a slave. I carried away
e-ir-tsi-du
the earth (?)
4. MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
from a part of the country. Sarduris says :
5. i-ku-ka-a-ni sa-a-li NISU a-śi-MES us-ta-a-li
The same year the cavalry having entered
6. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di AN Khal-di-ni-ni
the land of the son of Abilianis for the Khaldis-gods,
al-śu-si-[ni]
the great ones,
7. IV YUME MAT e-ba-ni-i as-gu-bi
in 4 days the country I subjugated,
khar-khar-su-bi
I dug up ;

¹ Line 3 in this inscription is still a puzzle to me. Perhaps we should read [GIS ?]-KAK *ti-ma-ku-lu-[ni ?]* "has erected a boundary-pillar" or something similar.

8. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni-a tu-u-bi
the cities I burnt; the people I carried off;
 ha-a-se
the men
9. [SAL] lu-tu is-ti-ni pa-ru-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
 (&) *women of them I carried away. Sarduris*
 a-li-e
says:
10. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni
For this people of Khaldis this number of captives
 za-du-bi
I made;
11. ..MVIIICXC TUR-se na-khu-bi IIIMCCCCXCVI
 ..,890 *children I took;* 3,496
 NISU TI-MES
living men (&)
12. VIMCCCCVIII NISU u-e-di-a-ni pa-ru-u-bi
 6,408 *old men I carried away;*
13. PAP IXMIXCIV NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
in all 9,904 men partly I killed,
14. a-li-ki TI-LA-MES a-gu-bi LXV ANSU KUR-RA-MES
partly alive I took; 65 horses
 pa-ru-bi
I carried off;
15. ..MXC GUD pa-khi-ni XMVIIICXCVII
 ..,090 *oxen,* 10,897
 LU su-se-MES
sheep.
16. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
Sarduris says: For this people of Khaldis
17. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
these (?) conquests (?) in one year I made.

18. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the multitudinous beings,
19. ka-ru-ni SARRU D.P. E-ri-a-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e
who have subjected the king of the country of the son of Erias,
 ka-ru-ni
who have subjected
20. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e te-qu-a-li
the country of the son of Abilianis to the power (?)
21. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di
of Sarduris son of Argistis, to Khaldis
 ku-ru-ni
the giver,
22. AN Khal-di-ni gis-su-ri-ni ku-ru-ni
to the Khaldises the multitudinous, the givers,
 AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-si-[ni]
to the Khaldis-gods, the great,
23. us-ta-a-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ni D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-[khi]
I prayed on behalf of Sarduris son of Argistis.
24. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li us-ta-di
Sarduris says: On approaching
 MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-di
the land of the son of Erias
25. kha-u-bi MAT E-ri-a-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e su-ši-ni
I conquered the country of the son of Erias; in one
26. YUME as-gu-bi BIT-mu-ri-li
day I got possession of the house of Muris;
 a-li NISU AT-se NISU AT-AT-se
the whole of the
27. [za-]du-a-li a-u-i-e ku-i ku-ul-me-e ma-ni NISU
after consigning to the water, the fortress of him, the man,
28. u-i a-i-se-i SARRU-MES se-kha-ya-la-a-ni
along with the foundations of the existing (?) kings
29. AN Khal-di-ni-ni ba-u-si-ni EN-ši-ni-ni i-e-s
for the Khaldis-gods, the powerful, the lordly, I

30. YUME (?) L BIT-mu-ri-e kha-u-bi
in a day ? 50 of Muris's house(s) captured ;
 ta-as-mu-u-bi
I enslaved
31. ha-se SAL lu-tu ni-ir-bi di-id gu-si
the men (&) women ; of the gates the bronze-work (?)
 is-ti-ni-ni
belonging to them
32. si-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni KÙ-bi
I removed. The cities I burned ; the country I devoured ;
 ha-se SAL lu-tu
the men (&) women
33. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ris
I carried away to Biainas. Sarduris
 a-li-e
says :
34. bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di MAT A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di
A second time on approaching the land of the son of Abilianis
35. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi nu-na-bi
the cities I burned ; the land I devoured. I marched,
 D.P. Mu-ri-i-ni-ni
from Muris
36. [D.P.] A-bi-li-a-ni-khi sa-tu-a-li AN RI-du-ri-ni-li
son of Abilianis having exacted (due) to Sarduris
37. ku-ri-li šu-lu-us-ti-bi ši-lu-a-di ma-ku-ri
tribute I received homage. On the receipt of the gifts
38. e-ir-tsi-du be-i-ši ha-al-du-bi me-si-ni pi-i
of the land . . . I changed his name.
39. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Argis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
Sarduris son of Argistis says :
40. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e i-na-ni
For this people of Khaldis the following (?)
 tu-khi is-ti-ni
captives of them

41. za-du-bi VIIMCL NISU UN-MES I MU
I made : 7,150 *men in one year*
 a-li-ki
partly
42. za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi CCCCC
I slew, partly alive I took ; 500
 ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi
horses I carried off ;
43. VIIIMCCCCCLX GUD pa-khi-ni XXVMCLXX
 8,560 *oxen (d)* 25,170
 LU su-se
sheep.
44. i-na-ni SARRU-e nu-na-bi me-i-a-li NISU a-ši-MES
The king's city I marched as far as. The cavalry
45. ir-bi-tu se-ri pa-ar-tu i-u
 . . . ; *to the wild beasts they were carried off ; so*
 MAT-ni-i as-u-la-bi
the land I desolated.
46. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-ni
Sarduris says : For this people of Khaldis
47. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-bi
these (?) conquests (?) in one year I have made.
48. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-i-ni-e gis-su-ri-e
To the Khaldises I prayed, the multitudinous beings,
49. ka-ru-ni D.P. Ra-su-u-ni SARRU
who have subjected Rasus king
 MAT Ru-i-si-a-ni-e-i
of the Ruisianian
50. MAT e-ba-ni-i-e ka-ru-ni D.P. Di-u-tsi-ni-ni
lands, who have subjected Diutsinis
51. D.P. I-ga-ni-e-khi-[ni] ALU . . u-khi MAT e-ba-ni-e
son of Iganis of the land of the city of . . ukhis

52. te-qu-a-li D.P. AN [RI-du-ri-ni D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e
 to the power of Sarduris son of Argistis.
53. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s [a-li-e] [ulgusia-]ni e-di-ni
 Sarduris says : For the sake of [my life ?]
54. a . . . si ra-i-e

3. *Tasmubi* is the verb corresponding to the noun (D.P.) *tasmus* (xxx, 17). The signification is made clear by l. 30, and my old translation of *tasmus* as "nobles" must be given up.

Eirtsitu must be the Ass. *irtsitu* ; the prefixed *e* makes it probable that it is a borrowed word, and l. 38 appears to fix its meaning. From it we have the verbal form *eirtsi-dubi*, XCVIM, 29, on which see note.

5. The gerundial *ustâ-li* "approaching", "entering", must have the force of an ablative absolute in this passage.

19. For *karuni* see above, XCIIIM, 1.

26. The natural interpretation of NISU AT-se NISU AT-AT-se would be "fathers (and) grandfathers". Cf. XCIXM, 2.

Muris must be a proper name since in the next line it is described as "him, the man", and the name itself occurs in l. 35.¹

27. For *kui* see the bilingual LVIK. In xlix, 26, the squeeze shows that we must read *zadubi*, not *adubi*. Here, therefore, the literal translation would be : "all the fathers and grandfathers (?) I made the possession of the water." Does it mean that they were made water-carriers or that they were drowned ?

28. *Sekhalayani* seems to have the same root as *sekhiris* "living", but the natural rendering would be "former". Cf. *sekha-di*, lxxxvi, 25.

¹ Or has the expression "house of *Muris*" the Semitic sense of "family of *Muris*" ?

30. The numeral is attached to BIT, not to the preceding word.

31. The bilingual texts have given us the signification of the Assyrian loan-word *niribi*, *nirbi*. *Nirbi-did* is a synonym of *bibu-did* (I, 25), *bibu* being the Ass. *bābu*.

32. The ideograph gives us the meaning of its phonetically written equivalent *atu* in line 35.

35. The context makes the signification of *biduyas* pretty clear and thus explains the compound BIT *barsudi-biduni* (xix, 4, etc.). This will have been a double building, consisting of two chambers or two blocks. Hence in xxx, 16-18, *arūni mēs ali* D.P. *tasmus bedi-mānu biduni ibirāni* will be: "he gave a multitude of slaves in bodies in two divisions. Cf. also xix, 11.

36. In lxxxvi, 13, *satūuli* must signify "demand"; *ALU sukhe istini satūuli pili* D.P. *Ildaruniani agūbi* "for this city which I have built requiring (it) I brought the water of the river Ildarunias".

37. *Satūali* is a gerund rather than a substantive and consequently my old translation of *šulustibi* ("imposed") must be amended.

The photograph shows that we must read *makuri* and not *nakuri*; the latter reading must be corrected in the passages in which it occurs. The word appears to be a compound of *ma* and *kuri* ("give").

40. Or *inani* may signify "for the city" as in I. 44.

44. The formula is found in xlix, 11, 12. *Meiali*, literally "to the border", must be used as a postposition corresponding with the Assyrian *adi*; "as far as the royal city." But see note on xcv, 11.

45. *Irbitu* looks like the borrowed Ass. *irbittu* "to the 4 (quarters)". The signification of *seri* was discovered by D. H. Müller, who pointed out that it had the same root as *se-khi-ris* "living". The discovery of the 3rd personal form in *-tu* is due to Dr. Belck. The photograph shows that we must read *asulabi* and not *asgalabi*.

XCVIM

D. Column III of the great stela (Face C)

The commencement is lost.

1. . . . is-ti-[ni ?] . . .
 . . . these . . .
2. [D.P.] AN RI-[du]-ri-s a-li-e
 Sarduris *says :*
3. us-ta-[a-di] MAT Qu-ul-kha-i-di
 On approaching the land of Qulkhas
4. [MAT-ni kha-u-bi ?] ALU . . sa-ni
 [the land I took ?] Of the city of . . sas
5. ALU SARRU nu-ši . . . sa bi (?) SARRU . .
 the royal city
6. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e-[ni]
 in the country of Qumakh-Khalis,
7. [a]-gu-nu-[ni ma-]a-nu gu-nu-sa-[a]
 all the spoil *by force*
8. kha-u-bi UN-MES-ra-ni SARAP-bi
 I seized ; the . . men I burned ;
9. NISU ir-di-a-li MAT Bi(?) -kha-i
 the workmen of the land of Bi(?)khas
10. is-ti-ni ma-nu za-as-gu-bi
 all of them I killed.
11. DUP AN-BAR za-du-bi DUP-TE
 A tablet of iron I made ; a tablet
12. ši-il-da MU-SA te-ru-bi
 šilda its name I set up.
13. E-GAL-MES ALU-MES SARAP-bi
 The palaces (&) cities I burnt,
14. khar-khar-su-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
 I dug up ; the land I devoured ;
15. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
 the men (&) women I carried away.

16. [D.P.] AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
Sarduris says :
17. i-ku-ka-ni MU si-is-ti-[ni]
The same year for the third time
18. us-ta-di MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-e-di
on approaching the land of the son of Oikhirus
19. [I]I NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-ri
 2 *governors for the district (?)*
20. ma-nu-li III a-e-ir-MES (?)
the whole (of it) (&) 3 deputies (?)
21. us-ti-ib-te za-du-u-bi
for the government I appointed.
22. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-si-ni
To the Khaldis gods the powerful
23. MAT e-ba-ni ba-ad-gu-lu-bi
the country I devoted,
24. [I] UD-ME as-gu-bi MAT-ni a-tu-bi
in one day I took ; the land I devoured ;
25. ha-se SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
the men (&) women I carried away.
26. ALU U-ra-ya-ni E-GAL
In the city Urayas the palace
27. si-di-is-tu-bi NISU ir-di
I restored ; workmen
28. is-ti-i-ni a-su-u-bi
to it I sent.
29. MAT O-i-khi-ru-khi-ni-i NISU-si-a
The people of the land of the son of Oikhirus
30. is-ti-ni e-ir-tsi-du-bi
there I settled (transported).
31. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
Sarduris says :

32. a-li NISU ta-tu-khi za-du-bi
The sum of the captives I have made :
33. VIIIMC TUR-se na-khu-bi
 8,100 children I have taken ;
34. IXMCX SAL lu-tu pa-ru-bi
 9,110 women I have carried away ;
35. PAP XVIIIMCC[X] NISU UN-MES
 in all 17,210 persons
36. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi
partly I have let die,
37. a-li-ki TI-MES a-gu-bi
partly alive I have carried off ;
38. IMCCCCC ANSU KUR-RA pa-ru-bi
 1,500 horses I have carried away ;
39. XVIIIMCCC GUD pa-khi-ni
 17,300 oxen,
40. XXXIMVIC LU su-se
 31,600 sheep.
41. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
Sarduris says :
42. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-e
For this people of Khaldis
43. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-o-si-ni-li
these (?) conquests (?)
44. su-ši-ni MU za-du-u-bi
in one year I made.
45. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi
To the Khaldises I prayed,
46. ma-ši-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
the beings multitudinous,
47. ka-ru-a-li IV SARRU-MES
after the subjugation of 4 kings,

48. MAT U-e-du-ri -e-ti-o-ni-i
to the Ueduretians'
49. MAT e-ba-a-ni-a-tsi-e
land belonging,
50. SARRU D.P. Ar-gu-qi-u-ni
king Arguqius,
51. SARRU D.P. Ka-a-ma-ni-u-i
king Kamas also,
52. SARRU D.P. Lu-e-ru-ni-u-i
king Luerus also.
53. i-nu-ka-ni-e BALADH MAT-ni a-dhu
Length of life to the land may they decree.

6. Qumakha is the Assyrian Qummukh, classical Commagene. The further specification of the district as Qumakha-Khalis, i.e. "Qummukh of the Halys", is interesting. The Qummukh of the Assyrian texts extended a good deal to the East; the western portion of the country is here defined as stretching to the Halys and as being under separate government.

9. Line 26 makes it clear that *irdiali* must mean "workmen". Perhaps it is the Ass. *ardu*; see XCIXM, 11.

12. Is *šilda* the word for "iron". The Greek σίδηρος, borrowed from Asia Minor, may be an example of metathesis. In (Caucasian) Ude *zido* signifies "iron".

21. The signification of *ustibte* is fixed by lv, 3.

23. The general sense of *badgulubi* is settled by the context; what its specific meaning may be is uncertain. It seems to be a compound; cf. *qabqaru-lubi* (xli, 17).

30. *Eirtsidubi* appears to stand for the compound *eirtsidi-dubi* "I gave to the land".

51, 52. These two lines give us a new fact in Vannic grammar; the conjunction *ui* can be postfixed like Greek τε, Latin -que, Lydian -k, and Etruscan -k and -m.

53. For the form in -dhu, see note on XCIVM, 56.

XCVII_M

E. The fourth column of the stela (Face D), south side.

The commencement is lost.

1. si us-tt-u-ri
 he has dedicated.
2. [D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P.] Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
 [Sarduris] son of Argistis says:
3. [khu-ti-a-]di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
By the grace (?) of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas
4. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te
(&) Ardinis, the gods of Biainas,
5. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-su-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-di
of the bull-like spirits, the mighty, the assemblage,
6. MAT-MAT-MES-tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi-e
who belong to all countries,
kha-si-al me-e AN-MES
may the gods hear me.
7. IV (?) UD-ME kha-a-ri-e is-te-e-di us-ta-a-di
In 4 (?) days in that campaign on approaching
8. MAT Bu-lu-a-di-e-di si-a-bi ka-u-ki-e
the land of Buluadis I contended against
9. gu-nu-si-i-ni-e su-u-i-du-lu-u-bi . .
powerful forces ; [what] I seized
10. a-su-u-bi pa-ri-e ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-e-[khi ?]
I sent from the city of Libliunis.
11. ALU Li-ib-li-u-ni-ni ALU SARRU nu-si
Of Libliunis the royal city
a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
all the spoil
12. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi DUP-TE is-ti-ni te-ru-u-bi
by force I took. A tablet there I set up.

13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni KŪ
The cities I burnt ; the country I devoured ;
 ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the men (&) women
14. is-ti-ni-ni pa-ru-u-bi E-GAL-MES is-ti-i-ni
belonging to them I carried away. The palaces there
15. si-di-is-tu-u-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e us-ma-a-se
I restored for the Biainian gods.
16. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-a U-i-na-a pa-khi-a-i-di
To the Luluian pasturage where the cattle are
17. MAT-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-di a-bi-li-du-u-bi
in (certain) parts of the country I set fire.
18. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e i-ku-ka-ni sa-a-li-e
Sarduris says : The same year
19. si-is-ti-ni us-ta-a-di MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
the 3rd time on approaching the land of the son of Erias
20. [MAT] e-ba-ni kha-u-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi
the country I conquered ; the cities I burnt,
 khar-khar-su-u-[bi]
I dug up ;
21. MAT e-ba-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the land I devoured ; men (&) women
 pa-ru-[bi]
I carried away
22. [MAT] Bi-a-na-i-di E-GAL-MES is-ti-ni si-di-is-tu-bi
to Biainas. The palaces there I restored.
23. MAT e-ba-ni MAT e-ba-ni-u-ki-e-di a-bi-li-du-[bi]
The country in (certain) parts I set on fire.
24. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
To the Khaldi gods, the mighty, Sarduris
25. a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi is-ti-ni za-du-u-[bi]
says : The sum of the captives of them I made (as follows) :

26. VIMCCCCXXVI TUR-se is-ti-ni-ni
 6,436 children belonging to them
 na-khu-u-bi
 I took ;
27. XVMCCCCCLIII SAL lu-tu-MES pa-ru-u-bi
 15,553 women *I carried away ;*
28. PAP XXIMIXCLXXXIX NISU ta-ar-su-a-[ni]
 in all 21,989 healthy persons (adults)
29. a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki TI-LA a-gu-[bi]
 partly *I let die,* partly alive *I took.*
30. MVICXIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES CXVI
 1,613 horses, 116
 ANSU A-AB-BA-[MES]
 camels,
31. XVIMCCCCXXIX GUD pa-khi-ni pa-ru-u-[bi]
 16,529 oxen *I carried away ;*
32. XXXVIIMVICLXXXV LU su-se-MES pa-ru-u-bi
 37,685 sheep *I carried away.*
33. D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e AN Khal-di-a
 Sarduris says : For the people of Khaldis
 is-ti-ni-e
 there
34. i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li I MU za-du-u-bi
 these (?) conquests (?) in one year *I made.*
35. AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-si-ni gis-su-ri-e
 To the Khaldises *I prayed,* the beings multitudinous,
 ka-ru-ni
 who have subjected
36. MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-e MAT-ni te-qu-ni
 of Qumakh-Khalis the land to the power (?)
 D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ka-i
 of Sarduris

37. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-e AN Khal-di ku-ru-ni
 son of Argistis, *to Khaldis* *the giver,*
 AN Khal-di-ni
 to the Khaldises
38. gis-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-a-bi
 the multitudinous, *the givers,* *I prayed*
 D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-[ni]
 on behalf of Sarduris
39. D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-khi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
 son of Argistis. *Sarduris* *says :*
40. D.P. Ku-us-ta-as-pi-li SARRU MAT Qu-ma-kha-al-khi-e
 Kustaspil *king* *of the people of Qumakh*
41. a-ni-ya-ar-du-ni ma-nu-i a-i-ni-e SARRU is-ti-ni
 gave bribes (?) *to every* *other* *king* *thereunto*
42. us-tu-ri D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s
 neighbouring. *Sarduris* *son of Argistis*
43. a-li-e khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di
 says : *By the grace (?)* *of Khaldis* *the lord,*
 AN IM-di
 Teisbas
44. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te-e
 (*&*) *Ardinis,* *the gods* *of Biainas,*
45. a-la-u-i-ni-ni al-śu-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-a-di
 of the protectors *mighty* *the assemblage,*
46. MAT-MAT-MES-tsi KISSAT-ya-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
 who belong to numberless lands, *may the gods hear me.*
 IV UD-ME KAS
 The 4th day *in that*
47. is-te-di us-ta-di MAT Qu-ma-kha-kha-li-ni-e
 campaign *on approaching* *of Qumakha-Khalis*
48. MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU U-i-ta-ni ALU SARRU nu-śi
 the land, *of the city of Uitas,* *the royal city,*

49. a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi
 all the spoil by force I took.
 ALU Kha-al-pa-ni
 Of the city of Khalpas,
50. ALU SARRU nu-si tsu-i-ni-i-si-ni ma-nu kha-u-bi
 the royal city, all the canals I took.
51. si-a-bi ka-u-ki šu-lu-us-ti-bi te-ru-lu-bi
 I attacked; I exacted homage; I confirmed (his rule).
52. a-ru-u me me-e-s L ma-na-e GUSQIN tu-a-gi
 Gave to me he 50 manehs of gold pure,
53. VIHC ma-na-e BABBAR IIIM TUG-MES IIIM
 800 manehs of silver, 3,000 dresses, 2,000
 a-se-MES URUD
 ingots of copper,
54. MCCCCXXXV ki-ri URUD a-li i-nu-ka-a-ni
 1,535 vessels of copper; the length of sacrifices
55. e-di-ni a-gi bi-e-da-ni kha-ra-ri
 for the sake of, good-luck to the next campaign (?)
 a-dhu
 may they decree.

5. The Sumerian *ala* "divine bull", "the protector" of a building, was borrowed by the Babylonians under the form of *alu* and by the Hittites under that of *alas*; here we have evidence that it was also borrowed by Vannic with the help of the suffix *-ui*.

In *aliaba-di* I am now inclined to regard *-ba* as a suffix rather than as part of a compound word.

6. The signification of the suffix *-tsi* is clear here.

We now know that *mê* denotes the objective cases of the first personal pronoun and must be distinguished from *mei* "of him". In *khasi-al* I now see the 3rd pers. pl. of the precativ. We learn from the bilingual lvi, 33, that *khasu-li* (for *khasi-u-li* ?) is "cause to hear". In Mitannian also *khasi* = "to hear".

7. The signification of *khârie* is given by its ideographic equivalent in l. 46. Cf. the Sumerian *kharran*.

8. For *kaukie* see the bilingual LIIT, 13. It fixes the meaning of *siabi*. In xxxvii, 11, accordingly, *siadi* will be "on attacking".

16. *Pakhia* can hardly be separated from *pakhi-ni* "oxen" and ought to signify "the place of oxen". Hence in *U-i-nâ*, with the territorial suffix *-na*, we must see the ideograph U, for which cf. note on lxxxvi, 9. Lulu was the district in which Armavir stood.

28. D.P. *tarsua[ni]* represent the non-combatants as well as the fighting men and must mean "the adults".

40. The Kustaspi of the Assyrian annals. He was (perhaps unwillingly) an ally of Sarduris in his war with Tiglath-pileser IV and subsequently attended the "durbar" of that king at Damascus after the capture of the city by the Assyrians in 732 B.C. The final *-li* seems to represent the Mitannian nominative *-l*.

41. *Aniyardani* seems to be a compound of an otherwise unknown *ani* and *aru* "to give".

The signification of *ainie* is given by the bilingual lvi, 30.

42. The specific signification of *ustu-ri*, from the same root as *usta-bi*, is fixed by the context.

48. *Uitas* is the *Uetas* of the Assyrian texts.

49. *Khalpa* is the *Khalpi* of the Assyrians, in the south-western part of Kummukh, where the Vannic army was defeated by Tiglath-pileser IV.

50. For *tsuini* "temple", Ass. *bit-ili*, see the bilinguals lvi and Topzawa. There was another *tsuis* which apparently means a "canal" or "reservoir".

52. Possibly *arû* is precative and we should translate "I established (i.e. ordained, *teru-lubi*): let him give". Cf. *askhu-me*, xxiv, 6.

The last syllable of *tu-a-gi* is clear in the photograph. On the other hand, in xlv, 20, 24, the reading is *tuaie* (if it is

correct). I have supposed that the word was the phonetic representative of the preceding ideograph, but the suffixed *-gi* suggests the epithet "pure". At any rate it is "pure gold" that is meant. Since *agi* in l. 55 appears to be "good luck", perhaps *tu-agi* is a compound signifying "good gold" (*tua*).

54. *Kiri* is the Ass. *kiru*.

55. τ 32 concludes: [*h*]*ali edini* RAK-KUR-*khini kharari* (*kharani* is an error) *ter-agi* "for the sake of the sacrifices to the frontier marches (?) good-luck!" The opening words of the great inscription of Argistis attached to the sepulchral chambers of the rock of Van (xxxviii, 2) are: *alie ini . . . nie azibie inaini teragi* "It is said: to these [sepulchral] chambers of the city good luck!" Then comes the long historical text. *Ter-agi* is a compound like *ter-duli*, and would be literally: "good ordainment".

Biedani seems to be connected with *biduyas* "a second time".

Kharari is a derivative in *-ri* like *sekhi-ris*, etc., the stem apparently being *khari* "road", "campaign". "*Kharani*" in LIIT (Vannic text) is a misprint for "*kharari*".

XCVIII_m

F. On the pedestal on which the stela stands.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni us-ma-si-ni D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s
To the Khaldis gods the divine Sarduris

D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e Ka-ma-a-ni ARAKH-ni
son of Argistis says: In the month Kamas

2. [t]a-ar-nu-ni NISU khu-ra-di-ni-li u-e-li-du-bi
at the beginning (?) the soldiers I mustered.

khu-ti-a-di AN Khal-di-e-di EN-di AN IM-di
By grace (?) of Khaldis the lord, Teisbas

3. AN UD-di AN-MES-as-te MAT Bi-a-i-na-as-te
 (&) *Ardinis the gods of Biainas,*
 a-lu-ši-ni-ni al-šu-u-i-si-ni a-li-a-ba-a-di
of rulers mighty the assemblage,
4. MAT Lu-lu-i-na-tsi kha-si-al me AN-MES
belonging to the land of Lulus, may the gods hear me.
 D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e u-la-di
Sarduris says: In the midst
 MAT E-ti-u-ni-e-di
of the country of Etius
5. a-li as-ta-a-di MAT E-ti-u-ni-a is-ti-ni-i-e
and the mountains (?) of the Etiunians there
 an-da-ni MAT E-ri-a-khi ha-al-du-bi
the road to the land of Erias I changed:
 sal-ma-at-khi
on the frontier
6. MAT Qu-ri-a-ni-ni us-ta-di MAT I-ga-ni-i-e-di
of the land of Qurias, on approaching the country of Iganis,
 AN Khal-di-ni us-ta-bi ma-ši-ni-e gis-su-ri-i-e
to the Khaldises I prayed, to the spirits multitudinous,
7. ka-ru-ni D.P. Qa-bu-ri-ni SARRU
who have subjected Qaburis king
 MAT I-ga-ni-i MAT e-ba-ni-e AN Khal-di-i ku-ru-ni
of the country of Iganis, to Khaldis the giver,
 AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni
to the Khaldis gods
8. gis-su-ri ku-ru-ni us-ta-bi D.P. AN RI-du-ri-ni
multitudinous, the givers, I prayed on behalf of Sarduris.
 D.P. AN RI-du-ri-i-s a-li-e XXXV E-GAL-MES
Sarduris says: 35 palaces,
9. CC ALU-MES I UD-ME as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES
 200 *cities in one day I took; the palaces*

khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-ni
I dug up ; the cities I burnt ; the country
 a-tu-u-bi ha-se-MES
I devoured ; the men

10. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
 (&) *women belonging to them I carried off*
 MAT Bi-a-i-na-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri i-s a-li-e
to Biainas. Sarduris says :
 i-ku-ka-a-ni
The same

11. KAS us-ta-di MAT Bu-ba-ni-a-i-ni-e
campaign on approaching the country of the
 MAT e-ba-ni-e-di ALU Al-qa-ni-a-i-di
Bubanaians (&) the city Alqaniais (&)
 ALU Tsu-da-la-di
the city Tsudalas

12. E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU MES SARAP-bi
the palaces I dug up, the cities I burnt ;
 MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi bi-du-ya-s us-ta-di
the land I devoured. A second time on approaching
 MAT E-ri-a-khi-ni-e-di
the land of the son of Erias

13. ALU-MES SARAP-bi ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the cities I burnt ; the men (&) women
 is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi i-sa-a-ni bi-di-i-a-di
belonging to them I carried off. On the second occasion
 us-ta-a-di
on approaching

14. MAT Is-te-lu-a-ni-gi-di MAT Qa-di-a-i-ni-e-di
the wall of the land of Isteluas, the land of Qadiais,
 MAT A-bu-u-ni-ni-e MAT e-ba-ni-i-e-di
the land of the Abunians

15. D.P. A-bi-li-a-ni-khi-ni-e-di D.P. AN RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
belonging to the son of Abilias Sarduris says :
 i-e-s NISU a-ši-MES ni-ku-u-li
I the cavalry commander (?)
16. u-i-e a-i-ni-e-i NISU EN-khu-i-MES su-ku-u-ri
along with the other officers of the army (?)
 ma-nu-u-ri us-ta-di NISU u-e-li su-ši-ni-e
in its entirety on the approach of a single regiment
17. MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-gi-di kha-u-bi
to the wall of the land of Uelikus captured ;
 MAT U-e-li-ku-ni-ni MAT-ni XXII E-GAL-MES
in the land of the Uelikuians of 22 palaces
 a-gu-nu-ni ma-nu
all the spoil
18. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi
by force I took. The palaces I dug up ;
 ALU-MES SARAP-bi MAT e-ba-a-ni a-tu-bi
the cities I burnt ; the land I devoured ;
 ha-se SAL lu-tu-MES
the men (&) women
19. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-i-na-i-di D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
I carried away to Biainas. Sarduris
 a-li-e nu-na-bi ka-u-ki D.P. Ni-di-i-ni
says : I marched against Nidis
20. SARRU MAT U-e-li-ku-khi šu-lu-us-ti-bi
king of the Uelikuians, I exacted homage
 NISU bu-ra-as-tu-u-bi me-si-ni pi-e-i
I appointed (him) as governor ; his name
 ha-al-du-bi
I changed.
21. me-s D.P. AN-RI-du-ri e a-ri-ne D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s
He to Sarduris gave (gifts). Sarduris
 a-li-e i-ku-ka-a-ni MU si-is-ti-i-ni
says : The same year for the third time

22. us-ta-di D.P. Ar-gu-qi-ni-e MAT-ni-di
on approaching the country belonging to Arguqis
 ka-ru-bi D.P. Ar-gu-qi-i-ni MAT-ni-e
I subjugated Arguqis's land,
 D.P. A-da-khu-ni
Adakhus's
23. MAT-ni-e D.P. Lu-ur-ru-ni MAT-ni-e D.P. E-su-mu-a-i
land, Lurrus's land, the land of
 MAT-ni D.P. Ka-am-ni-u-i MAT e-ba-ni
Esumuais, the land of Kamniuis,
24. MAT Qu-ha-al-ba-ni MAT U-khu-ni-ni MAT-ni-e
 (&) *the countries of Quhalbas* (&) *Ukhumis*
 MAT Te-ri-a-ni MAT-ni-e XX E-GAL-MES
 (&) *the country of Terias. Of 20 palaces*
 a-gu-nu-ni ma-a-nu
all the spoil
25. gu-nu-sa-a kha-u-bi CXX ALU-MES I UD-ME
by force I took; 120 cities in one day
 as-gu-bi E-GAL-MES khar-khar-su-bi ALU-MES
I captured; the palaces I dug up; the cities
 SARAP-bi MAT-ni a-tu-u-bi ha-se
I burnt; the country I devoured; the men
26. SAL lu-tu-MES is-ti-ni-ni si-u-bi
 (&) *women belonging to them I carried off.*
 D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU UN-MES
Sarduris says: All the persons
 GIS sur-gi-ni-ka-i-ni
the altar for libations
27. ku-lu TUR si-bi sa-tu-ni
the holy place of the . . . youths who guarded,
 MAT Us-ki-a-ni MAT Ba-am-ni
in the countries of Uskias (&) *Bam.*

ba-ad-gu-lu-bi za-as-gu-bi a-li-pi ku-lu
I devoted (to the gods), I slew, while all the altar
 TUR si-i-bi
of the . . . youths

28. AN IM-s SARAP-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
the Air-god burnt. Sarduris says :

se-e-ri ha-se SAL lu-tu
To the wild beasts the men (&) women

NISU a-si-MES-u-e a-ru-bi
belonging to the infantry I gave.

29. D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e a-li NISU tu-khi
Sarduris says : The sum of the captives

is-ti-ni za-du-bi XM TUR-s(e) na-khu-bi
there I made : 10,000 children I took ;

IVMVIC NISU TI-MES pa-ru-u-bi
4,600 men alive I carried off

30. XXIIIMCC SAL lu-tu-MES PAP XXXVIIMVIIIC
(&) 23,200 women, in all 37,800

NISU UN-MES a-li-ki za-as-gu-bi a-li-ki
persons partly I put to death, partly

TI-MES a-gu-u-bi
alive I took ;

31. IIIMCCGCC ANSU KUR-RA-MES XLMCCCLIII
3,500 horses, 40,353

GUD pa-khi-ni XXI a-ti-bi IVMVIIC
oxen, 21 myriads 4,700

LU su-se-MES D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-s a-li-e
sheep. Sarduris says :

32. AN Khal-di-a is-ti-ni-i-e i-na-ni-li ar-ni-u-si-ni-li
For this people of Khaldis these(?) conquests (?)

su-si-ni sa-a-li za-du-u-bi
in one year I made.

1. *Usma-sini* is a compound of the substantive verb *ma* and *us* which I have hitherto identified with *us* in *ustabi*, etc. *Us* is found in *us-gini*, which is translated by the Ass. *panipani* "sanctuary" (LVik 20), and is clearly a compound of *us* and *gi* "a temple-wall"; also in *us-lani*, possibly "oracle" (LVik 21). In lxviii, 3, we have *inani use us-ulmus* which perhaps signifies "the stated offerings of the gods of the city". At any rate, *us-(is)* must mean "divinity", "god", "spirit", or the like. Dr. Belck (*ZDMG.* lviii, p. 181) would make *aste* the complete word for "gods" and not merely its termination. Support for this would be found in *CT.* 25, 11, 31, where *Astuwinu* is stated to denote the twin deities *Zamama* and *Mas* in the language of *Subari*; the termination reminds us of the Greek dual *-ov*. *Kamas* is the first Vannic month the name of which has become known to us.

2. Professor Marr reads the first character as *ta* and connects the word with *taranis* "second".

5. With *astâ-di*, cf. *asta*, lxviii, 6, and *astiu* used in connection with the Etiunians, xliii, 42. The latter word, however, can hardly be separated from *astiu-iuni* (xxx, 21), which must mean "magazines" or something of the sort as they were captured along with horses and chariots.

6. For the country of *Iganis* see xxxvii, 11; xlv, 39. The photograph has *ga*, not *u*.

12. This passage gives us the signification of *biduyas*.

13. We find *bidia-di-bad-MES* in l, 18, "I obtained (?) the . . . of the fighting-men" (*gunusi-ni-ni*). Does the word mean "weapons"? *Isâni* does not occur elsewhere. In lxviii and xci, 7, *bidî* might signify "sacrificial instruments".

20. For *buras-tûbi* see below lv, 3, *sušinê ustibtini magûlani buras-tuli* "appointing a governor over this country under (?) a single administration".

22. This line fixes the signification of the verb *karu*.

26. *GIS surgini-kai-ni* is borrowed from Assyrian; it is literally "the (altar) for libations" (Ass. *surginu*).

27. *Kulu* usually appears as *kulu-di* borrowed from the Ass. *kiludi*, but regarded, it would seem, as a native Vannic formation in *-di*.

For *satu* "to keep", "guard", see my note *JRAS.* Oct., 1901, p. 650.

Badgu-lubi is a compound of *badgu-* and *lu-*. The context determines its sense.

The suffix *-pi* (or *wi*) in *ali-pi* was discovered and explained by Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG.* lviii (1904), pp. 844-6.

31. *Ati-bi* is probably related to *eti-bi* "more than", "exceeding".

XCIXM

G (VI). On the southern wall of the western niche, at the back of the stela.

1. AN Khal-di-i-ni-ni al-su-i-si-ni D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-s
To the Khaldis gods the mighty Sarduris

D.P. Ar-gis-ti-e-khi-ni-s a-li-e
son of Argistis says

2. i-u AN Khal-di-is me XX tu-khi a-ru-u-ni
thus: Khaldis to me 20 captives has given
na-kha-a-di NISU AT-si-ni e-si-i XX tu-khi-ni
when I took the place of the . . men. The 20 captives

3. a-li ar-da-i-e-i-ni i-si-u-s MAT Su-ra-a-ni-e-di-ni
and slaves, chattels (?) from all the world
tu-ru-u-bi XCII GIS GIGIR-MES
I collected (?) ; 92 chariots,

4. IIMVICIV BIT-KHAL-LU-MES XXXV a-ti-bi
3,604 *war-horses,* 35 *myriads*
IIMXI NISU ZAB-MES e-ha
2,011 *soldiers as well as*
BIT-KHAL-LU-MES-e-i
war-horses

5. e-ha NISU ZAB-GIR-MES-e-i i-na-ni ar-da-i-e
as well as camp-followers for the service of the city
 na-ni-e-di-ni tu-ru-bi
together (?) I collected (?),
6. a-li i-si-u-s ma-a-nu khu-su-bi CXXI NISU UN-MES
& all the chattels I acquired ; 121 persons,
 XMCCCCVIII ANSU KUR-RA-MES
 10,408 *horses*
7. CXXXII ANSU GIR-NUN-NA-MES XIIMCCCXXI
 132 *mules,* 12,321
 GUD-MES IXMXXXVI GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES
oxen 9,036 draft-oxen,
8. PAP [X]XIMCCCLVII GUD pa-khi-i-ni-e-MES
in all 21,357 draft-oxen,
 XXXVMCCCCLXVII LU su-se-e-MES
 35,467 *sheep,*
9. IIMCXIV til-li-MES gu-nu-si-ni-e-i MCCCXXXII
 2,114 *troops, powerful ones,* 1332
 GIS-BAN-MES XLVIIMIXCLXX GIS-KAK-ti-MES
bows, 47,970 arrows,
10. CII a-ti-bi IIMCXXXIII ka-pi-se SUK-MES [I]CXI
 102 *myriads 2,133 kapis of rations,* 111
 a-qar-qi KARAN-MES LXXXVI a-qar-qi VII
aqarqi of wine, 86 jars 7
 ne-ru-si XX ka-li NI-MES
nerusi 20 kali of oil,
11. VIIMLXXIX ma-na-e URUD-MES CCCXXXVI
 7,079 *manehs of copper,* 336
 ARAD-MES NISU U-ru-ur-da-a-ni-e-di-ni tu-ru-u-bi
slaves from Ararat I collected (?)

12. D.P. AN-RI-du-ri-i-ni D.P. Ar-gi-is-ti-e-khi
 for Sarduris *son of Argistis,*
 SARRU DAN-NU SARRU al-šu-u-i-ni
 the mighty king, *the great king,*
13. SARRU su-ra-a-u-e SARRU MAT Bi-a-i-na-a-u-e
 the king of multitudes, *king of Biainas,*
 SARRU SARRU-MES a-lu-ši ALU Dhu-us-pa-e-ALU
 king of kings, *lord of Dhuspas.*

2. Or is it "has given to him"?

The ideograph AT seems to be used here in the sense of "prince" or "judge"; but see XCVm, 26. Cf. Ass. (D.P.) AT-LIL "caulker".

3. *Ardaiei-ni* is the borrowed Assyrian word *ardu*.

Ísius would appear from the context to be "chattels" or something similar. It would be related to *íši* "with" in the sense of "appurtenance".

Suras interchanges with the Ass. MAT-MAT-MES (*JRAS.* xx, p. 32), and consequently signifies "the world". Hence we cannot translate: *Surani edini* "for the sake of Suras"; cf. *nani-edini*, l. 5, and *Ururdániedini*, l. 11.

4. *Náni* is found in xli, 19, where the squeeze proves that it is correct. There it is preceded by *murú-muria-khi-ni* which may be the phonetic reading of NISU ZAB-GIR-MES. *Nanuli* in li (i), 5, is a misreading for *manuli*.

9. *Tilli* is borrowed from Assyrian.

10. With *kapis* cf. the Ass. *kuppusu* "grain-jar". The land measurement *kapi* must be the same word: see Lehmann-Haupt, *ZDMG.* lviii (1904), p. 843.

For *aqarqi* and its subdivision *khirusi* see Lehmann-Haupt, *Materialien zur älteren Geschichte Armeniens und Mesopotamiens* (1907), pp. 111-12. *Khirusi* is here written *nerusi*; but since *ne* had the value of *ti* (*dhi*) in Vannic and *khi* (𐎧) had the same value in Assyro-Babylonian it is possible that the two words are identical.

11. Possibly we should translate: "for Ararat". If so, in l. 3 it would be "for Suras".

C

The following inscription was discovered by Professor Marr at Dash-Kerpi, near Lake Chaldir, north-east of Alexandropol, and published by him in the *Mémoires du Musée du Caucase*, 1919.

1. AN Khal-di-ni-ni al-šu-i-si-ni
To the Khaldis gods the mighty
2. D.P. AN RI-du-u-ri-i-s
Sarduris
3. D.P. Ar-gis-ti-khi-ni-s a-li-e
son of Argistis says
4. i-u MAT U-khi-me-a-qa kha-u-bi
thus: The land of Ukhimeaga I have conquered.
5. bi-(du)-ya-s i-ku-ka-ni KAS
For the second time in the same campaign
6. kha-u-bi ALU Ma-qa-al-tu-o-ni
I took the city of Maqaltus;
7. ha-se NISU u-e-di-a-ni
the men who were adults
8. pa-ru-bi MAT Bi-a-na-i-di
I carried away to Biainas.

5. Professor Marr's reading is *bi-li-ya-s*. But the corresponding form *biduyas* (XCVI, 34, and XCVII, 12) indicates that *du* should be read. If *li* is right, it would have to be explained by the interchange of *d* and *l* in many of the Asianic languages which presuppose a sound similar to that of the Welsh *ll*.

KAS (*kharran*) is phonetically rendered *kharie* in XCVI, 7, compared with XCVII, 8.

Nos. LV, LXXXII, LXXXIV

Not long before his death Professor Nikolsky was able to take photographs and squeezes of these three inscriptions with the result that the reading of them has been corrected and amended in several places.

No. LV. In l. 3 the reading is :—

su-ši-ni us-ti-ib-ti-ni ma-gu-u-la-ni bu-ra-as-tu-li
one government under (?) having appointed a governor
 In *magûlani* we may have a compound with *ula* "middle".

l. 5. MAT Ar-qu-qi-i-ni IV SARRU-MES i-pa-ni
of the land of Arquqis the 4 kings ipani
 ap-ti-ni tsu-i-ni-a
who were called, the people of the lake.

l. 6. MAT Sa-na-dhu-a-i-ni.

l. 10. The country of Piruainis is identified by Nikolsky with the modern Aparan, Melainis with Mola, and Useduinis with Ushakan.

l. 12. i-pa-ni ap-ti-ni [D.P.] Ri-i-du-a-i-ni
ipani who were called, belonging to Riduais
 MAT ba-ba-ni-a
distant peoples

l. 18. AN IM ALU MAT-[MAT]-MES . . .
For Teisbas the city countries . . .

No. LXXXII. There is no lacuna between ll. 3 and 4. For *Siriquqinê* read *Arquqinê*.

No. LXXXIV. l. 3 : . . . me-a-lu [BIT] ha-ri su-u-i-ni.
 See No. lxxxv, 2.

l. 7. ba-di-ni-e AN [Khal-]di-[ni]
To all the Khaldises.

l. 14. . . . su-u-ni kha-dhu-bi is-ti-[ni]
 . . . I cut off the boundary.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

EXHIBITION OF CHINESE ART IN BERLIN

On the 23rd January, 1926, there came into being the Gesellschaft für Ostasiatische Kunst with headquarters in Berlin. The success of the Society is measured by the fact that on its third birthday it numbered no less than 1,000 members. The aims of the Society are to promote lectures and exhibitions, and to issue periodical and other publications. From the beginning of this year the periodical became merged with the *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, which is now the official organ of the Society. The president is Dr. William Solf, German Ambassador at Tōkyō, the vice-president Dr. Herbert von Klemperer, and the chief secretary Professor Otto Kummel. Among the officers and supporters of the Society are the leading German scholars and collectors interested in Asiatic art.

The most ambitious enterprise of the Society is the Exhibition of Chinese Art which opened on the 12th January and will close on the 2nd April. In this it is associated with the Preussische Akademie der Künste, and the loan of the Academy's galleries allows of a display on magnificent lines. Most of the famous collections in Europe and America are represented in the Exhibition, and there are some 1,300 objects drawn from more than 170 sources in thirteen countries. A catalogue is issued at the wonderfully cheap price of 3 marks, and it contains descriptions of 1,125 objects, each of which is represented with a miniature photograph. To an enlarged and revised edition, now in preparation, the later accessions will be added. The cosmopolitan scope of the enterprise extends to a series of lectures which are attracting large audiences. As at present arranged, the list is as follows :—

J. G. Andersson (Stockholm), "Prähistorische Kulturbeziehungen zwischen Nordchina und dem näheren Orient."

G. Boróvka (Leningrad), "Die russischen Grabungen in der Mongolei."

J. Hackin (Paris), "Die buddhistische Kunst in Afghanistan."

R. L. Hobson (London), "Ceramics of the Period Sung to the End of Ming."

B. Rackham (London), "The later Chinese Ceramics."

W. P. Yetts (London), "The Technique of Bronze Casting in Ancient China."

All mediums of artistic expression, except architecture, receive adequate representation in the extensive galleries of the Academy. The main basis of arrangement is chronological, and the ample space at the disposal of the organizers permits schemes of grouping without crowding and without prejudice to archaeological and æsthetic standards. In fact, the difficult task of setting out the numerous and diversified exhibits has been achieved with signal taste and discrimination.

The range covered by the Exhibition is too wide for detailed discussion in a short notice; but one highly important feature must be mentioned. It is the presence of objects excavated from tombs in Northern Mongolia by the Kozlów Expedition. A review of the report on these finds appeared in *JRAS.* for 1926, pp. 555-8, and I wrote a longer and illustrated account in the *Burlington Magazine* for April, 1926. Among the finds, few of which may be attributed to local origin, are products of Hellenic, Iranian, Scythian, Sarmation, Chinese, and ancient Siberian art. Their prime importance as clues to channels of cultural contacts between China and foreign countries has been generally recognized, as also their probable period. But not till July of last year was documentary proof discovered to support the surmise that the tombs dated from about the beginning of our era. An inscription scratched on the edge of the base of a lacquered bowl was then for the first time noticed by Professor Otto Kummel, although the bowl had been repeatedly examined since it was excavated several years before. The inscription,

as deciphered by Professor Kummel, is as follows: 建平五年九月工王潭經畫工獲工宜天武省
 "The ninth moon, fifth year of the *chien-p'ing* period [2 B.C.] Craftsman Wang T'an-ching; painter Huo; craftsman I; supervisor T'ien-wu." Few are able to travel to Leningrad, and the opportunity afforded in Berlin of seeing these well-preserved relics of 2,000 years ago is therefore specially welcome. They offer an illuminating supplement to the Han objects discovered by Sir Aurel Stein in Eastern Turkestan and by Japanese archaeologists in Korea.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

BERLIN,

31st January, 1929.

(1) ON *KUR.GI.HU*, *KURKŪ* = THE CRANE

KUR.GI.HU, *kurkū*, about which we know the following details: (1) it has been compared to the Syr. ܠܚܝܬ "crane" (Amiaud, *ZA.* iii, 46); (2) it occurs as far back as the Dhehem texts, where it is mentioned with *UZ.BANDA* (duck?), and doves (Delaporte, *RA.* 1911, 189),¹ and occurs in the later Assyrian texts of everyday life (e.g. Johns, *Ass. Deeds*, 1003 ff.) and late Babylonian contracts (see *SAI.* No. 5369). It is a bird proper to be offered to the gods (cf. Sargon, *Khorsabad*, 168), and so from this we may account it a bird valuable for the table; (3) its name perhaps comes from its cry, or possibly is connected with *kurkanū*, "turmeric," from its colour; (4) the medical receipts of *CT.* xxiii, 49, 2, and *KAR.* 182 (see *Ass. Med. Texts*, 102, 3) recommend practically every part of the young *kurkū*-bird to be used as a salve after being rendered down, which shows that it must be a fairly large bird and important as a source of grease.

We can thus define *kurkū* as a fairly large fat bird, sought after for the table, an ancient inhabitant of Mesopotamia, with a cry like *kurk*, or possibly related to the colour (saffron) of turmeric (*kurkanū*), and presumably from ܠܚܝܬ a crane.

¹ Cf. Scheil, *R.A.*, 1925, 50, period of dynasty of Ur.

This old identification is apparently correct. Either *Grus communis* or *G. virgo* (the demoiselle crane) are probable candidates for the word, and I have often seen cranes (of some species) flying high over Mosul in the winter.

The Arabs told me they were excellent eating, and this is said of the common crane in the Middle Ages in England, as "furnishing a dish fit for the table of princes" (*Penny Cyclopædia*, xii, 171). Both kinds of crane are in general appearance greyish, and this is the case of the exterior of the turmeric root (*Rhind, Veg. Kingdom*, 518), the interior being a deep, lively yellow. The cry of the common crane is said to be *coorr*, sufficiently near to *kurk*.

حزان is used in Jer., viii, 7: Post (*Dict. Bible*, i, 516) says that in the absence of evidence in its favour, we must drop the crane from the fauna of the Bible. Payne Smith (*Thesaurus*) gives the meaning as *Grus* or perhaps *Hirundo*, mentioning the Gk. κίρκη, κίρκος. Dozy (*Supp.*) gives "cicogne" for كركي, but there is no doubt that the Mesopotamian Arab means "crane" when he uses this word.

The goose, with its cackle, and the use made of its grease, certainly rather suggests itself for *kurkū*, and I had, I confess, thought that *kurkū* might be some bird such as the ruddy shelldrake (*Tadorna casarca*, L.), with a usual note *kark* or *kape* (Howard Saunders, *Manual of British Birds*, 410), thus connected with *kurkanū*, or even the Brent Goose (*Bernicla brenta*, Pallas), with a call-note *cronk* or *honk* (Saunders, 400). But on my revisiting Mosul in 1927, the striking appearance of the cranes together with the Arab view of their delicacy as food, went some way towards convincing me that there was every reason to accept *kurkū* as "crane".

(2) ŠIKKŪ = "CAT"

None of the words *šikkū*, *piazu*, *aišu*, *ḥumširu*, has as yet been satisfactorily settled, although Ebeling in his translation of the text *KAR. 174* (*Die bab. Fabel*, 42) suggests "Maus (?)"

for *piazu*, which is right, but unnecessarily cautious. For *šikkû* he says: "was *šikkû*, das mehrfach vorkommt (vgl. z. B. *MA*. 1025b) für ein Tier bezeichnet, ist noch nicht mit Sicherheit zu sagen. Es scheint in Bewässerungsrohren zu leben, s. ebenda, also eine Ratte?"

I confess I see no difficulty in determining at least two: *piazu*, which can go down the snake's hole must be a mouse, and the *šikkû*, from which it flees must be the cat (not a rat): *piazu lapan šikkî ina hurri širi eruba umma mušlahhu išpuranni šulmu*, "The mouse went into the snake's hole with the cat at its heels, saying 'a snake-charmer has sent me (with?) Greeting'."

Again, on p. 44, *AN.NIN.PIŠ lapan kalbi ina namšabi . . . kalbu kî išhūt-ma ina bāb namšabi . . .*, *AN.NIN.PIŠ ištu namšabi u-ša(?)* . . . "The cat [fled] before the dog into the gutter; when the dog leapt up . . . at the opening of the gutter the cat laughed (?) from the gutter [at him]." It can hardly be "rat (?)" as Ebeling suggests. The two passages are clear: the translation for *šikkû* is clearly "cat", the idea of hostility between cat and dog being as common in the East as with us: cf. the late Hebrew magical charm (*PSBA*. 1907, 287). "For hate: take the egg of a black hen and boil it in urine and give half of it to a dog and half of it to a cat, and say: 'As these hate one another, so may hatred fall between N., son of N., and N., son of N.'" For the cat going into a pipe (*hallalanīš*), cf. *Sarg. Ann.*, 336. Interesting, therefore, is the Sumerian *AN.NIN.PIŠ = šikkû*, "cat," in relation with *PIŠ = piazu* "mouse" (as above): *AN.NIN.PIŠ* will mean "Mistress of the Mouse", an amusing title; equally so *AN.NIN.PIŠ = šarru ša imḫi* (*Br.* 11103) "king of wisdom", the traditional view taken of the cat. In my *Devils*, 1, 155, l. 216, *kima šikkê asurrâ ušṣanu šunu* " (the devils) make the wall to stink like cats " (like cats all over the world, not "mice", as I had it); and still more *K.* 3200, Haupt, *Nimrodepos*, 51, 14, the protecting deities of Erech (i.e. the lion-colossi) turn to *šikkê* (cats, smaller editions of

themselves), and go out through the gutters. Interesting is the animal *šikkû sammatum rābitum* (Gadd, *CT.* xxxix, 27, 15) "a great odorous cat", and the omen *ibid.*, l. 16, "If a cat *ša hu[p]-pi šaknat(at)* (I am indebted to Mr. Gadd for deciphering the broken character) appears in a man's house" (general harm to the house will follow). *Hu-up-pat ênâ^{II}* (*KAR.* 182, r. 10, which explains *hup-pi eni* of *CT.* xviii, 24, 4, Holma 17) at once shows what is meant by *huppi*: it is the "blindness" of the new-born kitten, merely the closed eyelids (ܫܝܬܬܐ *šētiṭā*, *occacavit*). Another kind is the *šikkû kišti* "cat of the woods". "If Adad lets his voice resound like a cat of the woods" (*K.* 2619, Del. *HWB.*, 50), presumably a panther or similar.

In a medical text, *AM.* 34, 1, 17, we have *šikkû EDIN.NA* ("of the field"), for which both *šikkû* and *aišu* (*SAI.* 396) are the equivalents. In *CT.* xxxv, 5, *ši-ik-ku-u, nam-maš-tu nam-maš-šu-u, ha-ma-aš-ši-ru, pi-a-zu* are all given as equivalents of the sign *PEŠ, PIŠ*. *Humširu* (*Br.* 11936) must be a variant of *hamašširu*. *Šikkû*, however, is not given elsewhere as a value for *PIŠ, PEŠ*, or equivalent of the others (I take it, of course, that *piazu* is not the same as *aišu*), and I think it must be a mistake; *PIŠ* so definitely = *piazu* ("mouse"), *humširu*, while it is *AN.NIN.PIŠ* which is *šikkû* ("cat"). The remaining values must be for mice and such small deer.

Nammaštu, nammaššû are generally accepted as ܪܡܫ *ramš* "creeping things"; *nammaštu* is defined in Gadd, *CT.* xxxviii, 44, as *n.* of the field (*šeri*), of the land (*kidi*), of the hills (*šadi*), of the water (*mē*), which suggests a rat, if some definite animal is required. ܢܡܫܬܐ *ichneumon*,¹ is a possible comparison. *PIŠ.*UR.RA* "mouse of the roof" occurs *AM.* 66, 6, 3 (No. 419)¹: 73, 2, 7 (No. 182); 90, 1, 4, and 11 (No. 244), and it is tabu to eat its flesh on the seventh day lest the eater fall sick of *aḥḥazu* (*KAR.* 147, rev. 8). *PIŠ ekli* "field-mouse", *KAR.* 194, 2. The gall of the mouse is prescribed *AM.* 4, 1, 3.

¹ These numbers refer to my forthcoming translations.

(3) *KAMUNU* = "RED WORMS"

It is proper here to discuss *UZU.DIR* (= *kamunu*), lit. "red flesh", for which "mouse" (Hunger, *Tieromina*, 106) has been suggested, a view with which I cannot agree. There are three kinds, *kamunu* simply, *kamun šadi*, and *kamunu šêri*, and an omen is taken from the appearance of the first two in the land (Virolleaud, *Adad*, iii, 19). "If *kamunu* appears in a desert place," that desert will be inhabited: if one appears in an inhabited house, that house will be ruined (Boissier, *Choix*, 2). The word occurs near "snake" and *anzuzu*: and in other omens *kamun šêri* may appear in a house, street, or latrine. *Kamunu* appeared in the court of the Temple of Nabû (Harper, *Letters*, iv, 367).

Its use in medicine in *AM.* 57, 3, 10, No. 89, with alkali, roses, and salt, as well as in a similar fashion in *KAR.* 186, rev. 22, *kamunu* with *arzallu* (*Crataegus Azarolus*?) and **Solanum* as ointment, and ib., obv. 9, *kamun šadi* with gall-apples (?), also an ointment, is indicative. If it were so large an animal even as a mouse we should have been told what particular part to use. It is clearly some living thing which is of a nature to be pounded up whole with these vegetable drugs, and from this and from its name "red flesh" I suggest the ordinary red worm, as distinct from *tultu*, the white maggot of corruption.

In the birth omens "if a woman bears *ibi ša kamuni*" (K. 8274, 17, Dennefeld, 33), *ibi* may perhaps be connected with *ḫi* *crassus, tumidus* (i.e. a bunch of worms?).

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON.

NOTES ON THE PHILADELPHIA AND YALE TABLETS
OF THE GILGAMISH EPIC

In the *Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the University Museum, Philadelphia, vol. x, pp. 211-20, and plates lxxiii-lxxviii, I published and edited Tablet II of the old Babylonian edition of the *Gilgamish Epic*. From the same

source the Yale Babylonian Collection obtained Tablet III, which was published and edited by Jastrow and Clay, *Yale Oriental Series, Researches*, vol. iv, 3. Both tablets carry three columns on the obverse and reverse respectively. Inasmuch as Jastrow with the help of Professor Chiera claimed to have found a good many errors, and their corrections were unfortunately accepted on their face value by some scholars, it appears to be necessary to indicate the corrections which are correct and those which are incorrect. I have re-examined the Philadelphia tablet by means of the photographs and a collation of all disputed points by Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum. I am bound to confess that I fail to understand how so many erroneous corrections could have been made, after the correct copy was before these two scholars, and even when the corrections make impossible grammatical constructions. The following notes reveal the true condition of the text.


Col. I, 5. *id-da-tim* is right. J. and C. *it-lu-tim* is wrong. Also Ebeling in Gressmann's *Alt-orientalische Texte zum Alten Testament*, 186, 5, erroneously "zwischen den Mannen".

I, 6. *ka-ka-bu* is probably right, against my *ka-ka'a*.

I, 7. The reading *ki-iš-rum* is impossible. Text exactly like my copy. Correct also Ebeling, *ibid.*, l. 7.

I, 10. Text probably *UNU-ki*, against my *ad-ki*.

I, 15. *mu-di-a-at* is right, but *BA* above *DI* has the perpendicular shaft extending downward between *DI* and *A*.

I, 20. Text *ta-mar-šu-ma*  *ta-ḥa-du at-ta*. Damaged sign in no case *GIM-SAL*. Reading *muš-ta-ḥa-du* possible? In any case a derivation from *ḥadû* is certain; cf. l. 32.




I, 22. At end my copy is right, but *šu* should be shaded. Jastrow and Chiera's text false, also Ebeling's translation.

I, 23. Text *ta-tar-ra-aš-šu*. *SU* of J. and C. false.¹

I, 24. Text as in my copy. Most likely *it-ti-lam-ma*, from *na'ālu*.

¹ Ungnad's suggestion, *ZA.* 34, 17, to read *tatarassu* from *farādu* is equally false. The verb is *arû*. See Dhorme, *Choix de Textes*, 198, 36.

I, 32. Reading is *ah-ta-du* against my copy.

Col. II, 4. Text, *ur . . . ha-mu di su um lu-un*. J. and C.'s text *di-da-sa* (?) *ip-ti[e]* is false. *dup-lu-un*, naturally possible. The text is   =  -*lu-un*.

II, 5. Text as in my copy. *am* is clear, J. and C. wrong.

II, 11. *a-na-tal-ka* not *a-na-tal-ka* as Jastrow reads.

II, 13. *ta-at-ta-na-al-la-ak* as my copy.

II, 19. No traces of *gi* or *ma* on the tablet. My copy is right. J. and C. wrong.

II, 20. Last sign as my copy. *ma* not *šu*. Copy of line is right.

II, 31. My copy is right. *ga-az-zu*. J. and C. wrong.

II, 32. *ki-ma LU* ? i.e. *immerim* ? In no case *AN*. My copy is correct.

Col. III, 21. No sign legible between *šu* and *ta* or *it*. Traces as I gave them.

III, 30. My text is right, *iš* not *uš*. J. and C. wrong. *išsakpu SIB-me-eš mu-ši-a-ti* (not *tim*). Read *re'i* "shepherds". In no case is the plural *re'ûti* ! Lines 28-31, "He seized his weapon, attacking the panthers (*labi ugirri*), which fall upon ¹ shepherds in the night, and he gave respite to the wild mountain goats." *uttapiš* probably from *napāšu*. In no case can Jastrow's interpretation be correct. See Ungnad, *ZA*, 34, 18; Ebeling, *ibid.*, 188, l. 111.

III, 33. *it-ti-lu na-ki-di ra-bu-tum* "The great shepherds reposed", with Jastrow. My copy is right, but translation wrong.

III, 35. My copy is probably right; *wa-ru-um*. In no case *giš-ru-um*. Legrain thinks the sign may be *pa-(ru-um)*.

Reverse I, 11. The first word is *mi-nu* not *lim-nu*. Copy right. The last sign *ka* ? against my copy, but uncertain. According to Legrain, the text is *mi-nu a-la-ku-ka* (?) *na-ah-* []-*ka* (?) "How is *thy* way (of life) . . ." Also Ebeling, *ibid.*, 188, 141 is wrong.

I, 14. After *tim*, *ik* most uncertain.

¹ Cf. *sukip mûša-šu*, *RA*, 16, 92, No. 54, 6.

I, 16. Text uncertain. Copy right so far as possible, but *kal-lu-tim* is most probable.

I, 18. Second sign is *la*, not *ad*. *e-mi-sa* (J. and C.) is erroneous. *uk-la-at* may be right (J. and C.), but my copy is otherwise right. Jastrow's translation and text impossible. Ebeling's rendering of I, 16-18 = Gressmann, *ibid.*, 188, 146-8, is certainly false.

Rev. II, 11. My copy is right. *si-ma* (J. and C.) is false. A reading *e-ši-[im-ta]*, with Ebeling, *ibid.*, 188, 181, probable. All traces precise in copy.

II, 12. *i-pa-ak-ka-du* is probably right against my copy. Legrain, . . . *ak?-du*.

II, 18. *ip-ša-nu* is right. J. and C. *uršanu* "leader", Ebeling, *uršanu* "bed", all false.

II, 19. My copy *i-tu-ru*; J. and C. *i-šá-ru*. Sign is doubtful. Legrain favours *šar*.

Rev. III, 31. Last sign is possibly *ka*, with J. and C. My copy *su* is erroneous.

šu-tu-ur e-li . . . at the end may well be part of the old Babylonian title of the Epic, "He is made more excellent than . . .", as Ebeling renders it. In no case is Jastrow's interpretation correct.

THE YALE TABLET

l. 21. *ru-hu-tam* is for *ru'-tam* "friendship". (Also Ungnad.)

l. 87. *dadamiā* "my muscles". (Also Ungnad.)

ll. 107 and 194. *nu-ma-at kištum* "The forest stretched far away (for 10,000 double hour marches)", with Ungnad. *numat* is naturally from 𒌦, Arabic *nawā*.

l. 265. Read *ku-uš-da*, Imp. of *kašādu*. (Also Ebeling.)

l. 268, *i-na mi-lu-ti-ka?* and l. 269, *nādu* "leather pouch" (with Ungnad).

l. 271. Supply [*ù*] "and" ? i.e. *ù taḥasas*.

l. 274. [*aḫ ip-*]*la-aḫ lib-ba-ka du-ug-la-ni*.

S. LANGDON.

OBITUARY

R. de Kérallain

Le 5 septembre 1928 est mort, dans sa 79^e année, M. René Prigent de Kérallain qui, plus que tout autre, a utilement travaillé à faire connaître en France des écrivains qui sont parmi les plus distingués de la Grande Bretagne. Il a traduit, avec un rare bonheur de vocabulaire et de syntaxe, le livre de Frederick Pollock, *Introduction à l'étude de la science politique*, les ouvrages de H. Summer-Maive, *Essais sur le gouvernement populaire*, *Etudes sur l'histoire du droit*, *Le droit international*, *La guerre*. Mais son livre de prédilection fut les *Asiatic Studies* d'Alfred Lyall avec lequel il entretint une longue et intime amitié. Sa traduction, sous le titre *Etudes sur les mœurs religieuses et sociales de l'Extrême-Orient*, contient des introductions et des notes du plus grand mérite.¹ M. de Kérallain laisse beaucoup d'ouvrages et de notes sur l'histoire ancienne et moderne du droit et de la navigation : il était le neveu de Bougainville. Personne en France n'a mieux connu l'anglais et l'Inde ; personne n'a mis, au service d'idées plus saines, un esprit plus incisif. La mort de Barth, dont il fut longtemps, en sa Bretagne, le compagnon, avait été pour lui une perte cruelle.

L. V. P.

¹ Tous ces ouvrages dans *Bibliothèque de l'Histoire du Droit et des Institutions*, E. de Boccard, 1 rue de Médicis, Paris.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA, Vol. I, Part I. By SIR GEORGE ABRAHAM GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E., Ph.D., D.Litt., LL.D. 13½ × 10. pp. xvi + 510.

With the exception of Vol. I, Part III (by Professor Turner), which will contain a comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages, the Report on the Linguistic Survey of India on which the author has been engaged for upwards of thirty years is now complete. The necessity for such a work was urged by the Congress of Orientalists held at Vienna in 1886. Twelve years later the Government of India decided to undertake the linguistic survey of the whole Indian Empire except Burma and part of the peninsula area.¹ Sir George (then Mr.) Grierson, who was pre-eminently qualified for the task, was placed in charge of it.

His first concern was to obtain an exhaustive list of all the languages and dialects current in every district and state in the area dealt with. His next was to collect specimens of all these forms of speech. These included (i) a translation into each vernacular of the parable of the prodigal son and a standard list of words and test sentences and (ii) a piece of local folklore taken down verbatim from the lips of a native speaker of the language and translated word for word into English. Everything possible was done to ensure the complete accuracy of these specimens, which formed the raw material on which all the subsequent work was based. The specimens of each speech-form were subjected to close analytical study in order to arrive at a conclusion as to its status (as a language or dialect) and the linguistic family or sub-family to which it appertains. A classified scheme of linguistic families, sub-families, languages and dialects was then prepared; and the

¹ As a matter of fact all the more important languages in the peninsula area were eventually dealt with. An independent linguistic survey of Burma is now in progress.

specimens were arranged accordingly, and edited with the necessary notes, bibliography and explanatory memoranda, a skeleton grammar, and a review of the mutual affinities of the component parts of each group. The magnitude of the task is shown by the fact that in all 179 languages and 544 dialects (belonging to four distinct linguistic families) were dealt with. For three years Sir George Grierson had as his collaborator Professor Sten Konow, who is responsible for about six of the twenty bulky volumes forming the Report. The rest, with the exception already mentioned, is from Sir George's own pen. The whole work discloses remarkable powers of analysis, deduction, and classification; and it may be regarded as having settled finally all questions regarding the status and classification of the languages and dialects dealt with.

Part I, with which we are here concerned, and which had necessarily to be left to the end, opens with a review of the work done by previous workers in the field of Indian philology. The author then describes the way in which the Survey originated and the methods followed in the collection, verification, classification, and editing of the linguistic specimens. Finally he gives a remarkable clear and comprehensive review of the ascertained facts. In the scheme of classification adopted in the final review two important changes have been made from that in the previously published volumes. The first is the recognition of the Tai and Tibeto-Burman languages as cognate branches of a more comprehensive organism known as the Tibeto-Chinese family. The second is the definite separation of the Munḍā from the Dravidian languages, thereby confirming the views of Max Müller which had been called in question by Hahn.

The Dravidian languages have no known affinity with those of any other family, but the Munḍā together with the Mōn-Khmēr languages of Further India are branches of the Austric linguistic family. The recognition of this family is due to the genius of Pater Schmidt. Its speakers, though not

now very numerous, are found diffused over an exceptionally wide area, stretching from Madagascar to Easter Island, off the coast of South America. The mutual relationship of some of these languages is, at first sight, not very obvious. Thus the Munḍā languages, like the Dravidian, are agglutinative; they have three genders and three numbers, and an extraordinary wealth of suffixes, while Khāsī (of Assam) is monosyllabic; has only two numbers and genders, and its help-words are invariably prefixes.

Though the Munḍā languages are now spoken only in a small tract in the heart of India, they formerly extended northwards into the Himalayan area, from Kanāwar on the west to Darjeeling on the east. Many of the Tibeto-Burman languages now current in this extensive tract show clear signs of a Munḍā substratum, which is specially noticeable in the extensive use of pronominal suffixes in the conjugation of the verb. There is also a Munḍā substratum in the Dravidian Telugu of North Madras.

It is in regard to the Tibeto-Burman languages that the Survey has broken most new ground. Of 132 languages examined, grammars and vocabularies had previously been compiled only for about twenty; most of the others had never previously been put in writing. All the Tibeto-Chinese languages were once agglutinating, but some of them are now isolating—the old prefixes and suffixes have worn away, and each word is now a monosyllable, the modification of which can be made only by the addition of some other word which has a distinct meaning of its own. In some of the languages these secondary words are losing their significance as separate vocables, and are becoming mere prefixes and suffixes; and thus the agglutinating principle is again superseding the isolating. Many Tibeto-Chinese languages are characterized by the use of tones—the same monosyllable may have as many as six different meanings according to the acoustic pitch given to it. These tones may be the survival of prefixes which have disappeared.

The three linguistic families already mentioned, though they claim about four-fifths of the total number of languages dealt with, are spoken only by one-fifth of the population. The remaining four-fifths speak Indo-Aryan languages : these predominate everywhere except in the South and certain hilly tracts in the centre and on the northern and eastern borders.

Though the number of Aryan languages is small, there is a great wealth of dialects. In the past, the difference between one language or dialect and another had often escaped notice, as, in spite of great divergencies of idiom and construction, the vocabularies are generally very similar. Thus, the term Hindi was formerly regarded as connoting a single language spoken throughout the Gangetic valley from Bengal to the Punjab. Sir George shows that it really includes three distinct languages : (1) Bihārī, which is more nearly allied to Bengali, Assamese, and Oriya than it is to the more westerly forms of speech ; (2) Eastern Hindī, which is highly synthetic with a complicated system of conjugation ; and (3) Western Hindī, which has "hardly any grammar at all, and the verb has but one real tense and two participles". Lahndā, which was formerly thought to be a form of Punjabi, is shown to be an entirely distinct language.

Hoernle had already pointed out that the Indo-Aryan vernaculars are divided into two main branches, an inner and an outer. He concluded that there must have been two separate invasions of tribes speaking Aryan languages and that the speakers of languages of the inner group are descended from the later invaders, who penetrated like a wedge into the area already occupied by the earlier. Sir George accepts the theory of an earlier and a later invasion, but thinks it uncertain whether the later invaders entered the central area, or whether, finding it already occupied by cognate tribes, they worked their way round them.

It is impossible in a brief review to mention more than a few features of a great work like this, but mention must

at least be made of the Dardic or Piśāca languages spoken in the neighbourhood of Kashmir. A flood of light has been thrown on the remarkable characteristics of these archaic languages, of which previously very little was known. Sir George holds that they were brought to India by a third group of invaders who came later than those already mentioned and whose speech had acquired certain Eranian characteristics before they left Persia.

Sir George's great work has brought him widespread recognition, culminating in the Order of Merit, an honour which had never before been conferred for service in the Indian sphere.

E. A. G.

THE SAUNDARANANDA OF AŚVAGHOṢA. Critically edited, with notes, by E. H. JOHNSTON. 10 × 7, xvi + 171 pp. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928. Panjab University Oriental Publications.

This edition of the *Saundarananda* is extremely welcome, as much work that needed assimilating has been done since the *editio princeps* of MM. Haraprasad Shastri, and owing to the state of the MSS. still more will be wanted. Mr. Johnston has aimed at giving a complete description of the material available, so as to facilitate further work by others on the text, and to provide as good a text as possible. So far as one can judge, this work has been carefully and ably done, and criticism will depend upon a number of detailed points. The notes are not confined to critical questions, and they are sometimes so concise that it is not easy to follow the editor's thought. Cowell's *Āṅgiras*, he says, should be *Āṅgirasa*. As a matter of fact the text may be either. Would it not be as well to say why Cowell was wrong, not in his reading, but his interpretation?

There is a nest of problems in the list of disciples in xvi, 87-91. The editor says that he has only noted those not in

the *Thera-* and *Therīgāthā*. He has also used a list of nearly thirty mahāśrāvakas in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, from which further conclusions might have been drawn. In that list the first five are the well-known five disciples who were first converted. Four of them are here, and we should certainly expect the fifth, *Bhadrika*. Why should he not be Bhadrāyana, whom the editor says he cannot trace? The variance, natural in verse, would be parallel to Kappiya and Kappāyana in the Pāli. Nor can he trace Dhautakin. Why not Dhataka? This looks a more likely guess than Dhammika or even than Dhautodhana, by which presumably Dhautodana is meant. The well-known Dravya (Dabba) is not even in the index. Nor is the name which is implied in *saśaivala*. But if the Pāli Sīvali is sanskritized and vṛddhied we get *śaivala*, and this in the dual with the prefix *sa-* gives the required form. This also throws light on *sa kapphinaḥ* in 90, where *sa* is not the article, but should be joined as prefix. The extraordinary Vupāli gets no note, nor does the preceding Nandaka-nandamātā. What seems to be wanted is to join the two words again, and then we get a normal dual (*-mātāv*) and also the normal form of Upāli's name. Nandamāta may be corrupt. The difficulty is hardly removed by identifying him with a Pāli lady Nandamātā. The editor also thinks that Kṣema and Sujātavatsa are ladies, not because of anything in the Sanskrit, but apparently because all he could find in the Pāli are Khemā and Sujātā. And what sort of a compound is Kṣemājito? All other such compounds in the list are duals. He is probably right in not taking Vatsa (Pāli Vaccha) as a separate name, as the Calcutta edition does. Kondeya (Kaundeya?) he has not traced. It has every appearance of being not a separate name but a patronymic, and belonging to the following name Kāpya. One reason for this is that we then get exactly sixty names. Is it not significant that not long before, so the legend says, Buddha had sent out sixty disciples to preach? The editor is doubtful whether Kṛmīla is the Pāli

Kimbila. But Kṛmila occurs here along with Nanda and Aniruddha, just as Kimbila in the Vinaya with Nandiya and Anuruddha. What makes it practically certain is that in the Pāli Kimbila also occurs as Kimila, and this makes the emendation Kṛmiśa, who is said to be a beneficent Yakṣa, still less likely. We can thus find all the names in the Pāli without, however, being certain that they always correspond, and a better knowledge of Aśvaghoṣa's sources will doubtless give more light.

The editor hopes some day to supply a translation, to which we shall look forward as another stage in the interpretation of the poem.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE GODS OF NORTHERN BUDDHISM: Their history, iconography, and progressive evolution through the Northern Buddhist countries. By ALICE GETTY, with a general introduction on Buddhism translated from the French of J. Deniker. Illustrations from the collection of H. H. Getty. 11½ × 9, lii + 220 pp. 2nd ed. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1928.

When the first edition of this work was reviewed in these pages, it was welcomed as a successful attempt to fill the gap in works on the iconography of Mahāyāna Buddhism. The present edition has been revised and some further divinities added, as well as illustrations. One of these is a fine coloured plate unfortunately termed "Bhaiṣagyaguru and his *parivara*". There are three references to Bhaiṣaj-yaguru in the index, but this one has been overlooked in revising the index. A new divinity in this edition is said to be Mahā Māyūrī, "the deification of a magic formula called 'the Golden Peacock Charm'". It is not clear, however, why the author should try to link her with the Jātaka in which the golden goose gave a golden feather to his former family. In this tale there is neither peacock nor

spell, nor mention of a "sun-bird". Is not a more likely connection with the Peacock Jātakas (Nos. 159, 491), where the actual spell as uttered by the golden peacock to the sun is given? It would be interesting to know what relation it has to the *Mahāmāyūrī vidyārājñī* in the R.A.S. collection, and the Kanjur. The illustration accompanying it shows a pinky-cheeked goddess dressed in green, though here and on p. 127 she is called Sarasvatī. Yet in the text Sarasvatī's colour is said to be white and Mahā Māyūrī's green. Is the author aware that Māyūrī is merely an adjective, and that her name is really Māyūrī Vidyā?

The illustrations still remain confined to those from the collection of Mr. H. H. Getty. Although it is a wonderful collection, it can hardly be said to be adequate to illustrating a work that claims to include all the fairly important deities, and to give their history and evolution. As the author disclaims a knowledge of Sanskrit it would not be fair to analyse her use of the texts or the spelling of words, but it would have been prudent to have had the aid of a Sanskrit scholar in revising the marking of the letters in the Sanskrit words used in the text.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

GOTAMA THE MAN. By Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS, D.Litt., M.A.
7 × 5, pp. 302. London: Luzac and Co., 1928.

THE MILINDAPAÑHO. Edited by V. TRENCKNER. (Photographic reprint with general index by C. J. RYLANDS, and an index of gāthās and thematic table of contents by Mrs. RHYS DAVIDS.) Forlong Fund, vol. v. 9 × 6, pp. xii + 466. Royal Asiatic Society, 1928.

The first of these works deals with Buddha and his message, or, as Mrs. Rhys Davids prefers to call him, Gotama. There is no doubt of the seriousness of the criticisms contained in it, not only for professed Buddhists, but for all who look upon authoritative expositions of Buddhism as reproducing the

original teaching. Buddha speaks in the first person. "That the Man himself should, as living man, here tell his message, as well as all that tended to produce that super-growth may prove to be a way of showing the truer things that lie beneath." Whatever is to be understood by these words, the whole has to be taken as a restating and correcting of the usual views, and in some cases even of Buddha's own views. On the *ātman*-doctrine he says: "Mainly I worded man negatively. I was wrong. But I wished to avoid, when speaking of 'the man', the implication of anything in him being unchanging, un-'werdend', such as the word *attan* (*ātman*) in my day implied." As for *Nirvāṇa*, "I had the very horror of this teaching. I had a strong faith in the reality of other worlds." Instead of this final goal, to be "jumped into" at death or before death, "my Way was really and truly *sangsāra*; the way, all must go a-wayfaring; *Magga* (or *marga* [*sic*]) is how to walk in *sangsāra*. (As you know, *magga* is 'means', 'method,' as much as 'way', 'road.') Fully worded, *Magga* is 'the way one ought to walk in the way one must walk'."

The corruption of the teaching, due to the editing monks, began even in Buddha's lifetime. It was at *Sāvatthi* that the collecting and revising of the many sayings went on. "They well knew I differed from them in this or that. But even when I gave my wording, they displaced it, as I have shown you, by their own." Even his greatest disciples failed him. *Kassapa* the Great "did much harm with his ascetic values. He was very self-willed—you know that from the books—I had no influence over him." "Upāli respected me, but not as a manager." As for *Ānanda*, "I, too, liked his worthiness, but not his mind. His will was not very worthy; it ran too much on worldly things," and, worse still, poor *Rāhula* "was not a truth-speaker, cost truth-speaking what it might . . . He would speak things not true to gain effect. I did not move him much. He left the Order after many years." It now becomes clear why Buddha, settled in his old age at *Sāvatthi*, should have set off on a tour through some obscure villages at the

age of eighty. "I had never taken that last tour, had I not been in a fit of despair at the way in which men were wording my teaching not in the way I willed it should be worded." No wonder that on going to another world he found that "to look back on what I had just left caused me more worry than happiness. I was tasting a better world, yet it was as if I had failed on earth."

The chief emphasis of the book appears to lie in the condemnation of the *anatta* theory. This portion is a complete reversal of the interpretation of Buddhism according to the psychology of Spencer, Bain, and Croom Robertson. The view that Nirvāṇa meant, for the monks, extinction seems to be retained, but it is vigorously denied that it was Buddha's teaching. This, however, verges on metaphysics, and we are told that "here is no system of metaphysic or of ethics; here is what we call religion". The last chapter, "Last words to earth," will give the Buddhists much to think about. It is an indictment of the ideals of Buddhism as now understood both in the East and the West. "Men cannot value as I valued in my teaching so as to have values worthy for all time. The values were worthy then. A more-value is needed now. The right values are not the values that were Buddhist." It remains to be seen how the defenders of the faith, the Dharmapālas of London, Ceylon, and Japan, will welcome new light.

This new edition of the *Milindapañha* has been brought out on the initiative of the Pali Text Society, which asked the Forlong Trust for a grant, undertaking to make up any deficit. The study of this work ought to receive a renewed impulse through the care and labour now bestowed on it by Mr. Rylands and Mrs. Rhys Davids, for which all students of this important text will be thankful.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

A HISTORY OF SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. 9 × 6, pp. xxxvi + 575. Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1928.

The title of this book may suggest the question what relation it has to others with an almost identical title, but quite unnecessarily. Not only are Vedic works, the epics and purāṇas, excluded, but the classical drama as well. The result is that it has been possible to discuss the real literature, the kāvya, the lyric, and the literary prose of fables, tales, and romances with a wealth of detail and illustration that makes the whole a fascinating volume. It also includes chapters on the aims and achievements of Sanskrit poetry, Indian theories of verse and literary criticism, and the relation of the literature to the West on a scale never attempted before. This forms the bulk of the work. A further section deals more concisely with the scientific literature—lexicography, grammar, law, politics, philosophy and religion, medicine, astronomy, astrology, and mathematics. It is treated much more concisely than the rest, but it is evident that to deal with the subject matter would have meant writing a history of science and philosophy. Some of it has a rather truncated appearance, especially Jainism and Buddhism, owing to the fact that only Sanskrit works are included in the plan. Jainism gets a page and a half and Buddhism less than six.

The absence of the earliest stages of the literature is to some extent compensated for by an introductory portion, which deals with the history of the language, the origin of Sanskrit, the extent of its use, its development as literature, and also (we are told) its relations to the literary Prakrits and Pāli and to the vernaculars. Pāli is only twice mentioned in the index, and we find it referred to as an artistic creation by the Buddhists made by recasting their own Prākritic speech with the aid of the Vedic language. Perhaps more discussion and definiteness will be wanted to dislodge the theories that have clustered round this subject for over half a century. In all these questions of linguistics and literary criticism it is

inevitable that much that is contentious and disputable should be raised, and it is likely that scholars who find their views set aside as implausible, clearly unsuccessful, quite unwarranted, or without probative force will have something to say. But all are not treated so curtly. Mironov's view that the name Avalokiteśvara is from *Avalokita-svara* contaminated with *lokeśvara* is given without comment. Dr. Mironov has not told us what sort of a compound he thinks *Avalokita-svara* is, nor what it could mean to an Indian, and it would have been extremely interesting to know Professor Keith's own view.

Not the least valuable portion is the long preface, which owing to the delay in publication has made it possible to notice the new discoveries and theories of the last two years, such as the date of Kālidāsa, new evidence for the connection of Greek with Indian fables, the plays of Bhāsa, the authenticity of the Arthaśāstra, and the date of the philosophical sūtras. There are two full indexes, but neither *Amarakośa* nor *Bhaṭṭikāvya* is in them. The explanation appears to be that these are merely the usual names of those works, and they must be looked for under their proper names. Nine pages are devoted to Māgha, but throughout the section we are not told that the name of the poem being discussed is *Śiśupālavadha*.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

CATALOGUE OF THE COINS IN THE INDIAN MUSEUM, CALCUTTA.

Volume IV. Edited by JOHN ALLAN. With 26 colotype plates. 10 x 7. Oxford, 1928. Price £2 net.

This welcome volume deals with the modern series of Indian coins. The War interfered considerably with the original project, but three sections were completed and have been produced under the editorship of Mr. John Allan, Deputy Keeper of the Coins, British Museum.

In the first section Mr. C. J. Brown, who is a master of the subject, writes on the coins of Awadh (Oudh); there are two

plates. The series of the kings of Oudh are straightforward ; those of the Nawab-Wazirs present difficulties. Mr. Brown contends with good reason that the coins struck at Şūbah Awadh nominally in 1229 A.H., regnal year 26, were in reality issued by the rebel authorities in Lucknow during the Mutiny ; this attribution has been confirmed in a note contributed by Sir Richard Burn to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1922. The collection is strong in the more abundant issues, but rarities are lacking.

The second section describes coins of Mysore and miscellaneous coins of South India, with six plates ; the author is the late Dr. J. R. Henderson, C.I.E., formerly Superintendent of the Madras Museum. The bulk of the Mysore series belong to that capricious genius Tipū Sultan, who instituted a new era, devised strange and fantastic labels for the years and months, and changed the names of the current money, weights, and measures. The miscellaneous South Indian coins include samples of the issues of the French and British East India Companies.

In the third section it is the formidable task of Mr. W. H. Valentine to deal with the coins of Native States. The confusion and anarchy attending the disruption of the Mughal Empire were reflected in the nature of the money of the succession States. These unattractive pieces are often uncouth and illegible ; in many cases local knowledge is indispensable to their correct attribution. Yet their study is important, and the material is quickly disappearing, so it is fortunate that Mr. Valentine had a vocation for this work. He did not live to see his valuable contribution in print, and we lament his loss. The coins are those struck in the States of Bombay Presidency and Western India generally, Rājputāna and Central India ; the Native States of Bengal, the United Provinces, and the Punjab are absent. The section is complete in itself as regards the States described. In addition to an instructive general introduction, the coin-list of each State is prefaced by an adequate note of a

historical and numismatic nature. There are eighteen plates. The unelucidated issue illustrated at pl. xxvi, 7, exhibits the couplet of Muḥammad Shah's first year, which was at one time attributed to Nekosiyar; the mint-name begins with Sarkār.

The editor has added useful indexes of rulers, mints, ornaments, types, denominations, and legends, and a full glossary. The work is beautifully produced.

R. B. WHITEHEAD.

INDIA THROUGH THE AGES. A Survey of the Growth of Indian Life and Thought. By JADUNATH SARKAR, M.A., C.I.E., Hon. Member of the Royal Asiatic Society. $4\frac{3}{4} \times 7$, pp. iii + 140. Calcutta: M. C. Sarkar and Sons, 1928. 2s. 6d.

This little book contains the first course of the Sir William Meyer Lectures delivered at the Madras University in 1928, and consequently, in those short limits, as the author states, can only consist of generalizations and give the broad features of the country's development. It practically confines itself to Northern India, and all the illustrations of the British period are taken from Bengal and Bengali literature. The causes which led to the spread of Buddhism, and to the transition from Buddhism back to Hinduism, are clearly and interestingly sketched; so also is the brief review of the growth of English Education in Bengal. Professor Sarkar writes without partiality or bias, and, from the special study that he has made of the Muhammadan period, is peculiarly fitted, for a Hindu writer, to give a just and appreciative view of the influence which Muhammadan administration and institutions have had on the evolution of India. The book gives an interesting and clearly written review of the successive factors which have contributed to the composite development of the India of the present day.

E. H. C. WALSH.

A BENGALI PHONETIC READER. By SUNITI KUMAR CHATTERJI, M.A. (Calcutta), D.Litt. (London). $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 134. University of London Press, 1928. 5s.

The object of this book is stated to be to assist those who wish to learn the spoken Bengali language, as well as to furnish new material to those who are interested in phonetics in general. It embodies the latest methods of phonetic teaching of a foreign language, and as such forms a fitting continuation to *Bengali Self Taught* by the same author. The extracts given from standard authors are entirely in the colloquial language. "The pronunciation is that of the author. It may be taken as being typical of the educated pronunciation of Calcutta, which is the recognized standard for Bengali."

There is also a vocabulary in which the words are alphabetically arranged according to their phonetic spelling under thirty-five "essential phonemes". The words are also given in Bengali character, which is very necessary where, for example, words so differently spelt as শীত, স্বীকার, and স্নিহা all appear under the same pronunciation *fi*. Assuming the correctness of the phonetic equivalents, the vocabulary would seem to show that a change of pronunciation is taking place in the case of some words. No difference is made in the pronunciation of the long and short vowels *i* and *u*, and, to take a typical example, *gopòn* is given for গোপন and *goti* for গতি. There used to be a distinct difference between the pronunciation of the first syllables of these two words. It is not possible to go into the subject further in the present notice.

The book should be of great assistance to any one learning Bengali, provided that the actual spelling of each word is carefully learnt at the same time as its pronunciation.

E. H. C. W.

MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS. By SURENDRANATH SEN. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 297. Calcutta : The Book Company, Ltd., 1928.

The well-known author of this little book is to be congratulated on the careful study he has made of all available materials bearing on the history of the Marathas, from which he has produced an interesting study of the Maratha military system with all that it involved. Unlike one or two recent writers on the Maratha confederacy, he has avoided the temptation to twist historical facts into a basis for a political theory; and his criticisms of the weak points of Maratha statecraft and organization are on the whole fairly stated in accordance with the evidence adduced.

Dr. Sen concludes that the decline and fall of the Maratha military power was due firstly, to the revival of feudalism after the death of Sambhaji, which caused disunion and dissension from which Shivaji had tried to save his people; secondly, to the rejection of Shivaji's ideal of racial amity on a religious basis, and thirdly, to the failure of Maratha leaders to keep pace with the scientific progress in other parts of the world. It is perhaps unnecessary, after this summary of Maratha failures, to follow Dr. Sen in his speculation regarding the value of democracy in the West and in the East as a basis of dominion. It is clear that it is open to obvious criticism. We are not given any clear indication of the writer's views on the ethnic basis of the Marathas and their leading elements, the Kunbis and Dhangars of Western India. Dr. Sen's evidence regarding the origin of the levy of *chaauth*, which has now been traced to a pre-Maratha origin in Gujarat is interesting and convincing. It is clear that the custom of levying *chaauth* is of earlier origin than has hitherto been assumed.

Dr. Sen is also correct in his description of the part played by Berads or Bedars in pillaging in the rear of Mughal armies (p. 88). It will be recollected similarly that the capture of Vizayanagar by the Musalman powers of the Deccan was followed by wholesale depredations at the hands of the

Berads, who in their more northern settlement were known by the name of Ramosi, whom they resemble in many important particulars.

The reference on p. 95 to the burial of human victims below the walls of the fort of Lohagad in the Poona district (p. 95) might be strengthened by quoting similar traditions prevailing at Satara and Vizyadurg regarding the forts at those places.

Summing up, in his concluding chapter, the defects of the Marathas as a military power, the writer shows how dissensions, incompetence, and lack of military prowess were the causes of their failure. Sir Thomas Munro and Sir John Fortescue are quoted in support of the evidence of yet another authority, who described the Marathas as "fierce but not brave". The guerilla warfare conducted by hardy hillmen under Shivaji was one thing; the badly organized armies of mixed races, lacking artillery and skilled leadership, and devastating the plains with their camps swollen with women and followers out of all reasonable proportions, could hardly hope to maintain an efficient opposition to the properly led and disciplined troops of their adversaries.

The writer has made this abundantly clear in the conclusion to his excellent work. It may, perhaps, be added that the reason of the failure of the Maratha leaders to commit their theories on strategy and tactics to writing, which the writer deplores, may be similar to the well-known explanation of the omission from a work on Iceland of any description of snakes in that island.

R. E. E.

INDIAN SERPENT LORE. By J. PH. VOGEL, Ph.D. 10 x 8, pp. xiv, 318. London: Arthur Probsthain, 1926.

All students of Indian folklore will be grateful to Dr. Vogel for this work on the Nāgas as they appear in Indian literature and art. Stimulated by the result of personal observations in Kulu and the Western Himalayas, where remoteness favours the preservation of ancient beliefs and customs, Dr. Vogel

has aimed at collecting in this volume the legends found in Brahmanical and Buddhist literature relating to the Nāgas. We have in consequence the leading snake stories from the Vedas, the Buddhist birth-tales, and the early Greek travellers.

Dr. Vogel very rightly assumes that "Indian ophiolatry had its first cause in the dread inspired by the poisonous reptiles." This would, no doubt, be more obvious if snake worship were considered with other forms of primitive practices in India instead of being dealt with in his work as a single topic. Crooke and other writers on Indian folklore have shown that such cults as these are based originally on fear. Dr. Vogel, who (p. 7) quotes statistics, presumably from Government sources, in illustration of the high rate of mortality due to snake-bite in India, shares this view. Thus reinforced, Dr. Vogel's theory may readily be accepted. It is, however, questionable whether the statistics should have been advanced in support of the theory without the necessary caution that they cover many deaths that are not even remotely connected with snakes. Dr. Vogel's interesting pages deal with real snakes, snake demons residing in the water and the sky, and snakes in human form known as Nāgas. With the wealth of information now available, it might be less confusing to the student to deal with these three forms of Nāga cults in separate parts. The snake as a reincarnated ancestor guarding treasure or residing in the white ant-hill is a familiar feature of Indian popular belief at the present day. The worship of the Nāga demons and the traditions regarding the semi-human Nāga people seem to form part of a separate culture.

If a few minor criticisms of a most valuable record are permissible, it may be observed that the common name for the jewel in the snake's head (p. 25), i.e. the *mohor* or *mani*, has been omitted. Aivalli and Badāmi, noted as in the Kaladgi district (p. 270), are to be found in Bijapur, by which name this district was reformed many years ago. Belgām is by accepted usage Belgaum, and Kumptā (p. 272) is Kumta.

We are not told whether the svāstika on the snake is right- or left-handed, surely a point of some importance in view of the difference in significance. The Nāga people suggest the relevance of a study of snake totems as bearing on the plausible theory of their being a primitive tribe worshipping the Nāga as a marriage guardian and ancestral spirit. Here also we should expect a reference to tribes and castes such as the Marāthās, who have as their exogamous divisions the Suryavanshi, Somavanshi, Brahmavanshi, and Shesha- or Nāgavanshi. We should welcome at some future date a fuller treatise from Dr. Vogel of this very important subject.

R. E. E.

UR EXCAVATIONS. Texts I, Royal Inscriptions, Publications of the Joint Expedition of the British Museum and of the University of Pennsylvania to Mesopotamia. By C. J. GADD, LEON LEGRAIN, SIDNEY SMITH, and E. R. BURROWS. 13 × 9, two volumes, plates lix, with photographic plates A-W; transcription, translation, and notes, pp. 1-96, with introduction and table of contents, and index of names.

This book contains 309 Sumerian and Accadian inscriptions from the excavations of Mr. Woolley and his staff at Ur, and range from the monuments of Mesannipadda of the first dynasty of Ur (*circa* 3150 B.C.) to Cyrus the Mede in the sixth century. Down this long corridor of time no new important historical characters appear, but our knowledge of the reigns of certain well-known kings is greatly enlarged, especially those of Narām-Sin of Agade, Dungi,¹ and Ibi-Sin of Ur, Kurigalzu of the Cassite dynasty, and much is now known of the important work done by Sin-balatsu-iḫbi, governor of the province of Ur under Ashurbanipal, king of Assyria, who is referred to in the governor's inscriptions as *Ashur-bān-apli*, and not as *Kandalanu*. Particularly valuable.

¹ The editors adopt the reading *Shulgi*.

are the new date lists of Ibi-Sin and portions of the Ellasar corpus of date formulæ, Nos. 292, 265. There is also a large number of year dates taken from business documents of Bur-Sin, Ibi-Sin, and several kings of Isin and Ellasar dynasties. Of the twenty-six years of Ibi-Sin's reign, No. 292, Obv. gives at least 4 + 6 year dates in their historical order; the order of his first two years was already known. Eleven new dates, which mention his name, are published here, and consequently not many remain unknown, but their order remains unknown with the exception of the slight *pied à terre* afforded by No. 292. The most precious new contribution to history are the references to Mesannipadda on the seal of his wife, No. 268, and the monuments (not repeated here) from 'Ubaid, which mention his son A-anni-padda. These had, heretofore, been only names to us, entered in the dynastic list of the first dynasty of Ur, and we now possess four contemporary inscriptions, whose script, although among the earliest found at Ur, proves that this dynasty is not particularly early, and certainly much later than the period of the Shurappak tablets.

This book contains monuments of great literary and religious importance. Sumerian philology, especially, reaps here a rich harvest, and both its grammar and vocabulary are notably enriched, old errors are now corrected, and new aspects of deities are illustrated. The copies are admirable and I have on all these closely copied plates seldom been in doubt about the reading.¹ For example the copies of the excerpts from the inscriptions of Narâm-Sin, Nos. 274-6, show that this class of document can be legibly copied so that a scholar can read the text without referring to the photographs; the corresponding Nippur documents in Philadelphia were published in such illegible script that it is a sore trial on the patience of an assyriologist and wholly inexcusable.

¹ On No. 294, l. 27, *šu-ne-[ib-ur-ra]*; *šu* does not appear in the text.

The editions reach a high standard in both Sumerian and Accadian, and if the reviewer has a long list of observations, it is largely due to the fact that a good many parallel passages and texts were apparently unknown to the editors. Sumerian is a particularly difficult field, demanding massive collection of references; specialists will be grateful for this valuable material.

No. 1, vi, 7, *gir-e-na-dū* probably = *maḥāṣu* of the Accadian parallel passages; cf. Chiera, *Nuzi*, i, 87, 10, *imḥaṣ*, with Gadd, RA. 23, 109, No. 31, 8, *maḥiṣ*, both in the sense of to survey, delimit; *ina sūḫi maḥiṣ*, it is limited by the street. The translation "portioned to" is reasonably correct. No. 8, Rimush king of Kish, or better *šar kiššati*. No. 50, 11-13, I would render "splendidly he glorified it; with elegance he filled it, and everywhere caused wisdom to prevail." For *nig-ul-li-a pa-è*, cf. PBS. x, 188, 1, and for reading *ul-li-a* in sense of *ullu*, *ulṣu*, v. *nig-ul-la*, Langdon, *Paradis*, p. 242, 20; 244, 44. *nig-ul* = *mala ibaššū* "what-so-ever is", perquisites, Nies, ii, 75, 9. No. 71, 6, *šukum-ud šub-ba*, probably "whose daily food apportioned unto it was not" (*ni-me-a-na-an-na*). For *na* negative suffixed, see RA. 21, 123, n. 1; *geštug-ga-na* = *la ḥassu*, AJSL. 28, 222, 58; interrogative, *a-ba me-a-nu*, Gudea, Cyl. A 4, 23. *si-mu-un-si-sá-[na]* = *ša la uštepellu*, OECT. vi, 28, Obv. 4. So restore, against my *ta*. Line 35, *GIŠ-ŠU-KAR* has the value *šugra* = *naggarum*, craftsman in ZA. 9, 159, 18, but in Strassmaier, *Warka*, 91, 10 + 22 it takes the place of *garza*, benefice of a temple office; line 10, it is glossed *nig-ga* = *bušá*, property. Hence, whatever the phonetic value *šugra* or *nigga*, render "whosoever changes not the fixed income, or temple property, in its place."

102, 9, on *ud-da-gub(ba)*, v, PBS. x, 283, n. 1, end.

103, 5, *nam-nin-a túm-ma* "made fit for queenly power".

106, 20, the sign *KA* in sense of "prayer", has certainly the value *síl*. *dúg nam-síl-zi(d) DU*. Line 22, *gub* "to stand in prayer", usually refers to a god who is present at (*šú*) a prayer, hence lines 20-22 undoubtedly refer to the deity Nin-eniga,

as the editors also may wish to imply. See OECT. vi, 2, 37; 24, 15; 13, 23. Hence in line 20 *DU* possibly in same sense as OECT. vi, 2, 37, *laḡ, lag*, a Syn. of *gub*. Render "who stands faithfully with words of prayer (on behalf of man in Gaburra)." This is important in fixing the character of ⁴*Nin-é-ni-ga*, a deity in the court of Sin, RA. 20, 98, iv, 16; CT. 24, 30, 16. The phrases here harmonize with an interceding goddess. At the end of line 15 the translation omits Ninsunzi.

No. 107, 6, the title *KA-AB* has *AB-gunu* here, but No. 240, *ab*, and Clay, *Miscel. KA-ab-ba*. Read *sil-ab(ba)*?

No. 111, 21-2; *šul ní-tuk ù-ma-ni sá-sá = illu nā'idu mušaršid irnitti-šu* "The god-fearing man who establishes his glory". See *Studia Orientalia*, i, 32, 9. Lines 34-5, I would read *é nam-egi-ka-ni á-nad-da*, "house of her ladyship, bridal couch of (Sin)". In line 31, *uku ság-dug-ga-bi = niše-šu sapḫati*, "its scattered people". 126, 17, and often, *APIN = uššu*, foundation; read *uru*. On the deity in line 14, see also *JRAS.*, 1926, 35, 15 and note.

127, 9, *sag-LI-tar*. Read *sag-én-tar*, with Poebel, ZA. 38, 81. 1. 24, *dag ? ne-ḡa = šubtam neḫtam*, CT. 27, 10, 6-8, *et p.*

128, 4, *dingir-alim šin-šin-na gub*, "powerful god who stands fast in battle".

138, 25, *mê-ba* "in that battle", phonetic var. of Br. 2804. See *East India House Inscr.*, vi, 22; Hammurabi year date 32.

140, 4, *an-ta-gál ša unu-gal e-si-a*. *ša* is here for *šā = šag = libbu*. Apparently "the lofty who fills with light the interior of the vast sanctuary (= heaven)".

140, 6, *ukkin-ta ḡe-ám-bi*; for *ḡe-ám = magāru*, v. JSOR. i, 21, 5. Render *malkatu ša ana puḫri mitgurta-ša kabtat* "queen whose mercy upon the hosts (of mankind) is overfull".

1. 9, probably *ēš galga šu-zi-an-na (= Gula) gar = šākinat tēmi u parši ana Šuzianna*.

1. 10, *na-ri-maḡ = āširu šīru* "far-famed apparitor". For *na-ri = āširu*, v. Weissbach, *Miscel.*, 37, 49; *Epic Creat.*,

vi, 121; said also of Ninegal, SAK. 218d, 4. *Ninsianna* is always *Ishtar* as *Venus*. Hence *āširat širtu*.

l. 13, *šilim-ma ki-til bar-kug*, probably "giving peace to the living, cleansing the shameful".

141, 4, *muštālpit naḫḫar mat raggi* "Who casts down all the land of the wicked", Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 9, 22.

l. 28, *BI* is the sign *dug*, *duk*, usually = *karpātu*, used here for *dūg*. *sá-ge-ib-dūg* = *lukšud*.

142, 2, *ZUR*, read *en-zur-zur* = *bēl ikribi*; see OECT. vi, 79, 9; BL. 126, 44, 48; CT. 15, 23 Rev. 8.

144, 35-7. Probably "Enlil his lord (omit *ir*) heard his prayer and supplication". For *geš-tuk* construed with *da*, see PBS. v, 73, 5, *En-lil-da geš-tuk* obedient unto Enlil, here with personal object; also King, LIH. 61, 9; 62, 7. With direct object, *inim-bi geš-be-in-tu(k)-a*, CT. 16, 45, 116. In line 38 and in 128, 15 occurs the earliest mention of the *šu-il-la* prayer.

145 is valuable for its characterization of Immer, the god of storms. Line 2 is obscure, but *ri-a* either "who dwells in the *X-zi-maḡ*, or "Who is clothed in . . ."; *maḡ* is not a likely adjective with *abubu*. l. 2, *te-eš-dūg-ga-ni-ta imi-dirig šuš* (!) *ka-sir-ri* "at whose roar the overcast clouds gather". *te-eš* = *UR* (*te-eš*) = *ikkilu*, RA. 18, 39, 10. *te-eš-dūg-ga* = *ikkilu*, *ibid.* 11. Cf. *imi-dirig-[meš] uktašara* "rain clouds will gather", Thompson, *Reports*, 98, 2; *imi-dirig-šu-uš-ru* = *adāru*, Delitzsch, AL³, 84, 24.

l. 5, *ubur ga-dug lam-lá-e* "who fills the udders (god whose rains cause cattle to thrive) with sweet milk". Cf. *mušaznin nuḫši*, RA. 16, 74, No. 13, 2.

146 II 5, *tarram*, I² Inf. *arú*, to guide, conduct. See OECT. vi, 9, 49; CT. 17, 35, 46, *li-ru-šu*, may they conduct him. Br. 4876 is false. See RA. 10, 77, ii, 2. *Ibid.*, iii, 8, *iskim-tuk* = *uddú* (*ḫamtu*), i.e. to discover, find out (active = *ḫamtu*); MAG. i, 2, p. 56, 24, *iskim-dūg*; *vadú*, here clearly *ידע* = *ידע* to know, learn, as also in *tu-di-i*, Langdon, *Epic. Creat.* 42, 41. This is the original Arabic root, and undoubtedly

original in Accadian also. There is no need to derive the active adj. *mûdû* "knowing", from a hoph'al, with Ungnad and Jensen. I would render, "The Elamites, Guteans, etc. . . . I learned to know *on the spot* (?); their disorderly schemes I put right."

Col. vi, 6, *sâg-nu-di-dam* = *u-ul uš-tap-[pîl]*, (word which I speak) changes not. Cf. *sâg-nu-di* = *la šu-us-su-pi-[el]*, Meek, BA. x, 76, 37; *ka-ta è-a-zu sâg-nu-di-dam*, the utterance of thy mouth changes not, CT. 15, 11, 21 = Zimmern, *Kultlieder* 2 Rev. 42, *ka-ba-a-a-zu mûš-nu-di-di*; cf. BE. 29, i, iii, 17; PSBA. 1918, 69, 6; *et. p.*

165, 16 f., *ina išati i-ka-l-lu-ù a-na nâri i-na-as-su-ku* (drop it in a river). l. 22, *na-an-na-ab-[šu]*, his offspring. l. 24, *ša-ru-ba [li-lab-bi-is-su]*.

166, 4, read *mussa* = *emu* (*šihru*), ZA. 25, 302, 12.

169, 9, for *NUN*, value *sir*, *zir*, *šir*, see SBH. 27, 21, edin = *NUN-rim*, i.e. *šir-rim* = Langdon, BL. 66, 21. Cf. *ši-ir-ri*, AJSL. 31, 88, 7. Also *zi-ir-zi-ir* = *iḫḫilšá*, CT. 16, 10, v, 1, with *NUN-NUN* = *ḫilšu*, CT. 19, 45, K. 2058 Rev. 12. l. 17, *šag-bizem*; for sign, see JRAS. 1921, 581; RA. 18, 73, i, 12; OECT. i, 54, n. 4. I would render, "Within the box I laid its foundation inscription." l. 26, *á-suḡ* = *ammatu*, door post, after the Hebrew; better than "door sill" in my *Epic of Creation*, 66, n. 3. Acc. to AJSL. 39, 166, 9, *á-suḡ* is to be read *aštar*; *nu-kuš-ù* in my opinion is the knob at each end of the door post.

210, 3 and 289, 14 is the sign *RA*? Rather *ŠID*. Note *KA + ŠID—gí* = *šagāmu*, Br. 817, and *KA(dúg)*, only adds the idea of activity to a root, whether *dúg* is placed after the root, or the root is placed inside the sign *KA*.

260, *Ramman-šum-našir*, year 13th, is written clearly, and proves that I was wrong in reading *Ramman-šum-iddin* for the thirty year reign, in *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*, p. 90. The order is *Ramman-šum-iddin*, *Ramman-šum-našir*.

261 has *Marduk-apal-iddin*, 22nd year. Since the famous Merodachbaladan certainly reigned only twelve years, this

must be Marduk-apal-iddin I, whose reign is given as thirteen years in King List A, CT. 36, 24, ii, 13. Should List A be read 23 not 13?

No. 274, i, 13 has a most valuable gloss, which proves that *ŠAH(ki)* is *Subartu*, universally read erroneously as *Šah(ki)*. Correct accordingly Thureau-Dangin, SAK. 22, vi, 17; 18, vi, 10; 24*d*, ii, 2. This very considerably enlarges our conception of the sphere of influence exercised by the early rulers of Lagash.

274, ii, 18, *a-li-a-tim*, probably "upper (lands)". See Ungnad, MVAG. 1915, 2, p. 32, *ma-tam a-li-tam*. Col. v, 17, read *ši* for *maḥar*, genitive relative pronoun, Poebel, OLZ. 1928, 275. ii, 19, *u-ra-iš*, he smote. See Delitzsch, H.W. 605*b*; SAK. 176, Anu-mutabil, l. 15; CT. 18, 27*c*, 26.

l. 20, *me-ILa* is rendered by *mēlā*, MVAG. 1913, 2, p. 30, 73; see also RA. 16, 19, ii, 22; Genouillac, TSA. 26, Obv. I. On *me-li*, v. RA. 18, 162, 9.

289, 26 and 62 has a valuable variant, *muš-tum*, for *mūš-tum*, and elucidates Gudea, Cyl. B. 10, 6, where render "that oil and milk cease not in the house Eninnū". Also my note PBS. x, 148, on l. 12 and 183, 21 (sign *tum* there) is false. On lines 65-6, see iv, Raw. 12, Rev. 19, *ša a-na i-di li-mut-ti u-ma'-ar-ru* "Whosoever sends for evil purpose". The phrase also in 100, 19; 294, 24-5.

292, 4, *sa-gar*, probably for *sá-gar*, he ruled, became king, Br. 9568. Cf. PBS. v, No. 1, ii, 12.

293, 4, *gú-lal* = *elû*, rise up. Cf. *me-bi an-ki-da gú-lal-a* "Whose decrees extend to heaven and earth", Gudea, Cyl. A. 17, 19; *é an-ki-da lá-a = bitu ša ana šamê u iršitim tarzu*, KAR. 119 Rev. 19. *gú-mu-un-lal-éš = itteni'lú* "they go up", CT. 16, 44, 104; [*gú*]-*lal-e = itteni'lú*, 16, 47, 209. Translate, "whose decrees extend to heaven and earth, who is unceasing (in care) for the desolate city." *sāg-nu-di* same sense in 294, 5.

The various texts are uniformly annotated with good and trustworthy notes. It is a publication of great moment in the history of Assyriology and the results of the excavations at Ur are eminently satisfactory.

S. LANGDON.

REALLEXIKON DER ASSYRIOLOGIE. Edited by ERICH EBELING and BRUNO MEISSNER, with co-operation of many scholars. A-Altkleinasiatische Völker. Large 8vo. Walter de Gruyter and Co., Berlin and Leipzig, 1928.

This is the first attempt to publish an encyclopædia of Assyriology, and is planned to include everything mentioned in Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian inscriptions, together with those lands and peoples where the cuneiform script was in use, Cappadocia, Hittite lands, Palestine, and Elam. The material, therefore, covers a period of nearly 3,500 years, and concerns the history, religion, geography, archæology, linguistics, law, and sciences of a vast region in which a mighty civilization of antiquity rose and passed away, and influenced profoundly the civilizations of adjacent lands in Asia, Europe, and Africa. The part here issued has 80 pages and 14 plates. The articles are concise and accompanied by all the important literature. There is a tendency to cite works which are not original sources; for example, the Sumerian dynastic list of early kings is cited from a *resumé* in *ZDMG*. lxxviii, and not the *editio princeps*, *OECT*. ii. See now also Langdon-Fotheringham, *Venus Tablets of Ammizaduga*. The geographical names, at present almost unusable in the scattered brochures on geography, appear here conveniently arranged, an inestimable boon to busy scholars. Among the longer articles, special mention should be made of "Adad" by Ebeling, "Adapa" by Jensen, "Ägypten und Mesopotamien" by Opitz, "Ahhijava = Achaia = Greece" by Forrer, "Akšak = Opis" by Unger (where Lane's book *Babylonian Problems*, entirely devoted to Opis, is not noted), "Altar" by Unger. The work represents the best modern scholarship, and is sure to become a standard reference book.

S. LANGDON.

STRASSBURGER KEILSCHRIFTEXTE. By CARL FRANK. 8vo, 36 pp. and xx plates. Berlin and Leipzig: Walter de Gruyter and Co., 1928.

During his residence as professor of Assyriology at Strassburg, Dr. Frank secured a small and heterogeneous collection of cuneiform tablets, mostly in fragmentary condition for the university library. The fifty tablets published here come from Warka, Semkerah, Abu Nachla near Nippur, Tell Ibrahim, Dschocha, Drehem, and Oheimir. The first three tablets are Sumerian hymns. In his edition of No. 1, a hymn to the deified king of Isin, Lipit-Ishtar, an edition of the similar text from Nippur in Poebel, *PBS.* v, No. 67, is given. Zimmern's text in his *Kultlieder*, 199, is also compared, and no mention made of the edition in *PSBA.* 1918, 69 ff. Also *Nies-Keiser*, Nos. 24-5, is compared, but the edition in *Haupt Anniversary Volume*, 174 ff., is unknown to the author. No. 2, a Sumerian hymn to Sin, is arranged in distichs, not observed in the edition. Rev. 5, *dū-ma-gi* = *dumu-gi* is a title of Sin not *dumu-ma-gi* "my son, cane break", etc. No. 3, a hymn to Ningirsu with valuable Sumerian and Accadian glosses. A group of mathematical texts, Nos. 6-11, presents difficult problems in reckoning money payments, land surveys, multiplication and division, taken from school textbooks on mathematics, geometry, and commercial transactions. There are a number of fragmentary Accadian letters and contracts from the first dynasty. Nos. 49-50 are described as "in an unknown script", but Frank believes them to be genuine and not forgeries as they seem to be. The collection possesses also a few inscribed cylinder seals, and a fine alabaster head of a Sumerian woman, period of the last dynasty of Ur, of which three views are given in the frontispiece. Professor Frank's edition of this unpromising material reveals good scholarship, and it would be difficult to do more with it than he has done.

S. LANGDON.

BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN SCULPTURE IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM. By H. R. HALL, D.Litt., F.B.A. 4to, 55 pp., and lx plates. *Les éditions, G. Van Oest*: Paris and Brussels, 1928.

Dr. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, has published here only a selection of the sculptures in the magnificent collection of our national museum, in order to illustrate chronologically the evolution of Sumerian, Babylonian, and Assyrian sculpture. The majority of the objects are old friends of Assyriologists, but produced and described in a manner unequalled in any preceding publication. The only serious criticism one can make about this fine volume is to deplore the cost, three guineas, for few objects which are not to be found elsewhere. But the previous publications of even the comparatively small selection in this book are widely scattered and one must be grateful for this convenient and well-ordered assembling of objects, many of which will be new even to those most well read in Assyriological literature. It is doubtful whether the authors of the standard books on this subject knew some of the objects produced here, for the first time in chronological series. The conical vase with two animal files in deep relief on Pl. II undoubtedly belongs to the same find as the similar one in the Ashmolean Museum, purchased in Baghdad, 1921. Our Oxford vase has only one row, rams in the same style as 116705 in the British Museum. This group of vases and bowls worked in deep relief, and having the animal file *motif* is unique, and not illustrated in any textbook, such as Meissner's *Grundzüge der Babylonischen Plastik*; Contenau, *L'Art de l'Asie Occidentale Ancienne*. Hall claims that they belong to an early Sumerian school of sculpture at Erech. Apparently there is no trustworthy information about their provenance. On No. 118465, pl. ii, there is a bird (raven?) standing on a bull, and described by Hall as the mythical bird demon Zû, but this is clearly impossible from all that is known of Zû in art and inscriptions. Most desirable would have been

views of 118361, 118465, showing the interesting portions described on pages 26-7. A number of marble figurines in the style of 114260 (Eridu) was excavated at Kish in 1928, Sargonic period.

On plates lvii-lx there are again some objects which have not been published before, at least not to my knowledge. Of particular power and beauty in 90954, base of a column in shape of a winged human headed cow, wearing the tiara characteristic of divinity. This is undoubtedly the *lamassu*, almost invariably feminine, a protecting genius in animal form, the *Baštu* of Assyrian texts and the *Bōsheth* of the Old Testament. See *AJSL*. 33, 199, 292-3; *KAH*. ii, 122, 6; King, *Magic*, 22, 64, Ebeling, *KAR*. 196, Rev. ii, 25 = Thompson, *AMT*. 67, iii, 15, speaks of the *lamma* (= *lamassu*) of heaven which descends to earth, hence winged, and compare the winged female (not theriomorphic) which descends from heaven, on the *bas relief* from Ur, *Antiquaries Journal*, v, pl. xlv, 2. On p. 13, *Nin-urta* is spelled *Enurta*, and again, p. 51. According to Hall, *ibid.*, the statues of Nebo, of which one is given pl. xxiv, are said to have been found in the temple of Ninurta at Nimrud. *KB*. i, 192, n. 2, states that they were found in the temple of Nebo, and King, *Guide*,² p. 14, says that came from near the site of the temple of Ninurta (Ninib).

There is only one defect in the printing of this splendid book; on many plates the objects have no plate sub-numbers, and often no museum number. For example, pl. v, 1-2-3-4-5 should bear these numbers below the objects to which they refer, otherwise in referring to them one must consult the descriptions. The book is ably written, beautifully printed, and every archæologist would like to own it.

S. LANGDON.

ROYAL INSCRIPTIONS AND FRAGMENTS FROM NIPPUR AND BABYLON. By LEON LEGRAIN, D.D., Sc.D. Publications of the Babylonian Section. The Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. XV. Philadelphia, 1926.

Assyriologists are most grateful to Dr. Legrain, Curator of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum in Philadelphia, for publishing these valuable miscellaneous texts acquired by excavation at Nippur or by purchase from various sources. It obviously required a deal of patience to assemble the scattered residue of fragments left over by earlier curators and scholars who had worked on the great Nippur collection, and if the philological interpretation is woefully weak it must be remembered that the author has sacrificed several years of his valuable time at the excavations of Ur. Those of experience in that work know that time so spent is a dead loss to pure scholarship and there is consequently trace of it on every page of this book. However this may be, we are grateful for the volumes of texts and archaeological material which he publishes. A severe review of this book at the hands of Professor Poebel appeared in *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung*, where there is a heavy list of corrections, mostly correct, some false, and sharp personal remarks which no one of Legrain's great service to Assyriology could possibly deserve.¹ It must be admitted that the philology, both Sumerian and Accadian, as well as the copies admits a terrific list of corrections, but there are few places which cannot be remedied and this does not affect the fact that this book is a very solid contribution to Assyriology.

¹ For example *OLZ.* 1928, 695, Poebel comparing Legrain 49 with the same text by Hilprecht, speaks of the latter's copy as *bei weitem besser*. Hilprecht's copy contains one mistake 𒀭 for *áš-me*, perhaps two, *ga-me-ri* for *ga-áš-ri* (?) Legrain's one, *iš* for *é*. Page 700, on Legrain, p. 37, i, 12, Poebel's *i-tu-dí* is due to Legrain's erroneous copy, as he should have seen from Ball's copy, *i-tu-ut*. Page 701, note on *giš ši-da-ra-a*, clearly as erroneous as Legrain's rendering.

No 2, *ga-til-la-šú* "that I may live". See *Sumerian Grammar*, p. 160, n. 3.

No. 41. This valuable fragment is joined to Poebel, *PBS*. v, 34, and most welcome photographs of the whole text are given, Pls. II-VII. Poebel's review corrects many serious errors, and it is a pity that the copy and photo of Col. 7, 19, are so bad that the Accadian reading of $\langle \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \text{𒀭} \rangle$ cannot be established. *náru* and *šáru* have been suggested, but Legrain's *da-wa-ar* (clearly erroneous) does not help at all. *i-ša-ar* or *i-na-ar* seem to be excluded by the photograph. Col. 23, 19, *A-mal*. Legrain accepted *Zamama* from Poebel's edition. For *A-ma(l)* as god of Sargonic period at Agade = *mar biti* (?), v. *PBS*. x, 94; Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 186, n. 10.

No. 46, stamped brick of Ishme Dagan of Isin. L. 2, *ra* is the phonetic complement of the sign for Accad. Read *ur-ra*; cf. *ur-ri*, Hilprecht, *Deluge Fragment*, p. 3, n. 2. *Ninurta* is still read *Nin-ib* by Legrain. Poebel's correction to the translation of ll. 4-7 is right. L. 8, the Sumerian readings for *GAG* + *giš* have been known for many years; *ši-ta, udug, rig*. See *RA*. xiii, 3.

No. 58, l. 7, *sag-uš é-[Kur]* = *mukil reš Ekur*. L. 12, copy *lugal*, transcription, *mi-ni*, which is right.

P. 32, n. 1, there is for the first time an attempt to translate *OBI*. 33, dedication of a stone vase to Ninankia by Nadinahê for the life of Burnaburiyash. L. 4, *PA-GAN (sag)-di* = *naparkû*, *sag-nu-di* = *ša la naparkû*, which cease not; v. *PSBA*. 1918, 69, 6, et p.

L. 12, *na-di-in-ŠEŠ-ŠEŠ*, *Nadin-aḥê*, subject of the verb in line 27. The object is a mortar of white marble, but line 22, *dāg-esi*, commonly rendered "diorite", by Gudea. Also No. 68, slab of alabaster, is described as *dāg-esi*. Perhaps read *dāg-kalla(g)* = *abnu aḳartu*, "precious stone," Gadd, *Studia Orientalia*, i, 33, 1. *dāg-esi* is certainly diorite.

L. 26, *sikil*, not *el*.

No. 69, brick stamp of an unknown governor of Nippur, *Ninurta-šum-iddin*. L. 1, *dūl-lál* = *dullallû* = *bûr mē-šu*

tābūti, *JRAS.* 1919, 190, 13 = *RA.* 19, 69, 7, a sacred fountain; see *JRAS.* 1926, 34, 4. Here it is further described as standing beside Esagrum, the *ziggurat*. But because of sin against Enlil the *ziggurat* was destroyed and *epra-nu u-gan-ni-šu*, "dust covered it". *epra-nu*, a new word; *nu-ū-gan-nim*¹ is an impossible form and I do not know how the meaning "filled" was obtained.

No. 79, a complete barrel cylinder of Nebuchadnezzar, for which the reviewer is particularly grateful. I was misled by the information at my disposal, when I edited this text in *VAV.* iv, pp. 176-186. A small fragment of a duplicate of this cylinder, which undoubtedly came from Emeteursag, temple of Zamama in western Kish, was found by the Oxford-Field Museum Expedition on the surface of the temple ruins of eastern Kish. It carries lines iii, 74-80, with no variants.

There is a very large number of corrections to this edition, where the valuable new cylinders published by Gadd and Sydney Smith in C.T. 36-7 are not utilized at all. Corrections to the copy and translation would involve a new edition, to which I must defer the corrections.

p. 38, 39, ¹²*mes-má-kan-na* ¹³*ši-da-ra-a*, rendered "Magan wood, *šidarū* wood". I rendered *iš-ši da-ra-a-am* "durable wood", *VAB.* iv, 164, 12; 256, 4. That this is the true reading is proved by the ideogram *DA-ERI* in 256, 4. Cf. Hebrew, *mesukkan* "which rots not", Is. xl, 20. Poebel also wants to read *šidarū* wood, defending the reading by *KAV.* 183, 13 ^{ma}*Má-gan-na*(ki) = ^{ma}*ši-id-di-ri*, certainly a corruption for ^{ma}*i-ši da-eri*.

pp. 42, 48. For *la naškun* (cf. *VAB.* iv, 106, 20 = *PSBA.* 1888, May, pl. iv, 20), Poebel wishes to read *aš-šu naškun*. Cf. *VAB.* iv, 162, 53 = Weissbach, *Wadi Brisa*, Taf. 31, 52 = *ibid.*, p. 25. Legrain and Weissbach's copies permit both *la* and *aš-šu*, but Ball's copy *la* only. In no case is Poebel's harsh remark justified.


p. 46, 5. If ¹¹*Za-kar*, god of dreams, is the correct reading

¹ There are several misprints of *r* for *n* in this book.


(no photograph), then read surely, *ša šu-na-a-ta* "he of dreams", he who sends dreams to all kings. Poebel reads ^{1a}*A-ru* for *Erua*, and probably *ša ba-na-a-ta* as perm. fem. for *banât*.


Ibid. l. 2, *ta-im* for *te-em*. Is the copy right?

Ibid. l. 6, *itit*, for *itut* ^a*Mūati* (Nabū) *apil Esagila nāš mīthurtu*, The chosen of Nebo, son of Esagila, bearer harmony (?).¹

Ibid., l. 7, *azag* is not the value of , but *kug*, *ku*, is alone permissible, as Zimmern proved. The reading is *Nin-igi-kug* = *Nin-gi-kug-ga*, *KAR.* 109, 7.

Ibid., l. 8, *šaddu* means "light", then "omen". See *VAB.* iv, 130, 61. Cf. *sag-me-gar* = Jupiter = *nāš šaddu ana kalamu*, v. Raw. 46 B 39 = *RA.* 8, 45, iii, 4. Cf. *BA.* v, 310, 42; Ebeling, *KAR.* 26, 19.

l. 9, *iš-te-ni-bu-ú*, rendered by "is filled with", from *šebû*, iv³, "to satiate oneself". Is the text right? For *BU* one expects the similar sign  *iš-te-ni'-u* "who seeks after" the fear (worship) of the gods.

ll. 14-16, read *šu-tam-ra-ku* "I made fat"; *šākina-at*? *balātu*;  cannot mean *kāšu*. Has the next *NIG-BA* = *kāšu*?; *tu-uh-hu-da-ku*.

l. 19; "Its top trembled"; cf. *rêšá-ša itrura*, Var. *ikûpa*, Weissner-Rost, *Senecherib*, p. 50, n. 3.

l. 19, *išû* means "to have", not "to be", and *nimitta*, "support"; also l. 20.

l. 20, *šu-iš-ši-i*; text right? *šu-te-ši-i*? Cf. *uš-te-ši*, *CT.* 20, 34, 23. Read *šu-uš-ši-i*? In any case an intensive of *išû*, to have.

l. 23, *uṣurtim te-na-a-ta*, a plan which is a substitute (for the former plan). On *tênû* "successor", see Landsberger, *ZA.* 37, 81, n. 2. Hence *tênû* also adjective, "replacing, substituting", from *ênû* "to change", غنى be satisfied with a substitute.

¹ Supply this title of Nebo in V Raw. 43, B. 16? ^a*Mū-a-ti* = [*Nābium ša mīthurti*?]. Cf. *ur* = *mītharu*, and ^a*Ur* = ^{au}*Nābium*.

l. 24, *darā šundulu* "lasting and enlarged". *šuddulu* > *šundulu* is not a noun.

l. 25, *e-di-rik* "I spread out", is impossible. Is the author thinking of *I² arāku* "to be long"? In no case can *I²* be active. After *VAB.* iv, 214, 14, read *ki-ma dāru dan-nu e-di-il¹ pa-ni za-a-bi*. *za-a-bi* cannot mean "enemy"; Legrain has apparently read *a-a-bi*. Is this the text? From *VAB.* *ibid.* = *CT.* 36, 17, 14, a synonym of *mātu* "land" is expected. *edēlu* means "to bar", "shut in", not "ward off", and *za-a-bu* ought to be some epithet for Babylon. *Imgur-Enlil*, the inner wall is here described as 20 *uš* long, i.e. 14,400 cubits, 7,128 metres, or 7.128 kilometres, or about 4½ miles.

ll. 22-II 2, "The wall *Imgur-Enlil*, the mighty wall of Babylon, for 20 *uš*, an everlasting circumference, a plan replacing the old plan, whose boundaries are new, everlasting and enlarged, like a mighty wall shutting in the face of the *zābu* . . . I strengthened (*udannin*)."² As to Rev. 1, there being no other reference to *Imgur-Enlil* in the Nabunidus inscriptions, it is impossible to suggest a solution without a photograph. *ma-aš-ša-ar-tù é-sag-ila ù ká-dingir-ra-ki* would agree with other passages.

p. 47, ii, 2, *ḫinnū* mountain; see my *Babylonian Wisdom*, p. 58, n. 4; Clay, *Miscel.*, 44, ii, 12; *VAB.*, iv, 256, ii, 7, *nīribi, ḫinnē*; my rendering was false; *naphar ḫinnē*, Hinke, *Boundary Stone*, 144, 15. At the end some verb is to be read, *ú-pat-ti-in*? Cf. *Babylonian Wisdom*, 58, n. 3; 61, 3. "I fortified it like a rock"?

l. 4, *pār-gu-mi-iš* (?) *u-šar-ši-id-ma* (?) *a-na tab-ra*(?)*-a-tu aš-tak-[kan]*. Cf. *pār-ga-niš* = *aburriš*, Clay, *Morgan*, iv, 13, 54. Is the text right?

l. 8, *ḫu-[ra-du]*.

l. 10, *etippušu* (whatsoever) I have made. *I²* of *epēšu* is not passive.²

l. 12, Translation and syntax is, "Prolong the days of my

¹ For *il*, see Col. ii, 22.

² Cf. *RA.* 11, 112, 34, for restoration after *etippušu* [*elliš*].

life; may I be satisfied with posterity." Cf. *li-ri-ku úmé balāti lušbā littuti*, *RA.* 11, 113, 36 (Nabunidus).

l. 13, *šu-um-[ki-it a-a-bi-ia]*, *RA.* 11, 113, 37; or *šu-um-[i-id šanāti-ia]*, *RA.* 22, 60, 23.

l. 18, This line is difficult. It corresponds to *ša kib-rat ar-ba'-i*, i *Raw.* 7, F. 10. Is the text not *ša la! me-nai! -šu-ú mi-e naḫbi* "Who have no number (like) the waters of the deep?"

l. 19, *giš-nig-mudur* = *ḥattu* sceptre. "May I establish my sceptre over them."

l. 21, *uṣṣap* active, "he shall increase".

p. 48, No. 83, l. 8, *má-gid* is a kind of sailor, literally, "one who draws a boat up-stream", *šādīd elippi*, cf. *šādīd ašlim*, King, *LIH.* 34, 20; Reisner, *ATU.* 98, viii, 10; 154, iii, 38, etc. Also "ship going up-stream", drawn up-stream, *maḥirtum* with *mā-dirig-ga* down-stream boat, Contenau, *Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur*, No. 46; as title also *CT.* 10, 49, 12245, l. 7; *Babyloniaca*, viii, 37, No. 10. As a religious title (in connection with sacred boats), Gudea, *St., D.*, i, 9, as here.

p. 49, No. 85, Col. ii, 1, *me-te nam-en-na*, ornament of lordship.

l. 2, *ana* ^{1a} *Ishtar šūluku* "made fit for Ishtar", as often in the construction *túm* with *ra*. Col. i, 5, *En-lil-da gis-tuk*, "obedient to Enlil"; l. 9, *gūr-gú-gà-gà-ri* = *mugarrin karê*, "he who heaps full the granaries," Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 10, 30 = *gūr-gú-gur-gur*, Reisner, *SBH.* 123, Rev. 13.

Photographs of the Nebuchadnezzar and Nabunidus cylinders are indispensable in controlling the copies, but unfortunately they are not given, with the exception of a general view of the large Kish cylinder.

No. 84 is a duplicate of the cone in Manchester, H. W. Hogg, "Inscribed Nail of Enlil-ba-ni," *Journal of the Manchester Oriental Society*, 1911, pp. 1-26. Legrain and Poebel are not acquainted with this text. See Langdon, *Excavations at Kish*, I, 110, n. 1. Lines 14-6 read *bad-ba^a. En-lil-ba-ni suḡuṣ* (Br. 4808) *-ki-in*, "Of this wall 'Enlilbani established the foundation, is the name.'" S. LANGDON.

BABYLONIAN INSCRIPTIONS IN THE COLLECTION OF J. B. NIES. Vol. II: Historical, Religious, and Economic Texts and Antiquities. Edited by NIES and KEISER. Vol. IV: Letters and Transactions from Cappadocia. By A. T. CLAY. Yale University Press, 1920 and 1927.

This important series, devoted to the publication of the very valuable collection of Dr. Nies, forms a worthy memorial to two scholars who have done Assyriology great service. The content of the first is very varied, royal inscriptions, amulets, incantations, and business texts of all periods being included. In addition to the texts, there is an interesting collection of antiquities, also of varied dates, including some early amulets, barrel weights, finely carved seals, and a stone vase which is not perhaps beyond all suspicion. The business texts have for the most part been translated by Ungnad in *Hammurabi's Gesetz* vi; they contain some incidental information which has yet to be properly appreciated, e.g. the administration of *duplalmah* at Erech, which must have been a counterpart of the court of justice at Ur, by priests (No. 75, l. 34), or the freeing of a slave in return for his performance of *corvée*, military service and business journeys, *ilkam u haranam ilak* (No. 76). Of the religious texts the bilingual No. 22, which belongs to the "Evil Spirits" series, contains some exceptionally difficult passages. The important duplicate of the Entemena text on the "net" cylinder has already been used in Mr. Gadd's reading book.

The second volume contains 233 texts from Kul Tepe, a most important contribution to the study of these documents, which throw such a full light upon the early trade conditions of Western Asia. Some points may be said to be definitely settled by this volume. The noun *tamalakum* (the accusative of which has been tortured in translation as a verbal form) denotes some kind of document, most probably an envelope, since it can be opened; *datum* is most often money paid for the accomplishment of a journey from one place to the other; *bulatum* and *biulatum* are alternative forms of a word which,

as it interchanges with *igri* (in the phrase *igri zaritim*, *bulati zaritim*) probably means "hire", so that *lalake bulati* means "let me do hired service"; the verb *bat(d)ū* means "to be distant", *ana ume batiutum* should therefore be translated "for a long period", and the word must be distinguished from *pitū*; *rikzum* Akk. *riksum*, always refers to a special kind of bond often connected with marriage arrangements, and never, so far as I can see, to metal in the form of a chain, as Landsberger believes; *zaritim* is to be derived from Akk. *saradu*, to saddle pack-animals; *gazaru*, connected with Akk. *qasaru*, means simply "hireling". The new month-name, *arah zibibi-berim*, and the place name *Tišmurna*, which also occurs in the British Museum texts, though I failed to decipher it, are interesting. It is impossible to give here any account of the contents of these documents, from which it will ultimately be possible to understand the rudimentary credit system which seems to have resembled the Arabic *ḥawālah*, and the complicated officialdom of the bazaars, with the taxes for entry and exit and deposition of goods, and the set tariff of prices, *mahirum*, which was set up on a gate to the bazaar. Of this particular branch of Assyriology at present it may be said *dies diem docet*: ultimately a rich store of knowledge will be available, thanks in no small part to Professor Clay's excellent copies, in which the slips will be easily corrected by the reader.

SIDNEY SMITH.

THE HOLY CITIES OF ARABIA. By ELDON RUTTER. 2 vols.
London and New York: Putnam's Sons, Ltd, 1928.

Since the appearance of Burton's famous *Pilgrimage*, numerous works on the same subject have been produced by adventurous travellers; those who can read Arabic will find Ibrahim Bif'at Pasha's *Mirror of the Two Sanctuaries*, which was the sensation of the Cairene Press in 1925, the most exhaustive and the most richly illustrated treatise on Meccah

and Medinah. Mr. Rutter's volumes, which are less than half the bulk of the Pasha's, cover some fresh ground. Owing to the state of war which existed in the year 1925 between the Wahhabi and the Hashimite potentates he could not approach Meccah by the ordinary route: he had to get to Massowa and thence cross the Red Sea to a point on the Arabian coast called El-Gahm, and make his way inland. The result is some valuable additions to our geographical knowledge. From Meccah he went to Ta'if, thence back to Meccah, thence to Medinah, and thence to Yabbu', the war having by this time ended with the expulsion of the Hashimite dynasty. He has furnished valuable topographical details of the places visited, with descriptions of manners and customs.

Some of the European pilgrims have been so much afraid of betraying their identity that they scarcely dared make any observations worth recording; and, indeed, if it be true that "the Christian is more hated throughout the Islamic world at the present time than is Iblis himself" (i, 41), they had good reason to be afraid. We should not have gathered that Mr. Rutter had any occasion for alarm on this ground, had he not described his "outward appearance as a lifelong zealous Muslim" as "a mental adaptation", he being in fact "a bigoted believer in the doctrine of the towhid" (ii, 149), which is professed by the adherents of many creeds, as it means the Unity of the Divine Being. His knowledge of the Qur'an is unusually accurate; I have noticed only one misquotation (ii, 125, note, where the Surah *The Cow* is cited for a text which belongs to the Surah *Imran's Family*).

Part of the value of the work lies in what it records about the effect of the Great War and subsequent events on the condition of this portion of the peninsula. The two successive sieges reduced the population of Medinah from some 80,000 to some 6,000 inhabitants. Ta'if, after the Wahhabi massacre, has become "like a city of the dead". The historic graveyard of the former city, Al-Baki' "was like the broken

remains of a town which had been demolished by an earthquake", nor had the tomb of the Prophet's heroic uncle Ḥamzah, fared any better at the hands of the puritans. The persons employed in the destruction of the cemetery were of the sect called Nakhawilah, about whom Burton has a couple of pages, and Bif'at Pasha a few lines. Since, according to these authorities, they "bedevil" the first two Caliphs, but not the third, they ought not to have been employed to destroy his tomb.

Mr. Rutter's anecdotes are scarcely as thrilling as Burton's and Keane's; on the other hand, no one is likely to question his veracity, though some of the information given him seems questionable.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

ARABIA OF THE WAHHABIS. By H. ST. J. B. PHILBY, C.I.E., etc. London: Constable, 1928.

In this work the author of *The Heart of Arabia* furnishes a narrative of his journeys in Arabia in the summer and autumn of 1918. Starting from Riyadh he travelled in the company of the Wahhabi ruler as far as Buraidah, whence he returned to Anaizah, where he waited while Ibn Sa'ūd was conducting a campaign against Ibn Rashīd. After Ibn Sa'ūd's return in accordance with instructions which he received from the Home Government, he withdrew to Kuwait. In order to utilize his travels for scientific observations he rode during the day, whereas Ibn Sa'ūd preferred the night. The book which has resulted is a combination of an accurate diary with a "Book of Roads and Regions", containing exhaustive information about distances, routes, wells, the size, populations, industries, and characteristics of villages and towns; size, materials, furniture, and decoration of houses; food, clothing, objects and methods of cultivation; careers and characters of prominent personages, etc. As the Qur'an says of itself, Mr. Philby might say

of his book, "it is a clear account of everything." His accuracy as an observer and recorder is supplemented by his skill as a photographer.

Hence this work is one of the most instructive that have appeared on Arabia, and may be regarded as *abschliessend* for the portion of the peninsula with which it deals.

There are some contributions to the Arabic vocabulary, but none, it would seem, to archæology; the settlements, if not quite modern, are all of recent date. The general standard of living, at times approaching luxury, is higher than we should have surmised from earlier works of travel. It was pointed out to Mr. Philby that he travelled as a *grand seigneur*, whereas Palgrave and Doughty went as poor men; and this may account for the difference in the impression which their works leave. Palgrave, whom Mr. Philby attacked with some vehemence in his earlier work, only receives an occasional slap in this. Doughty is repeatedly mentioned with high honour. The worst knocks are aimed at the British Government, "whose counsels at this stage were directed by ignorance and prejudice," while with respect to another episode "Arabia, seeing and understanding, marvels not at our blushing, but at our blundering".

Occasionally we marvel at Mr. Philby, whose Arabic scholarship is justly admired, perpetrating the latter of these operations, not indeed in the political field, with which we are not concerned. On p. 66 the Qur'an is quoted for the precept, "Ride and shoot, but I prefer that ye shoot." There is no such text in the Qur'an. On p. 286 one of his associates "was still more delighted when I quoted again from the same source (The Tradition).—There is none born but is born within the fold, but their fathers make Christians of them or Jews or Mages". The Tradition (e.g. Bukhari, ed. Krehl, i, 341) has for "within the fold" *in natural religion*, and for "their fathers" *their parents*. On p. 300 we read: "Hail fell in the following August, and within three years Ibn Sa'ūd was practically master of all Arabia." There is

another power in Arabia, if not more than one, which might traverse this assertion. However, as Mutanabbi says, "Trouble is likely to befall every hero, unless he protects his heroism with some amulets of flaws."

D. S. M.

THE LIFE OF CHARLES M. DOUGHTY. By D. G. HOGARTH.
Oxford University Press. 1928.

The late keeper of the Ashmolean Museum, whose career was so rich in service to his country, his university, and learning in general, did not live to finish his biography of C. M. Doughty. It has been finished by his son, doubtless in the manner which the author would have approved. As a writer on the "Penetration of Arabia", Dr. Hogarth was well qualified to appraise the explorer's contribution to our knowledge of that country, and as he tells us, had practical experience of its value when he was in charge of the Arab Bureau in Cairo. The exploration of the peninsula occupied less than two years of Doughty's life: some forty-five years of it were devoted to the composition of poetry, on which Dr. Hogarth disclaims the right to speak as an expert. The biography, however, contains a sympathetic account of the poems, and a record of their reception: and though the description of the travels is based more on Doughty's original diaries than on the monumental *Arabia Deserta*, it serves as an admirable epitome of and introduction to that work.

Arabia Deserta met with a fortune comparable to that of Schopenhauer's *Die Welt als Wille und Vorstellung* of which two editions were sold for waste paper, whereas with the third it became a classical work. Printed in 500 copies, *Arabia Deserta* was sold out in twenty years, after which an abridged edition appeared. Then came the Great War, and *Arabia* attracted attention. New editions of the original work were called for, and Doughty became a national hero, and his work a classic. Its value had indeed been recognized from the first

by experts in Arabic rather than in Arabia: but now the style, to which the author attached perhaps more importance than he did to the matter, won recognition.

The story of the mode whereby Doughty's copies of Nabataean inscriptions, and the two thick volumes of his travels, secured publication, was doubtless worth enucleating and narrating, but few persons connected with either emerge with real credit: among them are William Wright and W. Robertson Smith, who induced the Cambridge University Press to undertake the printing of the latter. Peter Burmann wrote: *virī doctī famam sequuntur, non pecuniam*. They ought not, of course, to seek either: the advancement of knowledge should be their sole concern. Doughty made no secret of the fact that he *sequebatur* both, and disappointment made him querulous. We learn that certain societies to which he had looked for financial aid both in travelling and afterwards in publishing, declined to give it. Oxford University, of which he was not an alumnus, was the first public body to give his merits due recognition. Five years later (1912) the Royal Geographical Society awarded him a medal. Towards the end of his life honours were heaped upon him.

His financial fortunes were not dissimilar. Some readers of *Arabia Deserta* supposed him to be a wealthy man, who travelled as a poor one for choice, and to gain a more intimate acquaintance with local conditions than a wealthy traveller could acquire. The biography disproves this. Doughty according to this was financially straitened till near the end of his life, when an unexpected inheritance of a £2,000 annuity enabled him to resign the £150 Civil List Pension which Lord Balfour had obtained for him.

His residence in Arabia lasted in all twenty-one months. He rarely disguised the fact that he was a *Naṣrānī* (Christian), according to Dr. Hogarth more out of patriotism than devoutness, and this, which rendered him an object of hatred and contempt to the fanatical tribesmen, greatly interferred with his

opportunities for observation and note-taking. It is extraordinary that he accomplished so much, and became, as a German critic designated him, "the profoundest expert" (*der gründlichste Kenner*) of Bedouin life, and Arabian geography. There is, however, an inference to be drawn. It is said that an American visitor to Angora, who had come there to study New Turkey, told a distinguished official of his purpose; that official said to him, "doubtless you are going to stay with us some seven years". The American replied, "No, perhaps seven days." The latter period was certainly too short for a profound study, whereas the former would scarcely be too long. If *der gründlichste Kenner* of Arabia had to acquire his information in nineteen months, perhaps our knowledge of the Peninsula is not yet as *gründlich* as would be desirable.

D. S. M.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF 'ALĪ IBN 'ĪSĀ, "THE GOOD VIZIER."

By HAROLD BOWEN. Cambridge University Press, 1928.
25s.

Mr. Bowen has essayed a task which is the first of its kind. Biographies of Caliphs and Muslim princes have been written from time to time, but no political figure of the second rank has hitherto formed the subject of an extended monograph. The reason is only too well known to students of Islamic history—the material at their disposal is both scanty and in many respects unreliable. It is only the fortunate preservation of such nearly contemporary sources as Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's gossipy *Book of Wazīrs* and the histories of Miskawayh and 'Arib that has made the attempt possible in this instance, and the footnotes sufficiently indicate the debt of this book to them for many of its more intimate narratives. By his masterly use of these and other works, both printed and manuscript, and the further gift of a lucid and attractive style, Mr. Bowen has succeeded in the almost impossible task of giving for the first time a clear and intelligible account

of a most confusing period. For this service anyone who has had to deal with the intricate history of the decline of the Caliphate may well feel grateful to him.

A biography in the modern sense, however, this book is not. I hasten to add that the fault is in no way to be attributed to Mr. Bowen, but to his sources. He has done his best to give a picture of 'Alī ibn 'Īsā as a man, and has pressed into service probably every item of information that can contribute to it; yet in the end his real personality eludes us. We are told many anecdotes that illustrate his piety and impartiality, but the great bulk of the book is devoted to the never-ending palace revolutions. What would we know of Gladstone and Disraeli (and there are some curious analogies, *mutatis mutandis*, between them and the rivals 'Alī and Ibn al-Furāt) were our knowledge practically confined to their ministerial careers? Without charging the author with undue lenience—though a biographer may be excused some measure of partiality for his hero—one feels that the ineffectiveness of 'Alī's career cannot be explained simply on the grounds of piety and desire for self-effacement.

Mr. Bowen's thoroughness leaves little room for criticism of detail. As he has concentrated on 'Irāq and followed 'Irāqī sources, there are some pardonable slips in dealing with events on the circumference, for example in his accounts of Ibn Ṭūlūn (p. 10) and al-Uṭrūsh (pp. 307–8). Nor was Ibn al-Mu'tazz the author of the *only* attempt at an Arabic "epic" (p. 79), as he had both predecessors and successors in the art of *rajaz* narrative poems.

H. A. R. G.

DER DIWAN DES ABU DU'AIB. Herausgegeben und übersetzt von JOSEPH HELL. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 12$, xii + 91 + 47. Hannover, 1926.

When, in 1884, Wellhausen published as one of the sections of his *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* an essay on the latter portion

of the *ḏiwān* of the Hudhailis there was no MS. known of the first portion. This contained, amongst others, the work of Abu Dhu'aib, whom the anthologists and biographers considered the finest poet in the group. Wellhausen conjectured that a MS. of the complete *ḏiwān* of the Hudhailis, in the recension of al-Sukkari, was buried in one of the Cairo libraries. Herr Joseph Hell appears to have taken the hint, and instituted a search which led to the discovery, not only of that MS., but also of the *ḏiwān* of Abu Dhu'aib, bound up in a composite volume between the *ḏiwāns* of Ḥasan b. Thābit and Labīd. It is the text of Abu Dhu'aib's *ḏiwān* that he gives us together with a translation, an introduction and a critical apparatus of citations.

Perhaps of these ancient Arabic verses even more than of others it is true that their interest lies in the sphere of lexicography and grammar rather than in that of poetry, and it is unfortunate therefore that Herr Hell has been unable to publish the commentary which accompanied the text in his MS. For the present we must be content with the few short notes which he supplies for the elucidation of the text. That the Hudhaili goat-herds of the barren hills south of Mecca should have produced any verse at all worthy of preservation is a fact remarkable in itself, and any great beauty of thought ought not perhaps to be expected. Yet it is not entirely lacking, particularly in the first long *marthīya* of Abu Dhu'aib. Herr Hell in his rendering has confined himself to giving a straightforward version, of which the language is more literal than elegant. The translation might perhaps have made better reading if Herr Hell had been less cautious and had committed himself to one particular meaning of a word where the dictionary offered him a choice of several.

R. LEVY.

KHABE SHEGEFT. By AKHOND MOLLA FATHALI ISPAHANI.
8vo, pp. 80. Berlin : Iranshahr Press, 1926. Price
32 *shahis* or 8 *pence*.

Here is a graphic indictment of the present condition of affairs in Persia by a native of that country who, for obvious reasons, writes under a pseudonym and even has an obituary notice of himself inserted in the introduction. The author shows himself one of the company of modernists who recently have attempted with varying success to disturb the long indifference of the Moslem East towards the civilization of the West. Mainly his charge is that Persia has taken no notice of the advances which have been made in the scientific thought and material discoveries of the world since the Middle Ages. Economically the Persians are dependent even for necessities on foreign countries ; leaving aside the fact that there is no machinery in their country and that not one of them has ever succeeded in building a motor-car which he could use, they have not even a weaving industry to supply them with clothing for their backs, nor any manufacture of modern drugs, let alone a medical school to train doctors.

On the intellectual side the country is equally backward, so that what were until yesterday regarded as the common-places of scientific knowledge in the West—e.g. the theory of gravity—have never been heard of in Persia. There are no scientists there, no physicians ; but astrologers, fortune-tellers, romancers and charlatans of every description abound. Political offices still remain the storehouses from which their fortunate possessors feather their own nests, while the religious authorities continue to live in the past, indifferent to all modern influence. To speak of freedom of thought in Persia is a mortal offence ; yet it is the natural heritage of mankind, and any religion which shuts the door in its face should be avoided like the plague, just as the man who, having the capacity, fails to think and concern himself with the problems of the world is unworthy to be included amongst men.

The author's thesis is one that merits attention, but recent events in Afghanistan show that reforms must be undertaken with caution. Even Turkey is not yet out of the wood. But it cannot be denied that some reforms in Persia are long overdue. Roads are too few, medical science is still at the stage when Avicenna left it, hospitals exist in only one or two large cities, and opium-taking is still the chief alternative to physical suffering.

And yet there are some features of civilization which Persia need not regret. It can live its life without malodorous, noisy haste, and even its discomfort is at any rate leisurely, though if recent proposals reach fruition, roads and railways will shortly put an end to Persia's leisureliness. One can only hope that the country will take warning by its neighbour and even hasten slowly on its path of reform.

R. LEVY.

AUS DEM JEMEN. Hermann Burchardts letzte Reise durch Südarabien. Bearbeitet von EUGEN MITTWOCH. Leipzig, n.d.

This volume, which is a "Festgabe" to celebrate the fourth German Orientalists' congress at Hamburg, is at the same time a memorial to the German traveller Herman Burchardt, who lost his life in a journey to Arabia in 1909. The fatal journey, begun at Ṣan'ā, went by Ga'taba and Ṭa'izz to the sea at Mocha, whence Burchardt in the company of the local Italian vice-consul retraced his steps to Ṭa'izz, intending from there to return by a different route to Ṣan'ā. They had only gone part of the journey when they were attacked by "brigands" at a spot between Ibb and al-'Udēn and killed. Burchardt's own diaries, if he kept any, appear to have been lost, and the present account of the journey is the work of his Arab teacher and secretary who accompanied him and escaped unharmed. It is this account, with a German translation, that we have before us. The narrative is bare and dry, but the work is redeemed by a number of excellent photo-

graphs which the volume contains, as well as notes on the geography and dialect of the Yemen, of which latter a number of specimens are given in Buchardt's transliteration.

The geographical notes are the work of Professor Eugen Mittwoch, who is responsible for the editing of the volume.

R. LEVY.

CHAJIM BLOCH. *Lebenserinnerungen des Kabbalisten Vital*. Verlag der Asia Major. Sm. 8vo., pp. 179. Leipzig, 1927. 6s.

The author of this little book publishes here in German translation a selection from the autobiographical diary of Chayim Vital. It is a fantastic medley of brief memories of ghostly apparitions, of peculiar visions and dreams and other incidents which throw a special light on the character and spiritual disposition of Vital. Their importance lies not so much in these autobiographical notes, as in the fact that they may help us to understand the mentality, disposition, and the mystical tendencies of a man to whom the modern Kabbala owes exclusively all its information about the author of it, the famous Rabbi Isaac Lurya. The latter left no written work behind; and the new system of metaphysical speculation with which his name is connected is found only in the writings of Chayim Vital. It is an unsolved problem how far they truly represent the teachings of the master, and how far they are due to the exuberant fancy of Vital. Be it as it may, they have been accepted as genuine, and these views found in the numerous writings of Vital have exercised a deep influence upon the whole current of mystical speculations from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Mr. Bloch gives also a brief sketch of the Kabbala, and pleads for a better appreciation of this yearning after the union with God, which found expression in it. He also includes in his introduction a short biography of Vital. At the end is appended an interesting bibliography.

M. GASTER.

ST. JOHN DAMASCENE : BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. With an English translation by the Rev. G. R. WOODWARD, M.A., and H. MATTINGLY, M.A. The Loeb Classical Library. Sm. 8°, pp. xx, 640. London : William Heinemann.

The war has evidently made havoc also with the books which appeared during that period, and therefore I believe that sufficient attention has not yet been paid to a book which, in its various translations and abstracts, has had a great influence upon the literature of the Middle Ages, and which in its essence is of Oriental origin. I am referring to the famous romance, as we may call it, of Barlaam and Ioasaph, which, as Liebrecht—whose name, by the way, is not even mentioned here—has shown for the first time, was a Christianized form of the legend of Buddha. This legend has been made use of for theological purposes, and in order to inculcate the lessons a number of beautiful tales and parables has been introduced. These have made the fortune of the book. It has been ascribed to St. John of Damascus, who lived in the ninth century, and a thousand years had to elapse before Boissonard printed it in 1832. We have now included in the Loeb Classical Library not only a new and revised edition of the Greek text, but also for the first time an English translation, faithfully carried out. It is a boon to the student of that literature, and assists also investigation into the origin and date of the Greek composition. As mentioned before, the book is ascribed to St. John of Damascus, but a number of scholars have disputed this tradition. The authors of the present edition, however, are inclined to accept the traditional authorship. And yet their arguments do not seem quite satisfactory. Dr. Armitage Robinson and Professor Rendel Harris have succeeded in discovering that the author of the Greek text has embodied in his compilation the *Apology of Aristides*, without even mentioning his name. It is not likely that St. John of Damascus would have been guilty of such an act of plagiarism. It is much more likely that an obscure monk called John, who was a worshipper of the Icons, and therefore denounced vehemently the

Iconoclasts, should have collected his material from many sources, and, according to the custom of the time, should have compiled the book in the usual manner, not mentioning any of the sources from which he had taken his material. Besides St. John, there was a large number of opponents of the Iconoclastic movement, and this would be no proof of the book being ascribed to St. John of Damascus. It is compiled of both old and new matter. But the authors of this edition have evidently been swayed by a peculiar religious bias in accepting the tradition. But this does not in the slightest degree affect the value of the publication and the excellence of the translation. The book, moreover, is published with the usual care and typographical excellence characteristic of the Loeb Classical Library. One is gratified to find the present book among this set of publications.

M. GASTER.

PAPYRI GRAECAE MAGICAE DIE GRIECHISCHEN ZAUBER-PAPYRI. Herausgegeben und Übersetzt von KARL PREISENDANZ. 8vo, pp. xii + 200. Leipzig, Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1928. M. 18.

The dogmatic statement that East is East and West is West, and can never be reconciled, is distinctly contradicted by the literature of magic and superstition. No doubt it is very difficult for two higher civilizations to be blended harmoniously. But the masses of the people who live outside the sphere of that higher civilization recognize no difference of origin, of race or creed. Nowhere does this unconscious syncretism show itself more clearly than in the magical conjurations and charms in all forms of wizardry, old or new. The higher culture drives it underground, but it lives on in spite of all persecution, and the charms and conjurations of to-day in form and substance can be traced back to the ancient Babylonian incantations and to the Jewish-Egyptian

charms and magical operations. The soil of Egypt has happily furnished a number of papyri which formed the library of old-world magicians and conjurers. Some are as old as the second century C.E., but only as far as the writing is concerned. In all probability they are copies of much older formulae, and carry us back to some earlier century. These magical papyri have been scattered among the great libraries of Europe, notably Paris, London, Leyden, Berlin, and Oslo. They have been deciphered and published also in the same scattered form as they are now found. Many of these publications have become inaccessible, or were too costly for the student to acquire. The works of Kenyon, Wessely, Parthey, Leemans, and last not least Eitrem, appeared in London, Vienna, Leyden, Oslo, etc. Not a few fragments are still awaiting publication. It is impossible to exaggerate the value of these documents for the history of religion and for the deep influence which the Orient has exercised upon the mind and soul of the large masses of the populations of East and West. Dieterich was the first to draw attention to the special character of these papyri, and others, especially Wünsch and Deissmann, have followed in his footsteps. A vast field has been opened to the student of Oriental philology and psychology no less than to the man who is anxious to investigate the history of religion and popular beliefs. At first sight, these magical formulae, bordering on the absurd, frightened away the serious scholar. But much has become clearer, and the absurdity is more on the surface. A great many words occur there, or series of letters and vowels which are unpronounceable. These were declared to be "barbarous" words, and meaningless letters intended, as it is said, to terrify the demon. I believe, however, that I have found the key to these mysterious words and series of letters as well as to the single letters which appear on the *tabulae defixionum*. On these lead tablets single words occur which in themselves can be translated. But it is useless to attempt to combine them

in a sentence, for there is no sense in it. In my study of the Samaritan phylacteries, published first in the *Proceedings* of the Society of Biblical Archaeology, 1915-17, and now reprinted in my forthcoming *Studies and Texts* (pp. 387-482), I believe I have found the solution. Originally these formulae were much more extended. Whole verses and even sections of the Bible were introduced into the formula. Even entire chapters, as I have shown in the *JRAS.*, 1901, and now in *Studies and Texts*, pp. 356-64, were introduced into this magical conjuration. The Logos Ebraicos, a characteristic feature of the Paris papyrus, consists as I have shown, of a complete section of the old Book of Enoch. Chapters and verses from the LXX appeared, e.g. in the papyrus published by Eitrem. This process is repeated in other papyri, and so it is found in the Samaritan extended phylactery. After a time, instead of a whole passage, only the characteristic verse is quoted, presuming that he who uses it would know the whole form. The next step was to reduce the sentence to a keyword, and in the Samaritan phylacteries and other Samaritan writings, the sentence is often referred to by this keyword. But this is not the end of the process of reduction. Instead of a whole word, only the initial letter is used. And thus we find all these stages of reduction in the various Samaritan phylacteries, depending on the size. This evidently has been the process followed also by the writers of the magical papyri. In some of them we find whole passages, in others they are reduced to single verses, again in others and in the lead tablets only the keyword is given, and finally they are reduced to strings of letters, the initials, no doubt, of such keywords and sentences. It must now be left to the ingenuity of scholars to discover the texts from which these sentences, words, letters, etc. have been introduced into these magical papyri. These may be Homer or Virgil, but this question must be left to others to follow up. The difficulty of investigation was the fact mentioned before, that these papyri appeared in many publications not easy to obtain. Thanks now to the

public spirited action of the firm of B. G. Teubner in Leipzig, Professor Preisendanz has been encouraged to undertake the publication of all the papyri extant in two handy volumes, of which the first has now appeared. Professor Preisendanz is being assisted by a number of well-known scholars in an undertaking for which all concerned have a right to claim full appreciation and thanks. All the old editions have been carefully collated again with the originals. Many wrong readings have now been corrected, and many lacunae filled up. The type was kept standing since 1913, and thus many emendations could be introduced. It is, moreover, a new and very pleasing cut. Above all, these papyri, of which only a few had hitherto been translated, have now been translated into a very lucid German, the translation facing the text. Critical and literary notes are given at the foot of each page. A publication of this kind appeals to a comparatively small circle. It is to be hoped therefore that enough scholars and libraries will be interested to support the publishers in their desire of accelerating the completion of the work. They as well as the scholars engaged in the work are sure to earn the gratitude of all students of magical literature. The book, moreover, is beautifully printed in the usual style of the Teubner firm. There are added also a few plates with illustrations taken from the magical papyri.

M. GASTER.

CONTES, LÉGENDES ET ÉPOQUES POPULAIRES D'ARMÉNIE.

I Contes traduits ou adaptés de l'arménien par FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. 8 × 6, pp. 161. Paris : P. Geuthner, 1928.

This book, No. XIII of the series "Les joyaux de l'Orient", is well printed, and is decorated with titles, head and tail pieces and initials by René Riolet after Armenian originals. References to the printed sources are given for each story. Five items are from Zeitun and Cilicia, seven from the Chorokh Valley, and eleven from various districts and dialects.

The name of the translator is sufficient guarantee for the fidelity of the versions, though it seems a pity ever to "adapt" a folk-tale, and they should be of value to students of the language and to folk-lorists. Those who are acquainted with the popular stories of that part of the world may not find here anything that is strikingly novel, but they will be glad to have variants of themes used in other languages. The second half of the volume is more interesting than the first. Among the more curious may be mentioned the tale of the beardless man (pp. 69-80) including marriages of three sisters to demons disguised as animals, who help their brother-in-law, mounted on a flying horse, to find the palace of the Beardless One and capture and marry a beauty, escaping with the help of a stone, a comb, and a bottle of water. Another story (pp. 110-14), tells of the "luck" (home-spirit or Russian *domovoi*) of a house; this "luck" has a tiny head, gilded hands, and no eyes, it flees when a wicked daughter-in-law steals food and other things for her own folk. There are two stories of giants of the Cyclops type (pp. 58-61 and 115-18), of which the latter, named Ezekel, is used to frighten Nicomedian children. The state of affairs in the ark before it grounded on Ararat, and just afterwards, is described in the story of the Serpent, the Wasp, and the Swallow (pp. 119-24). The terminal formula about three apples that fell from heaven is used on pp. 141 and 158.

O. W.

KEVORK ASLAN: ETUDES HISTORIQUES SUR LE PEUPLE ARMÉNIEN. Nouvelle édition illustrée par les soins de FRÉDÉRIC MACLER. Avec 16 pl. hors texte. 9 $\frac{3}{4}$ x 7 $\frac{3}{4}$, pp. 339. Paris: P. Geuthner, 1928.

The preface is dated 1908, and the fact that M. Macler has contributed to this new edition sixteen good full-page plates (chiefly palæographic and architectural) shows its value; it is, however, a pity that the list of illustrations

(p. 335) is entirely wrong—only one of the sixteen will be found on the page indicated; the original intention may have been to collect all the plates at the end, and this would probably have been handier and cheaper. M. Arslan might verify the spelling of the name of the professor mentioned in the note to p. 212.

The book is written without any of that patriotic flamboyance sometimes seen in histories of all nations, especially those which have suffered much; in fact the author seems to take too modest a view of what his race has been and done. There are six chapters: I, The beginnings of the Armenian people; II, The Armenian Kings to the Accession of the Arsacids (190 B.C. to A.D. 193); III, The Arsacids of Armenia (A.D. 193–297); IV, The Christian Arsacids (A.D. 297–428); V, Armenia under Byzantine, Sassanid and Arab rule; VI, The Bagratids and Arzrounis (A.D. 840–1050), ending with the Dispersal.

Such a compilation would have been the better for an index, a map and some sort of concise bibliography. It is a useful summary of what is known, but the rapid advance of knowledge, due to archæological exploration, will soon render its revision desirable, particularly in the early chapters where the facts are very doubtfully known.

The author insists on the ill-will of Byzantium, due to the unorthodox form of Christianity adopted by the Armenians; their neighbours the Georgians, however, have not in the course of their history gained very much politically by remaining strictly orthodox and fidelity to the Eastern Church facilitated that Russian dominance, beginning with the nineteenth century, which only ended when the Powers recognized the *de facto* and *de jure* independence of Georgia. The "orientation" of Armenia and Georgia through the ages has been westward and research tends to justify this instinctive feeling of a Western origin and sympathy.

O. W.

PAINTING IN ISLAM : A STUDY OF THE PLACE OF PICTORIAL ART IN MUSLIM CULTURE. By T. W. ARNOLD. 64 plates. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Oxford, 1928.

The study of Muslim painting is still in its infancy, but it is approaching adolescence. Persian, Indian, and Turkish paintings are more valued by European collectors to-day than ever before, to judge by sale-room prices. They are even becoming popular, and the recent publication by the *Studio* of the reproductions from the great sixteenth century Nizami in the British Museum is still selling almost as well as a detective novel. At least two ambitious books on the subject are promised in the fairly near future. A genuine admiration, in short, is felt for this art, or at any rate, for two special forms of it. Enjoyment of the gorgeous decorative splendour of the Persian romantic artists of the Timurid and Safavid periods is not diminished—perhaps rather the contrary—for modern taste, by the fact that they often deliberately avoided naturalism in colouring and expression; while at the same time the delicate portrait and illustrative art, in quite a different manner, of the early Mughal period in India has only to be known to appeal to us to-day as it did to Rembrandt and Reynolds.

For this growing appreciation we are indebted, as far as this country is concerned, to a small and devoted band of interpreters, among whom Sir Thomas Arnold must take a leading place. He is a scholar as well as an enthusiast, and is thus able, in a difficult field of study, to avoid many of the traps which often catch the unlearned. In at least two of the leading works on Muslim painting which have appeared in recent years the authors have made mistakes of attribution from some of which the ability to read Persian would have saved them. Several of these have been pointed out by Sir Thomas Arnold himself—we remember his article in the *Burlington Magazine*, for instance, on Rizā 'Abbasi—though many others await rectification. We can certainly admire these paintings for their universal qualities, but for

their fuller understanding, fuller knowledge, based on scholarship and research, is necessary. Sir Thomas Arnold is aware of this, and all his writings on the subject bear witness to this consciousness.

Painting in Islam is the fruit of many years' research among the public and private collections of Europe, as well as of wide reading in many languages. The result is a tribute to the author's industry and insight alike. The object of the book is "to indicate the place of painting in the culture of the Islamic world, and this general subject is attacked in a series of essays, treating, in order, of The Attitude of the Theologians of Islam towards Painting, Difficulties in the way of the Study of Muslim Painting, the Origins of Painting in the Muslim World, the Painters and their manner of working, the Subject-matter of Islamic Painting, Religious Art, Burâq (the Prophet's winged steed), Portraiture, and the Expression of Emotion. There is also a chapter of biography, which shows how lamentably meagre is the surviving material on the painter's lives.

Never before has the general background against which Muslim painting developed been traced in such detail, and the book gives a most vivid impression of the difficulties with which the art had to contend in the Muhammadan world, and of the strength of the artistic impulse which surmounted them. The theological prohibition of painting and sculpture, as a usurpation of the Creator's functions, arose originally from the Semitic aversion to idolatry: it was enforced with growing severity by Shi'ahs and Sunnis alike after the time of the Prophet and his immediate successors, and the result is that Muhammadan painting is really not Muhammadan at all, or hardly at all. That is to say, it was, from the first, almost exclusively secular, and such religious art as there was "came into existence in spite of the condemnation of the teachers of the faith, and represents rather a spirit of artistic self-expression that refused to be repressed than a normal outcome of the religious life of Islam". It is rather

extraordinary, in the circumstances, that the painters should have dared, as they occasionally did, to depict the holy persons of the faith, and even the Prophet himself, though religious art naturally suffered for its audacity, and it shows no continuity of development. Nevertheless, the chapter which Sir Thomas Arnold gives to religious art is one of his best.

Another extremely interesting chapter is that on the Origins of Painting in the Muslim World. The Arabs, as would have been expected, contributed little to the tradition, which owed its inspiration to artists of subject races, Christian, Sasanian, and Manichean, while, later, Chinese and Mongolian influences impressed themselves strongly and enduringly. There can be no doubt, however, that it was the native artistic genius of Persia, inheriting, with a remarkable continuity in difference, from Sasanian beginnings, that determined the character of the art at its zenith. Limited in scope, just as Persian poetry is limited—though the limits were different, mysticism, for instance, is hardly hinted at in painting—it nevertheless has unique and charming qualities, and it cannot be neglected by any, even if the romantic spirit makes no appeal to them, who would understand the genius of a pre-eminently artistic race. The character of the art underwent a change when it was grafted on to that of India; it lost in colour and composition, but gained in humanity, returning to earth from a world of dreams. The present work is not much concerned, however, with Indian painting.

The book is beautifully produced, paper and type are of the finest, and the sixty-five carefully selected illustrations (eight of them in colour) reflect the highest credit on all concerned. There is not space here to go into much detail, but among the most interesting, if not the most beautiful, may be mentioned the series of examples of similar types in Christian and Muslim MSS. (Plates VIII and IX) and the religious paintings generally. The rare Nativity of Jesus (XXV), illustrating the Kuranic version of the story, provokes

speculation as to the precise connection (for a connection of some sort there must surely be) between this story, that of the birth of Apollo, as told in the Homeric hymn, and that of the birth of Buddha.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

THE POEMS OF NIZAMI. Described by LAURENCE BINYON.
15" x 10". The Studio, Limited, London. 1928. 30s.

It would be difficult to praise this book too highly. The series of sixteen beautiful plates, reproduced in facsimile from a Persian manuscript of the *Khamsa* of the great Nizāmī, justly described by Dr. F. R. Martin as "the finest sixteenth century Persian manuscript in existence", is a delight to the eye; and Mr. Laurence Binyon's comments on these pictures and on Persian pictorial art in general, are, as might have been expected, an aid to the understanding.

The student of Persian painting is, as Mr. Binyon explains, at a serious disadvantage owing to the inaccessibility of examples of the art, most of which are hidden away in valuable manuscripts, far beyond the resources of the ordinary student, and for the most part to be found only in museums and great libraries, where, for obvious reasons, they cannot be subjected to promiscuous handling. The publication of such works as this will go very far towards removing his disability.

Chinese influence is conspicuous in the best Persian paintings, among which those reproduced here must be numbered. China is regarded, in Persia, as the motherland of the pictorial art, whence Persian painters are proud to draw their inspiration. It would be presumptuous in the present writer to add anything to Mr. Binyon's masterly appreciation of Persian painting, or to his account of the leading masters, but he warmly commends both to all students, who, by studying them in conjunction with the examples selected by Mr. Binyon, will be enabled to acquire a very good grounding in his subject.

Perhaps the most pleasing of these pictures are those in which landscapes are accessory to the figures. In these the convention of the high horizon will be noticed. Plate VII, illustrating Shirin bathing, surprised by Khusrav, is singularly attractive, owing to its wonderfully delicate representations of foliage. Of the individual figures none can compare with that of the victor in the Physicians' Duel. The fiendish glee apparent in his face is a fine study in expression.

Mr. Binyon describes the preparations of the paper for the brush by polishing it with an egg-shaped crystal, but it was not for the brush alone that this preparation was necessary. The Persian calligrapher requires a smooth and polished surface for the exhibition of his art, and calligraphy, in the estimation of Persians, occupies among the arts a position little, if at all, inferior to that of painting.

It was desirable that the student of art should know something of the literary work on which all this art has been lavished. A pedant might easily have been betrayed into prolixity on the subject of the Five Poems, but Mr. Binyon has avoided this snare. He has given so much of their purport as will enable the reader to understand the artists' themes, and he has said neither too much nor too little. The book is excellent in all respects.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN NAVIGATION. By HĀDĪ ḤASAN, B.Sc., B.A. (Cantab.). 10 $\frac{1}{4}$ \times 8. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1928.

In this admirably produced and beautifully illustrated book the author seems to have set himself the difficult task of proving that the Persians are a maritime nation. At the end of the book he is constrained to admit that it is only the coastal Persian who takes kindly to the sea, and that the inhabitant of the great inland plateau is a landsman pure and simple. This is, of course, what we should expect, but the

admission gives the whole case away, for Persia's coastline—the northern shores of the Gulf and part of the Sea of 'Omān, and the southern shores of the Caspian—is so scanty that her coastal inhabitants bear an infinitesimal proportion to the whole population of the country. The book displays great industry and research, which, indeed, are necessary to him who would prove the Persian to be a seaman. It also contains some irrelevant matter. The legendary accounts of naval operations, for instance, are so confused and contradictory that it is only by referring them to a former geological age that it is possible to explain them. The Persian's claim to seamanship must, however, be examined by the light of history, not by that of geology. The author cites the power and influence of the Achaemenians and the explorations of Darius as evidence of Persian seamanship, but the explorations of Darius were carried out by the Greek Seylax, and naval operations in the Mediterranean by non-Persian subjects of the Great King. Among the 1207 triremes in the fleet of Xerxes there was not a single Persian ship. Had Mr. Hādī Ḥasan been better acquainted with naval history he would have found little to support his theory in the fact that the four admirals were Persians, and that foreigners held no post higher than vice-admiral; for in that age, and for many centuries later, admirals and captains were more often soldiers with no knowledge of the sea than sailors. It was their business to direct or lead the fighting men, it was that of the vice-admiral or the master to direct the navigation of the ships. The manning of the ships also indicates the Persian's dislike of the sea. Each had a native crew of 200 men, and carried thirty Persian marines. That is to say, the native crews propelled and steered the ships, the Persians were merely fighting men. The bridge over the Hellespont and the Athos canal were proofs of engineering rather than of naval genius. They were not naval operations, but the devices of landmen to avoid the perils of the sea.

Coming to the history of navigation in Sasanian times

Mr. Hādī Hasan too readily assumes that the ships in the expedition against the Himyarites were worked by Persian crews. From the allotment of no more than a hundred Persians to each ship it would appear more probable that the vessels were troopships manned by Arab sailors. Again, there is no evidence that the "Shīrāzī" emigrants to the East Coast of Africa were sailors. It is equally likely that they were adventurers or colonists carried in Arab ships. The statement that "the Sasanian navigator was essentially a merchant" begs the question. Persian merchants have not been backward in braving the perils of the sea in pursuit of their calling, but it is not clear that they were in the habit of navigating the ships in which they and their goods were carried. Again, it does not follow that because Bahrain was subject to Persia and 'Omān "was not destitute of a Persian population", "the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea were exclusively Persian." The names of the Sasanian king's *marzubāns* prove that they were not Persian in population, wherever their political allegiance lay.

There does not seem to be sufficient evidence to prove that the Persians were the pioneers of maritime communication with China. Even if it be granted that Persians appeared in China before the Arabs, we have no proof, as the author is constrained to admit, of the priority of Persian travel *by sea*. There was an overland route to Mongolia and China, as Persians of a later generation were to learn to their cost.

References to river navigation and to expeditions to Hurmuz, only seven miles distant from the mainland, are beside the point, except as an indication that the author is at a loss for evidence to support his theory. It may, however, be remarked that the Safavids were unable to expel the Portuguese from Hurmuz without the help of an English fleet.

The population of the Gulf is, as all who have visited its shores know, mixed. It has probably always been mixed, and the element in it which loves the sea has probably always been as it is now, the non-Persian element.

It is not clear why the historians mentioned by the author in his preface should have been biassed. It will need much stronger evidence than he has been able to collect to convict them of bias.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

THE MODERN CIVIL LAW OF CHINA. Part I. By V. A. RIASANOVSKY, Professor of the Harbin Faculty of Law. Harbin : Printed by "Zaria". 1 Skvosuaya. 1927.

At the present time law in China, both criminal and civil, is a subject of immediate importance in view of the question of extra-territoriality, on the abolition of which China naturally lays great stress. Any work, therefore, which helps to throw light on the present position of law in China cannot fail to be of great interest to all foreigners who have hitherto enjoyed the privilege of extra-territoriality. With regard to criminal law, as the author points out, the old code of the Ch'ing Dynasty, the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, which was translated into English by Staunton in 1810 and into French by Father Boulais in 1923-4, was repealed, so far as its provisions dealing with crime are concerned, by the temporary criminal code of 1912. But, as has been laid down by the Supreme Court of China, "though the laws of the Ch'ing dynasty are "called 'The Penal Code', they contain besides properly "criminal provisions, a considerable number of provisions "relating to civil and commercial matters," and those provisions have not been repealed but are still regarded as in existence, and form part of the material which has to be considered in a study of the modern civil law of China. In addition to the provisions of the so-called "Penal Code" dealing with civil matters, the author has availed himself of the following materials, which, he says, "make it possible to give a "systematic outline of the Chinese civil laws at present "in force":—

(1) Special laws and regulations issued during the last ten years, e.g. "Mining Enterprises Regulations, 1914", "The Law of Copyright, 1915", "The Trade Mark Law and Regulations, 1923".

(2) Draft civil code which has been published, but which still awaits a complete translation.

(3) Summary of the decisions of the Supreme Court, 1912-18: Supplement, 1919-23. The summary has been translated into French by Professor Jean Escarra under the title *Receuil des sommaires de la Jurisprudence de la Cour Suprême de la republique de Chine en matière Civile et Commerciale*, 1912-18. 2 t. 1924-5) and partly into English by Mr. F. T. Cheng, under the title *The Chinese Supreme Court Decisions*, 1923.

The Supplement has been translated into Russian by Messrs. Gomboyeff and Ouspenski, but has not been published.

In addition to the above materials, the author has also studied the works in European languages on Chinese civil law, which he states "are rather few and do not give a proper "notion of the state of that law". He mentions the names of Père Hoang, Franke, Jamieson, Bryan and Mollendorf, but those who, like the writer, have studied the works of those named by him as well as the well-known work of Parker, whom he does not even mention, will certainly not agree with his disparaging criticism of their labours. Notwithstanding his poor opinion of them, he does not hesitate to make use of Jamieson's translations from the *Ta Ch'ing Lü Li*, which appear in his excellent work on Chinese Family and Commercial Law!

Professor Riasanovsky has made good use of the materials he has used, and has produced a work which cannot fail to be of assistance to those who are interested in law in China. The two sections dealing with Family Law and the Law of Succession are especially interesting.

The English text, which is a translation from the Russian edition of 1926, and seems to be a good one, has not a few

misprints and mis-spellings which should be corrected in a future edition.

It would greatly enhance the value of the work if the Chinese text were given as well as the translation from it into English.

J. H. S. L.

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION. Catalogue of the Chinese and Corean Bronzes, Sculpture, Jades, Jewellery, and Miscellaneous Objects. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. I: Bronzes, Ritual and other Vessels, Weapons, etc. Ernest Benn, Ltd., Bouverie House, London, 1929.

With this volume, under the expert guidance of Mr. Yetts, is presented the first instalment of the treasures of the Eumorfopoulos Collection not included in the Ceramics, Frescoes, and Paintings.

No doubt the æsthetic challenge, the appeal to the eye, of the objects pictured and described in the Plates and Catalogue of Vol. I, will be less to the majority of connoisseurs than was that of the series of Ceramics with their engaging charm of colouring and of form. But to a minority of collectors and students there lies within the sections of this catalogue material splendidly illustrated, and introduced and explained by a cautious but masterly hand, which is bound to prove invaluable to them, and fruitful.

The scheme of the present volume is as follows. After a Foreword by Mr. George Eumorfopoulos describing how, when, and under what circumstances this part of his collection came to be made, and a short Preface by the Editor, we have in succession one page of Chinese dynastic periods; next a long essay of some 32 pages on Inscriptions on Bronzes (but it is really much more than that); then a short study of the technique of bronze casting, 6 pages; this is followed by 12 pages devoted to the Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. After this we have the actual Catalogue itself,

filling 17 pages. This is succeeded by a peculiarly valuable Bibliography of Works, Chinese, Japanese, and Western, dealing with the subjects discussed. It will prove of the greatest value to the smallest number—if I may put it so—and fills 14 pages. The reader can cast one shuddering glance at a finely printed list in Chinese characters of Chinese and Japanese Works, and then comes an Index to the Text. The rest of the volume is occupied by the 75 superb plates.

The Catalogue is very cautious in attributing dates, and no piece in the collection is assigned to an earlier time than the Chou dynasty.

These plates, many of them rendering in beautiful tints the present aspect of the massive bulk of the originals, suggest something (so it seems to me) that eludes us. Why, for instance, do they from time to time recall or anticipate the strange ideals of Scythian or Siberian culture? Again, the very skilful decorative treatment of bronze surfaces, has it been really understood and explained by the Chinese exponents of the Han and later times, or have they read into it a didactic symbolism of their own, but perhaps alien to the primitive art of which these vessels seem a matured and final expression?

And that leads on to another topic, I mean the nature of the writing that many of them display. This has been most searchingly examined by Mr. Yetts in his introductory essay on Inscriptions on Bronzes, which could quite justly have been headed *On Archaic Chinese Writing*. The writer seems to have spared no pains in mastering the existing relevant literature, including the most recent Chinese and Japanese. To it he has applied a fresh mind and a sound judgment, and what I would particularly point out, since it will not be so obvious to all, is the rare merit of his numerous illustrations in the text derived from the collection and elsewhere. These illustrative copies of inscriptions are of admirable fidelity, and could only have been executed by one who is both an artist and a specialist in this branch of inquiry.

Figures 32 and 33—very dissimilar in mannerism—are two I should appeal to to justify what has been said above. These reproductions of an ancient script are not, like the modern Chinese texts at their sides, matters of course as it were, but are truly works of art.

Possibly the author in his enthusiasm for his subject has gone here and there into too great detail. Even a student hardly needs to be dragged into the dusty recesses of the *chuan chu* controversy, to which most of p. 7 is devoted.

Another group of doubts and difficulties is presented by the different terms used in Chinese literature for the various vessels of capacity and otherwise required in the service of ancestral worship. These points are fully gone into in the section on Classes and Uses of Ancient Vessels. Discussing one of these types, hitherto known as *tui*, or container of cereals, Mr. Yetts puts forward the arguments of a living Chinese author who maintains that this term is a misnomer and that the real name should be *chiu* (or *kiu*), and accepts them.

In terminating this notice on the initial volume of this part of the collection, I cannot refrain from making an earnest appeal, to whatever quarter it should be directed, regarding that part of the Introduction headed Inscription on Bronzes. For students of Chinese Mr. Yetts essay will be not merely valuable, but indispensable. But, as things are now, it will be to all intents and purposes inaccessible. Few scholars and still fewer students can buy books costing £12 12s. a volume. And a sepulchre may be beneath a splendid mausoleum, but it remains a tomb notwithstanding.

The only erratum I have noted is that the Bronzes A. 134 to 139 are all on Plate LXVII, not LXVI, as printed in the Catalogue.

L. C. HOPKINS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(January-March, 1929)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

15th January

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Moulvi Farzand Ali.	Mr. Seth G. Modi.
Mirza Ghulam Jilani Baig.	Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur.
Mr. Hazari Lall Gupta.	Mr. M. L. Motial.
The Rev. H. Heras, S.J.	The Rev. J. P. Naish.
Mr. Mohammad Ishaque.	Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.
Mr. Mohammad Unwar-ul-Hakk.	Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji, Raja of Kalsia.
Mr. Abdul Mahit.	

Eighteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchen read a paper on "The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan", of which an abstract is appended.

ABSTRACT OF LECTURE

The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan

The Bega races of the Eastern Sudan inhabit an area bounded roughly by the tropic on the north, latitude 15° on the south, the Red Sea in the east, and the Nile and Atbara in the west. Their chief representatives are the Bisharin, Hadendoa, and Beni Amir. They are distinguished by their long hair, bushy above the temples and tied into plaits and ringlets below; they lead a nomadic life and are very warlike and independent. Anthropological evidence shows fairly clearly that they are aboriginals. During the insurrection of the Sudanese tribes under the Mahdi they came into conflict with Egyptian and British troops on the Red Sea Coast and excited great admiration for their aggressiveness and fearlessness. Kipling has immortalized them as the "Fuzzy-wuzzy".

The *Bisharin* inhabit the vast desert plain between the

Nile and the Red Sea ; they are the biggest Bega tribe and are chiefly known for their magnificent camels, which are the best riding-camels in Africa. They trade to a certain extent with Upper Egypt. The *Ababda* live on the Nile itself and are more or less settled. They have always maintained an understanding with the Government and have thus kept a superiority over the more numerous Bisharin. They are good policemen and soldiers, and although they have a dubious reputation keep good faith if duly paid. They were invaluable during the re-conquest. The *Hadendoa* and *Umar-ar* live in the Red Sea Hills and the former come as far south as Kassala. They have the same characteristics as the Bisharin, but are more of mountaineers and stay more in one place. On the East Baraka they have built villages and become cultivators. The *Beni Amir* live mostly in the Italian colony of Eritrea ; about half of them speak Tigre, a dialect akin to Amharic, but are nevertheless of pure Bega stock. Other smaller groups are the *Arteiga*, *Ashraf*, *Samarindoab* and *Bedawib*.

The language, *Ti-bḏawyi*, bears no perceptible relation to any other tongue spoken in Africa. Its agglutinative syntax makes it difficult to acquire ; relatives, conjunctions, and prepositions are expressed by throwing the subordinate sentence into an adjectival form. The verbs are conjugated in a manner reminiscent of Semitic languages, but there the resemblance stops.

The nomad Bega are likely to retain their manner of life indefinitely, but those who have settled may find themselves pushed aside by more industrious people. It happens that much of their land is capable of growing valuable cotton, and is also on the main route of the Hausa pilgrims from Nigeria to Mecca ; Hausa settle freely in fertile parts of the Sudan and are industrious and expert cotton cultivators. The exception to the general mediocrity of the Bega as settled citizens is provided by the *Halenga*, who live in the neighbourhood of Kassala and are well reported on by their Governor.

12th February

PUBLIC SCHOOL GOLD MEDAL PRESENTATION

At a meeting of the Society on 12th February, the President, the Lord Ronaldshay, presented the Public School Gold Medal to Mr. A. J. Hobson, of the Nottingham High School. He said: I am afraid we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the interest which is at present being taken in our Indian Empire amongst our public schools, judging from the amount of competition the Gold Medal attracts. For some years past the number of essays which have been sent in for competition has been unpleasantly small. Last year no essays were received, and this year only four have been sent in. I sometimes feel inclined to exclaim in the words of the late Lord Curzon: "Oh, how many people in this country know of or care about British dominion in India; and yet it is the miracle of the age!" If we cannot congratulate ourselves upon the amount of interest which is taken in the Indian Empire, we can at least congratulate Nottingham High School upon providing us with a scholar who has written an admirable essay. The period chosen was that of Lord Cornwallis. I think the essayist has been eminently successful in picking out those characteristics of Lord Cornwallis which enabled him to carry through his great and onerous duties with such success. Mr. Hobson has said much upon the internal reforms which were brought about under Lord Cornwallis' administration, and he has very properly laid special stress upon the changes which Lord Cornwallis introduced in the conditions of public service in India; notably upon his arrangements for civil servants receiving adequate remuneration in lieu of their taking part in trade, a practice which had led, as we all know, to great abuses. The essayist has also very naturally made considerable reference to the Permanent Settlement in Bengal, which, if it was not Lord Cornwallis' idea, at any rate received his sanction. There are many opinions as to the wisdom of the Permanent Settlement. I notice that the essayist skates

rather delicately over that particular piece of ice. He leaves it at this : that the Permanent Settlement at any rate maintained Bengal as the wealthiest province of the Indian Empire. I am not sure that I can agree with him altogether in that view. I think the wealth of Bengal, such as it is, has been due very largely to the great investment of British capital and enterprise in that country and in particular in the two great industries of jute and tea. It is a rather interesting fact that it was only one or two years after Lord Cornwallis left India that Dr. Roxburgh first brought to the attention of the authorities at home the possibilities of Indian jute as a commercial product. We all know what an immense industry has grown out of such small beginnings. Before the war the exports of manufactured jute from Bengal were valued at something like £19,000,000, and in one of the years of the war they reached the high figure of £27,000,000. The tea industry is responsible for exports to different parts of the world valued at something like £10,000,000 a year. It is enterprises such as these which are responsible, I think, for the wealth of the Presidency of Bengal. Recently when I was Governor I found the Permanent Settlement a considerable hindrance to urgently needed developments. When the Meston Committee formulated a scheme for the readjustment of financial relations between the provinces and the Central Government, it left the provinces, as their chief source of revenue, the land tax. That may have been a very excellent proposal from the point of view of those provinces which are not burdened with a Permanent Settlement, but in Bengal we were not so fortunate. Land revenue has not been growing as elsewhere from the great successive rises in the value of land under settled government which has been going on for one and a quarter centuries, and consequently the Government are unable to secure any of those increases which are of such service to other provinces.

Sir William Foster, one of the examiners for the Fund, said that he supposed he had been asked to speak rather

than his colleagues of the judging committee, because he was familiar with the circumstances in which the Gold Medal was founded nearly a quarter of a century ago. The President had voiced their general regret that it had not been a greater success in producing a larger number of competing essays ; while one of the chief features of the original scheme had not been carried out at all. The late Sir Arthur Wollaston, to whom the credit of founding the scheme and collecting the money for the establishment of the Fund was due, was anxious to correct the general ignorance of the British schoolboy as regards Indian history and geography by arranging that the chief public schools should provide a course of lectures on those subjects. It was anticipated that the boys would send in essays and that the best of these would be selected for submission to the Medal committee. The head masters, however, while in cordial sympathy with the objects in view, said that time could not possibly be given in the crowded curriculum for the separate and special study of Indian history : they must be content for it to come into general courses, such as modern English history, in which it was impossible to omit outstanding events in connection with the British Empire in the East. They said that all they could do was to introduce Indian subjects into the school debates, place suitable books in their libraries, and encourage the boys to write essays thereon. So the Public School Medal, instead of being the apex of a series of competitions, had to be merely a prize for the best essay sent in from the public schools. While they regretted this, they had to recognize that they had received very much support from the head masters of some of the most important public schools in the country. It was true that no essay was submitted in 1927, but he thought that that was due to an unfortunate choice of subject. Altogether twenty-three competitions had been held, and in these Eton had taken the Medal five times. It was particularly appropriate to recall that fact that afternoon, since Lord Cornwallis himself was a pupil at Eton, and there got a knock on one eye that made him

squint for the rest of his life. The two Wellesleys were at Eton, and also Lord Irwin, the present Viceroy. Merchant Taylors School had tied with Eton with five successes. Denstone had won the medal three times, and Westminster twice. Harrow was rather behind in the competition, but perhaps, having given Lord Ronaldshay to India, they thought they had done their part. Nottingham High School with this year's success had had the medal twice. Rugby, Dulwich, Marlborough, Shrewsbury, and Bishop's Stortford were each represented on the list. This year there were four essays sent in from Eton, Marlborough, Exeter High School, and the winning school. The level of ability was high, and in one of the essays—not the winning one—there were some brilliant passages with which the examiners were duly impressed until they discovered that they had been taken straight from a textbook.

Lord Ronaldshay then presented the medal to Mr. Hobson.

The General Meeting followed :—

Lord Ronaldshay, President, in the Chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Sheikh Md. Abdullah.	Miss Lachhi Bai Jagoomal
Khan Sahib C. Nahi Ahmad.	Narsian.
Dr. Purna Gopal Basu.	Miss Sita Bai Jagoomal
Pandit R. M. Bhagade.	Narsian.
Mr. Charan Jiva.	Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
Maulvi Feroz-ud-din.	Mr. Jwala Prasad.
Mr. Radha Krishna Goel.	Mr. T. S. D. Pillai.
Mr. Popatlal D. Kora.	Mr. S. Y. Reza Rizwi.
Mr. Edward Khin Maung.	Mr. Thakur Rudrasimha
Mr. Wali Md. Naiyar.	Tomara.
	Professor Hutton Webster.

Eleven nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Dr. Barnett read a paper entitled "The Genius : A study in Indo-European Psychology."

Dr. Gaster joined in the discussion that ensued. The following is an abstract of the paper :—

The *Genii* of the Romans and the corresponding tutelary spirits worshipped by the Greeks, forming a proletariat of the gods, are survivals from the old IE. conception of the wars of the gods as powers of light against the powers of darkness. The original picture is most fully preserved in the Avesta, where the *Fravašis* appear as tutelary spirits of every being and class of being in the Order of Light, warring in hosts as the rank-and-file of the gods against the forces of darkness and evil, and enabling the creation of Ahura to proceed on its beneficent course. Their activities in bringing fertilizing rain and river-waters, in bestowing offspring, and in healing diseases are especially noteworthy. In all but one of the *Fravašis'* functions the Maruts of Vedic religion are remarkably similar, indeed to a large extent identical, as is shown by analysis of their cults; but the Maruts do not present a parallel to the *individual* Fravaši. This gap is filled by the *Puruṣas*. In late Vedic and Upaniṣadic thought we find a *Puruṣa* or spirit dwelling in the universe as a whole, *Puruṣas* of various departments of nature (also styled *dēvatās*), and the microcosmic *Puruṣa* residing in the heart of every being, which the Upaniṣads deliberately confused with Ātman and Brahma. Really the individual *Puruṣa* corresponds to the Avestic Fravaši, and Ātman to Av. urvan. Traces of the connection of Maruts with *Puruṣas* survive. It may be inferred that the old Guardian *Genii* of the Indo-Aryans included both *Puruṣas* and Maruts, together with a large number of miscellaneous tutelary spirits attached to places, trees, etc., which have in the main survived (with a considerable admixture of aboriginal deities) in the modern *dēvatās* of India.

20th February

At a Joint Meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society held at the Royal Society of Arts, Lord Lamington presiding, Professor J. G. Andersson, Keeper of the East

Asiatic Collection at Stockholm, gave a lecture on "The Highway of Europe and Asia", illustrated by lantern slides, of which the following is an abstract :—

THE HIGHWAY OF EUROPE AND ASIA

Dr. Andersson opened his lecture by saying that he was aware that in certain quarters exception was taken to the use of the word Eurasia as a scientific term, but that he and many scholars felt that the term was a useful one as emphasizing the unity of the two continents and the fact that there had been an interchange of cultural influences between them from the earliest period across the great belt of steppe country, which ran East and West roughly speaking from Manchuria to the Baltic and Hungary, and which he had ventured to call the "Highway of Eurasia". He proposed in his lecture to deal with some classes of archæological evidence for the existence of this highway.

The first class contained those objects which were commonly known to the learned world as "Scythian bronzes". These objects, which first became known in large quantities in South Russia in the areas North of the Black Sea, possessed a very distinctive style. The main features of the designs were animal forms, frequently interlaced and more or less conventionalized. The animals represented were those characteristic of the steppe country, the fox, the deer, the elk, the goat, and so on. Similar bronzes had been known to native Chinese archæologists for some time past, by whom they were regarded as typical specimens of Western barbarian art. Together with the bronzes in animal style were found knives of a peculiar shape, sometimes with a rattle in the pommel, buckles and other small bronze objects.

As long ago as 1885 Reinecke had noticed the resemblance of the bronze knife-hilts found in Hungary to the bronze knife-hilts of approximately the same age found in Honan, but the intermediate steps in the cultural chain had hitherto been lacking. However, archæological material had now

accumulated, and it was now possible to divide these bronzes geographically into four groups according to their provenance, viz. those coming from (1) the Euxine area, (2) an area near the Urals, (3) an area in Southern Siberia, (4) a large area in North-West China and Inner Mongolia centring round Sui-yuan. All these areas lay on the Highway and, as might have been expected, the objects from the two central districts showed a pure and undiluted style while the objects from the Euxine showed traces of Greek and those from Sui-yuan traces of Chinese influence. The term "Scythian" begged the question of the origin of the style and he therefore proposed that it should be called "the Eurasian animal style".

An interesting question was the reason for the manufacture of these bronzes. Were they made for purely artistic motives or were there some other reason? He was inclined to think that Salamon Reinach's discovery that the palæolithic cave-paintings of Western Europe were primarily magical in nature was applicable to these objects. Some represented mating scenes and one in particular, which in form closely resembled a "*bâton de commandement*", showed an elk hind pursued by three males. He was disposed to think that the reason for their manufacture was at any rate partially magical and that their object was to ensure plentiful supplies of game and success in hunting.

The date of the objects was generally regarded as lying between the 6th and 1st centuries B.C., but there was one exceedingly interesting bronze mirror with a handle in the form of an animal in the Musée Guimet in Paris which bore a Hsi-hsia inscription. If, as was alleged by some authorities, the inscription was cast on the mirror, the style must have survived to the 12th or 13th Century A.D.

Representations of the human figure were exceedingly rare in these bronzes, but one had been discovered which closely resembles those rude stone funerary effigies known as "*babas*". Dr. Andersson showed a map of the sites at which such effigies are found which demonstrated that they too

are scattered along the Highway from Eastern Mongolia as far west as East Prussia. The *babas* were generally regarded as dating from the Christian era with the maximum period of development in about the seventh century and some survivals as late as the thirteenth.

He now proposed to retire a good deal further into the past and to discuss the question of "painted pottery". Wares of this kind were commonly regarded as being characteristic principally of the chalcolithic period of civilization, in particular the fifth, fourth and possibly third millennium B.C.

Such pottery was found over a wide area and, though there were marked variations in local characteristics there was sufficient family resemblance between the various fabrics to justify a belief in relationship between, and possibly a common origin of, all the local techniques. Pottery of this kind had been found at Tripolye on the Volga (with linked fabrics extending as far South even as Macedonia), in Mesopotamia at Jemdet Nasr, Kish and Ur, in South-West Persia at Susa, recently in North-West Persia by Dr. Herzfeld, in Seistan by Sir Aurel Stein, at Anau in Russian Turkestan by Pumpelly, and in Kansu and Inner Mongolia by himself.

As regards the Chinese fabrics, there was no stylistic relationship between the painted pottery and that of the Chou Dynasty, the earliest native pottery previously known.

His principal work in connexion with painted pottery in his last expedition had been the excavation of a number of sites in a certain valley in Kansu which had been continuously inhabited since the neolithic age, and was a paradise for archæologists. In this valley he had found a whole series of dwelling and funerary sites and had succeeded in breaking them up into periods and finding a type site for each period.

The dwelling sites were for the most part on isolated hills which had been cut away from the main body of the walls of the valley by river action and had thus been made natural fortresses easily defensible. The burial sites, on the other hand, were generally on ledges or hill tops above the valley, in some

cases on the highest ground available for some distance round. In some cases it had been possible to link dwelling and burial sites.

The various styles of pottery were of course related but distinct and in many cases very beautiful both in shape and in ornamentation. The funerary pottery was easily distinguishable from that for household use and was marked by the employment of a particular pattern so distinctive that they used to call it the "death pattern" (its principal characteristic being an indented edge) and also of a particular colour, red ochre, which was apparently regarded all over Eurasia in the neolithic period as possessing valuable magical qualities of revivification. The reason for this was no doubt the close resemblance of the liquid pigment to blood.

Another common article of magical significance in the period was the cowrie shell and a number of these was also found in the graves, although they must have been brought all the way from the sea. The supply, however, must have been inadequate as a representation of the shell was another favourite decoration of funerary pottery. There were also certain other designs on this fabric, for instance one which appeared to be a representation of a headless frog.

The designs on domestic pottery were also beautiful but quite distinct.

Very nearly 200 skeletons had been discovered in connection with this pottery and examined by expert anthropologists. The type represented was uniformly Mongoloid.

Before closing his lecture, Dr. Andersson said that he wished to show what appeared to be evidence of the existence of the Highway in about 50,000 B.C., and displayed a map of the sites at which the eggs of a particular species of gigantic extinct ostrich had been discovered. Four such sites were known all lying on the Highway.

Mr. Clauson spoke: I do not think I need waste the time of the Societies by emphasizing the interest of Dr. Andersson's

discoveries, but I think there are some features of their importance to which we might call attention. To the world at large the most important thing is that Dr. Andersson has broken the spell which hitherto has made it impossible to conduct archæological exploration in China. It is well known that, as the Chinese philosopher Kai Lung once said, the difference between the Middle Kingdom and the outer barbarian countries is that whereas in the outer barbarian countries dragons indubitably do not exist, in China they do ; and there is a particular breed of generally friendly but potentially malevolent earth dragons which objects to archæological exploration and prevents the peasants from excavating the earth. But Dr. Andersson has exorcized the earth dragons, and will perhaps pass on the secret of how he has done it to other professors. To us in the Royal Asiatic Society the interest in his work is that he has at last given us some link between archæology and history. There is a very extensive Chinese history of interchanges with these Western countries in the earlier periods, particularly from the Christian era onwards, but we have had nothing to pin it to the ground. We have got, of course, a certain amount of collateral evidence, probably many of us are familiar with the works of de Saussure, who I think has proved conclusively that Chinese astronomy is closely connected with or derived from Iranian or Babylonian astronomy. When we talk of migration I think we have got to remember there are four kinds of migration on these routes. In the first case you may get a material object handed from one hand to another. Then there is the wandering artist who starts from one place and goes elsewhere. Then you get a style migrating, people of various countries getting a style from another area ; and finally you get a whole people pulling up their sticks and moving across the country. These four imply different conditions. When an object or an artist moves, that implies roads and a settled country. When a certain style is copied there is probably not a road. The people

are in contact with their neighbours ; but you do not copy something yourself when you can get the object itself in any desired quantity. When a whole people move about it indicates that there is very little population in the area, because if many people lived there they would not be allowed to go through. Dr. Andersson has covered such an enormous area and time that it is very difficult to say much about it. Going backwards I think we should agree that the Hsi-hsia inscription has nothing to do with the animal style. Most people would ask " Why don't you read it and find it out ? " It is a sore subject, not very much is known of Hsi-hsia. Then we go back to the Babas. Dr. Andersson said they are almost certainly connected with the Turks and I entirely agree : after all, they followed the route which the Turks followed, and " Baba " is a Turkish word meaning " father ". Or it may have been *balbal* " a funerary monument ". They no doubt must have moved from east to west. When we come to the Eurasian animal style, of course that presents a rather more difficult problem : it may have moved from east to west, west to east, or started in the middle and gone both ways. I should be very sorry to dogmatize myself—and I think anybody would be. It was not a Chinese style and must have started from somewhere other than the east end. I think it may very well have been connected with the Scythians, because the Iranians are the only people that we know of that ever moved from west to east in early periods : you get the Sogdians who started from Samarkand, and settled on the Chinese wall in the middle of the second century. I think that, perhaps, taking the animals and the astronomy together, there is something to be said for an eastern move. When we get back to the painted pottery I think none of us can say anything at present. It is far too early to dogmatize at all. All we can say is that there is a connexion, but what that connexion is I do not think we can say.

12th March

Professor Langdon, Vice-President, in the chair.

The following were elected members of the Society :—

Mr. Paul R. Carr.	Mr. H. Khan Mohammad.
Mr. Himanshu Chandra Chaudhury, M.A.	Mr. Peter Noble Scott.
Miss Edith E. Clements, L.R.A.M.	Mr. S. S. Ramaswami.
Mr. Chaudhri Abdul Ghani, B.A.	Mr. S. Vadivelu.
Mr. M. N. Hāshmī.	Mr. Hari Pal Varshni, M.A., LL.B.
	Mr. Ram Rakhle Mal Malhotra, B.A., LL.B.

Six names were laid before the meeting for nomination.

Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. R. W. Hutchinson lectured on their excavations on behalf of the British Museum at Nineveh in the winter of 1927-8. These excavations, financed by the British Museum, Merton College, Oxford, the Percy Sladen Memorial Fund, and Dr. Thompson, were carried on for four months on the site of the Temple of Nabû, with the result that the clearing of the whole of the Temple on its eighth century platform of unburnt brick was completed. This temple was discovered during the British Museum excavations of 1903-5, conducted by Dr. L. W. King and Mr. Campbell Thompson, and then partly cleared. In Assyrian times it had been restored first in 788 B.C., the name of the original founder being now lost. In the seventh century its area was some $190 \times 170 \times 190 \times 150$ feet, and it consisted of a large inner courtyard of earth, doubtless partly used by the priests for their vegetable garden, and an outer rectangular platform of *libn* or unburnt brick, on which had been set the main buildings. These, however, being built also of walls of unburnt brick, had vanished under stress of weather and the destruction of Nineveh in 612, but there were still left (1) the remains of a good limestone pavement of Sargon (722-705 B.C.), almost every slab containing the whole or part of his inscription recording his restoration of the Temple, praying for long life, the welfare of his seed, the destruction of his

enemies, and the prosperity of the crops ; (2) a well ninety feet deep and a latrine in the central court both also containing Sargon's bricks ; (3) a magnificent pavement some 200×15 feet along the front of the Temple, restored with inscribed slabs of Ashurbanipal, which were so numerous here and elsewhere that they must have originally numbered about 400 ; (4) the remains of four gateways, that on the north-east having a massive slab as threshold, also inscribed with Sargon's inscription.

Beneath the long pavement was found a new prism of Ashurbanipal in pieces, but nearly complete when put together, the text being an account of his various buildings, some of the matter old, but some new. From here, too, came a large piece of sculpture of Sennacherib's campaign in the marshes. Unfortunately only a limited number of cuneiform tablets was discovered, so that the Library (which is well known to have existed) must have been long ago cleared out from the Temple.

In another part of the site of Nineveh a *sondage* resulted in the discovery of a house built by Sennacherib for his son, and about four score pieces of historical prisms, and above all a magnificent prism of Esarhaddon, perfect except where the pick struck it.

During this last week the excavators had the good fortune to come on the outer chambers of a palace of Ashurnasirpal (ninth century B.C.), the oldest known palace-site in Kouyunjik, with bricks of this king and his son Shalmaneser in place. In it was a large slab with an inscription of Tukulti-Ninurta, the father of Ashurnasirpal, and better still a beautifully written piece of tablet (in minute characters, almost fourteen lines to the inch) giving in semi-poetic style the history of Ashur-uballit and Tukulti-Ninurta I and their troubles with the Kassites.

It is this palace, practically virgin, which Dr. Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson hope to excavate next autumn, but it may take more than one season's work, as it lies twenty-six

feet below the level. It is hoped, however, that subscriptions may augment the sums in hand sufficiently to allow of adequate exploration of this site which may contain material of great value, either in sculpture or cuneiform tablets. The lecturers have just brought out an illustrated book, *A Century of Exploration at Nineveh*, published by Luzac and Co., 7s. 6d. n., describing the explorations made there from the time of Rich to the present day. It may be added that half of the edition is on sale at the British Museum, and the whole of the proceeds of all copies retailed actually at the Museum go to swell the funds of the Nineveh excavations.

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Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. ii, pt. i, pt. ii, 1908, complete with coloured plate to pt. i. Title pages to both vols. and the index, which were published in a supplement.

Exportation of Manuscripts from Persia

Libraries and private collectors of Persian and Arabic manuscripts may find this information useful. It is based on personal experience, and is concerned with the procedure of obtaining a licence for the exportation of MSS. from Persia, in accordance with the new rules.

Every MS., rare or common, valued at thousands of pounds, or worthless, is treated officially as an '*atīqa*', i.e. "antiquity" if its age exceeds fifty years.¹ The licence for the exportation of a modern MS. may be obtained without any duties from the local branches of the Educational department (*idāra-i-Ma'ārif*) in every large town.²

The licence for the exportation of MSS. which are older than 50 years requires special application to the Central office of the Educational Department, to which the MSS. themselves must be submitted. They may be handed over to the local branch of the *Ma'ārif*, or sent directly to the Central Office, if the purchaser does not want to go personally to Tehran.

A complete list, in quintuplicate, should accompany the MSS., showing the titles, names of the authors, subjects, dates of copies, prices, size, length, width, etc., and all should be sent to Tehran at the expense of the owner.

¹ See the circular letter of the *Wazārat-i-Māliyya*, No. 31057, dated Aban, 1304.

² Since the introduction of printing the most valuable MSS. only are copied by hand, and besides these, amongst the MSS. the age of which is less than 50 years, there are chiefly autographs of the modern Persian writers. Both usually command a fairly high price. It is exactly the MSS. of these classes which may be exported with ease. There are, however, a large number of very common school books on grammar, theology, logic, etc., which although being manuscript copies some two or three hundred years old, are valued lower than lithographed copies of the same works, and often are practically worthless. But these MSS. must be treated as '*atīqa*', and their exportation is complicated with the procedure described here.

In Tehran the procedure is as follows: The Central Office of the *Ma'ārif*, after having received the books, forwards them with a covering letter to the Finance Ministry (*Wazārat-i-Mālīyya*) in the department of *Buyūtāt*. The latter submits the books and the list to the *Idāra-i-Khazāna*, which also has the charge of the property of the Shah's court. The books are examined with a view to find out whether or not any of them have been pilfered from the Court library, and, should that be so, they are confiscated.¹ After this the books are returned to the *Idāra-i-Buyūtāt*, where they are stamped, signed, packed, sealed, and, with a covering letter, sent again to the Central Office of the *Ma'ārif*. This office examines the books finally, verifies the prices, fixes a proper value with the help of a special *muqawwim*, or estimator, and receives a payment from the owner constituting 20 per cent of the declared value. After this the books are again sealed, packed, etc., and with another covering letter dispatched to the Central Customs Office. Here, after an extremely lengthy and complex procedure, 10 more per cents on the value is taken, *plus* some obscure "extras" under the names of road-tax, storage, etc., constituting about 2 per cent. After this the parcel is sealed, this time with lead, and is then ready to be carried away by the owner.

Thus it costs 32 per cent on the original outlay of the MSS. The time required to complete the procedure varies very much. If the owner will attend personally, this takes from two to three weeks. If the books are simply sent to the Office, the procedure may take several months.

I may add that it is practically useless to apply to the

¹ As I was assured in different institutions in Tehran, pilfering from all government libraries is going on briskly. Even the most optimistic Persian officials would not assert, indeed, that the frontier of Persia is perfectly proof against smuggling, or that thieves are necessarily fools who will bring their books for getting an exportation licence. Therefore the elaborate procedure of all these precautionary measures affects chiefly that class of MSS. which present little market value, but may be important later if saved from inevitable destruction.

provincial branches of the *Ma'ārif*. They often are afraid to issue a licence for the "modern" MSS., although officially they can do so. The reason is that the Central Offices in Tehran often forget, or simply do not give themselves the trouble, to keep their provincial branches informed of their continual changes, and officials in remote corners do not know exactly what the present rules are. Another reason why they would always try to put off the responsibility is that they very often are completely helpless with the MSS. The changes in the educational system of Persia render the new generation almost entirely ignorant about Old Persian and especially Arabic literature. Besides, according to the rules, the offices of the *Ma'ārif* must issue licences with the consent of the financial office, which deputes a representative, usually a man who knows little or nothing about books at all, but puts many obstacles in the way of his clients simply to show his energy.¹

All this shows how difficult it has become to do collecting on a large scale in Persia now, although there are thousands of valuable MSS. rapidly decaying due to neglect, used as waste paper for making cardboard, for bags in druggist shops, or for fixing the windows instead of glass.

W. IVANOW.

CALCUTTA.

January, 1929.

¹ In my case (Shiraz, October, 1928) the representative of the Finance office (a man called Khalwati) kept the director of the local *Ma'ārif* and myself busy for more than a week, raising absurd objections, before he got courage to confess that he did not understand Arabic and never had anything to do with manuscripts. But he was not as bad as many others, and was regarded as an educated man.

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PART III.—JULY

Farah-nāma of Shaikhī

By NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH

TURNING over the sheets of some of my old books I found a very complicated question in the field of Ottoman poetry which I wish to discuss below.

The late Russian orientalist, V. D. Smirnov,¹ in the second edition of his Turkish Chrestomathy,² published a number of extracts from a Turkish (Ottoman) poem mathnawi entitled فرح نامه. In the preface he makes the following explanatory note concerning this poem³ (the square brackets are mine): "the extracts (pp. 433-437) are from فرح نامه, Budapest manuscript No. 24, dated 928/1522. And in the title of the codex we read هذا كتاب فرح نامه ابن خطيب and in the text the author, many times mentioning himself, names himself ابن خطيب اوغلي (f. 13v., 120r., 210r.), ابن خطيب (f. 107v.); thus it is certain that this work, written in 829/1425 is by Moḥammad ban Ṣāliḥ Bījān (+ 1449), the author of the famous Turkish religious poem محمدیه. But neither in the European catalogues, nor in [the book of] Ḥājji Khalifa is there mentioned such a work with the name of Yāziji

¹ S. his obituary note by N. K. Dmitrijev, *JRAS.*, April, 1928, pp. 408-10.

² *Majmū'a-i Muntakhabāt-i Athār-i 'Othmāniyya*. St. Petersburg, 1903, pp. 433-7.

³ *Op. cit.*, pp. xxii-xxiii.

Oghli. The last [Hājji Khalifa] remarks quite vaguely that *فرج نامه* is a Turkish work in verses, belonging to Shaikh Zāda, who wrote it in the reign of the Sultan Yildirim (H. Kh., iv, 412, No. 9007). The poem of Ibn Khaṭīb is extremely interesting because of its archaic language and orthography, as well as because the religious-didactic thoughts of the author, which are contained in it, in the spirit and style of the Mawlawi works, like, for instance, *غريب نامه* of 'Āshiq, but, perhaps, with a little greater fanatical Moslem passion and enmity towards non-Moslems, especially Christians (for example, f. 128r., 209a-210)." In this statement of Professor Smirnov we have, unfortunately, five evident mistakes.

The editor says that the author calls himself either Ibn Khaṭīb (Arabic) or Khaṭīb Oghli (Turkish). These names are absolutely different from those of the author of the Turkish religious poem Muḥammadiyya, whose names (or nicknames) were Ibn Kātib (Arabic) or Yāziji Oghli (Turkish). It is well known (and it is even unnecessary to quote dictionaries) that *khaṭīb* means "preacher, reader of prayers, priest, clergyman", and *kātib*—"scribe, writer, copyist, clerk, secretary, civil officer." The seeming homophony of two words *khaṭīb* and *kātib* was the cause of this mistake.

Further the editor says that this work (the original text and not the copy) was written in 829/1425. But from the text published in the Chrestomathy¹ we know that it was finished in the month Rabī' al-Akhir A.H. 829, i.e. February-March, 1426.

It seemed to the editor that the work, fragments of which he published, was by the author of the Muḥammadiyya—Muḥammad b. Šālīḥ Bījān. Muḥammad b. Šalāḥ ad-Dīn Yāziji Oghli really was the author of Muḥammadiyya, but the nickname of Bījān (the Lifeless) was that of his brother Aḥmad. In the epilogue of his poem the poet says: "I had

¹ Op. cit., p. 436.

a brother, named the Lifeless, who used to encourage me . . . " etc.¹

Moreover, the death of the above-mentioned Muḥammad took place not, as the editor thinks, in 1449, but in either 1451 or 1453.²

As to the Moslem fanaticism of the Mawlawis, and especially that of 'Āshiq Pāshā, the author of *Gharīb-nāma*, it is easy to perceive that the dervishes Mawlawis, being non-orthodox Moslems and mystic pantheists, were well known for their tolerance; these ideas of tolerance we can find exactly in the *Gharīb-nāma* and even in a story published by V. D. Smirnov himself.³

Thus it is very evident that Yāzījī Oghlī is not the author of the poem under discussion, and we have before us an open problem: whose is it?

There is a well-known Ottoman poem with the same title *Farah-nāma* which was written by a certain Shaikh Oghlī (Turkish) or Shaikh Zāda (Persian). A wonderful coincidence! Shaikh Oghlī is equivalent, by meaning, to the Arabic Ibn Khaṭīb, because shaikh means not only "old man, chief, superior of dervishes", but also, like *khaṭīb*, "preacher, priest, prior, abbot." But, to our regret, his *Farah-nāma* is not our poem for many reasons. Its contents are absolutely different. It was completed at the end of the month Rabī' al-Akhir (like our *Farah-nāma*) but of A.H. 789, i.e. A.D. May, 1387—thirty-nine years earlier. And, finally, its real title is *Khurshīd-nāma*.

An interesting dispute arose about its name. Hammer mentioned it under the name of *Khurshīd-nāma* on the basis of a manuscript which is preserved in the Berlin Library.⁴ Pertsch quoted it under the same name in his description

¹ E. J. W. Gibb, *A History of Ottoman Poetry*, vol. i, London, 1900, p. 402.

² Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

³ Chrestomathy, pp. 418-21.

⁴ J. von Hammer-Purgstall. *Geschichte der Osmanischen Dichtkunst*. B.I. Pest 1836, SS. 109-112. In the article "Dechemalisade," No. xix.

of this Berlin manuscript, and says also that its author is Shaikh Oghlī or Jamālī Zāda, that the Berlin copy was finished in 807, i.e. 1404 (even the copy is earlier than our poem), and that other copies of this work, which are in Munich (173), Paris (314, 315, 355), and Upsala (190), have the same title.¹

Among the Turkish historians 'Āshiq Chalabī (+ 1572) in his *Tadhkira* calls this work Farrukh-nāma, but Muṣṭafā 'Ālī (+ 1599) in his *Kunh al-Akhbār* and Ḥājji Khalifa (+ 1657) in the *Kashf az-Zunūn* (see above the quotation of Smirnov) name it Farah-nāma. Gibb in his *History*, speaking twice about this poem,² agrees with the opinion of 'Āshiq for the following reason. Farah-nāma would mean "The Book of Gladness", and Farrukh-nāma "The Book of Farrukh"; but the hero of this poem is Farrukh, and the heroine is Khurshīd, whence another title of the poem is Khurshīd-nāma.

It is quite logical, but, unfortunately for the late famous English Turcologist, Professor J. Deny, in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* showed clearly that the second title of Khurshīd-nāma is Farah-nāma. By citing some passages he showed that the reading "farrukh" is impossible metrically (the metre of this poem is hazaḥ).³ Consequently this poem was entitled either Khurshīd-nāma "The Book of Khurshīd", the heroine, or Farah-nāma "The Book of Gladness" of Farrukh, the hero, because of his marriage, at the end of the poem, with his beloved Khurshīd.

Moreover, in the same article, J. Deny stated, this time together with Gibb,⁴ and contrary to the generally adopted opinion, that Jamālī Shaikh Zāda, the writer of the epilogue of "Khusraw wa Shīrīn", the unfinished poem of Shaikhī, and Shaikh Oghlī (his other name also Jamālī), the author

¹ W. Pertsch. *Verzeichniss der Türkischen Handschriften der Königl. Bibliothek zu Berlin*, 1889, S. 364, No. 365.

² Gibb, op. cit., pp. 256, 427-31.

³ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, article "Sheikhzāde".

⁴ Gibb, op. cit., p. 428.

of Khurshīd-nāma and the nephew of the said Shaikhī, are two different individuals and must therefore be distinguished : " Sheikhī who wrote under Murad II was still alive in 1421, and it is difficult to believe that he could have for his continuer a nephew born in 1340." The conclusion of Deny is perfectly right from the chronological point of view. A few words about this " continuer ". J. Deny did not remark that the name of this continuer Bāyazīd b. Muṣṭafā, mentioned in the Paris manuscript,¹ coincides with Bāyazīd b. Muṣṭafā, the continuer, in the manuscript, which belongs to the collection of Gibb²; besides we have not these names amongst those of Jamālī Shaikh Zāda, the author of Khurshīd-nāma.

Now let us return to Smirnov's Farah-nāma and its author Ibn Khaṭīb or Khaṭīb Oghlī. Any person with this name is absolutely unknown among the Ottoman poets. But we have already said that this name is equivalent to that of Shaikh Oghlī or Shaikh Zāda. There are many Turkish authors called Shaikh Zāda, but they cannot be identified with our poet because of the age when they lived. Apparently one exception is an author³ who wrote in the time of Murad II and a little later (*circa* 1446) than the date of our Farah-nāma (1426). But he cannot have composed this poem, for we know nothing about his poetical capacity. Some scholars (Belletête) think that he was the author of the Arabic original text of the famous prose work *The Stories of the Forty Vezirs*, some others (Gibb, Fleischer, Behrnauer) take him for the Turkish translator of this work.

Nevertheless, it seems to me, that we can identify Smirnov's Khaṭīb Oghlī. Between 1420-30 the great Ottoman poet Shaikhī began his celebrated poem " Khusraw wa Shīrīn ". We do not know the date of his death, but it cannot be later than 1451, the year of the death of Murad II, for this Sultan is mentioned as reigning in the epilogue of the poem, which was written by the continuer, because the poem remained

¹ See the article " Sheikhī " of J. Deny in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

² Gibb, *op. cit.*, p. 304.

³ *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Sheikh-zāde the 2d.

unfinished, when Shaikhī died,¹ as we have said above. Thus the time of our Farah-nāma agrees with that of Shaikhī.

Moreover, his name also coincides quite well with Khaṭīb Oghlī. The Arabic ending ī, *nisba*, is not rarely used in the meaning as "son, descendant" (like Arabic *ibn*, Persian *zāda*, and Turkish *oghli*). From several examples it will be enough to indicate the following: the Oriental historians add to Asad, son of Sāmān (the Samanid dynasty), the name Sāmānī; the world known Persian poet 'Omar, son of Khayyām, is called in Arabic Khayyāmī²; and, especially, a Turkish historian of the beginning of the eighteenth century Muḥammad, son of Shaikh Ḥasan, was known under the nickname Shaikhī.³

We have many other reasons to identify Shaikhī with the author of Farah-nāma. He was a learned man; doctor; famous poet, author, besides "Khusraw wa Shīrīn", of "Khar-nāma" and a diwan of small poems; one of the earliest introducers of mathawī poems into the Ottoman literature; a great Turkish mystic of the school of Jalāl ad-Dīn Rūmī and pupil of Ḥājji Bairām. At the same time he was reproached by the later Turkish critics for the "vulgar" (i.e. simple, naïf) language of his works.⁴ And from the fragments published by Smirnov, and from his words in the preface to his Chrestomathy, we see that Farah-nāma is one of the earliest Turkish mathnawīs; full of mystical elements; composed in the type of the 'Āshiq's Gharīb-nāma, the poem written under the evident influence of Jalāl ad-Dīn; and the language of Farah-nāma must be named "vulgar" from the point of view of the Turkish lovers of the pretentious, artificial, high style.

Consequently, we have many reasons to suppose that Farah-nāma is really the poem of Shaikhī.

¹ Gibb, op. cit., pp. 299-314. Deny, the article "Sheikhī" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

² E. G. Browne, *A Literary History of Persia from Firdawsi to Sa'di*. New York, 1906, p. 246.

³ F. Babinger, *Die Geschichtsschreiber der Osmanen und ihre Werke*. Leipzig, 1927, S. 267.

⁴ Gibb and Deny, loc. cit.

Buddhist Logic before Diñnāga (Asaṅga, Vasubandhu, Tarka-śāstras)

By PROFESSOR GUISEPPE TUCCI

I

WE must admit that very little is known about the first development of Indian logic and particularly about Buddhist logic before Diñnāga. If we take the best manuals of Indian logic now available, such as those by Suali, Vidyābhūṣaṇa, Keith, or the most comprehensive Histories of Indian philosophy like those of Dāsgupta and Rādhākṛishna we shall easily recognize that the data contained therein are far from being satisfactory; more than that, they are also very often wrong. In fact, almost the only source from which their statements are derived is the book by Sugiura,¹ who certainly had the merit of giving the first account of Indian logic as preserved in Chinese sources, but, being himself absolutely without knowledge of orthodox *nyāya* and of Sanscrit, is in his statements and in his translations very often misleading.²

On the other hand, it is evident that a better knowledge of the logical schools before Diñnāga might settle many a vexed question, including those of the originality of Diñnāga himself, his indebtedness to previous masters, and the relation between his theory of the syllogism and that expounded in the *Prāsaṅgikāpāda-bhāṣya*.

Unfortunately the largest part of the texts on logic anterior to Diñnāga seems to be lost.

We have, it is true, two fragments preserved in Chinese; one is the so-called *Upāya* (?)—*hrdaya*—not *Upāya-kauśalya*—

¹ *Hindu Logic as preserved in China and Japan*, Philadelphia, 1900.

² On the other hand, a great deal of information can be gathered from U's book on the *Vaiśeṣika* philosophy. Cf. also his *Studies on Indian Philosophy*, 印度哲學研究, Tokyo. The classical book of Stecherbatsky, *Erkenntnistheorie und Logik nach der Lehre der späteren Buddhisten*, deals chiefly with Dharmakīrti's thought.

hrdaya as suggested by Nanjiō and accepted by Bagchi; the other is a fragmentary treatise in three chapters, attributed by some catalogues of the canon to Vasubandhu. By Nanjiō, Ui and Bagchi it is called *Tarka-śāstra*. The first was translated by Ki Kya Ye²; the second by Paramārtha. Although the statement of Takakusu that all the works translated by Paramārtha are anterior to A.D. 500 is too dogmatical, we are at any rate confronted here with a fairly ancient book.²

So far as the first text is concerned, there are no grounds either for affirming or for denying its attribution to Nāgārjuna; but there is no doubt that it represents fairly ancient theories which are very nearly akin to those contained in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*.³

These two treatises have been retranslated into Sanscrit by me and will shortly be published in the Baroda Sanscrit Series. As they are certainly the most ancient fragments of the *Vivāda-śāstras* that we possess, their bearing upon the problem of the relations between pure heuristic and later *Nyāya* doctrines is very great. But we should like to have other texts of indubitable authorship, in order to fix a *terminus a quo* and to ascertain which school must be credited with an original contribution to logical theories.

Fortunately, such texts have been preserved. We may divide them into three categories, (a) Chinese sources; (b) Tibetan sources; (c) Sanscrit sources.

The first category includes the translations of the following books:—(1) *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra*, 瑜伽師地論, by Asaṅga. Of this monumental work we have also the Tibetan translation (*Bstan agyur*, mdo *dsi*, foll. 1-332—Cordier,

¹ On Ki Kia Ye (fifth century A.D.) see Chavannes, *Cinq cent contes*, iii, n. 1, Démiéville, *BEFEO*. xxiv, 1924, pp. 65-6, n. 4. We know from the *K'ai yüan shih kiao lu*, 開元釋教錄, that before Ki Kia Ye another translation of this work had been made by Buddhahadra of the Eastern Tsin. Cf. Bagchi, *Canon Bouddhique en Chine*, p. 346.

² *BEFEO*. 1904, p. 3.

³ See Ui's *Studies in Indian Phil.*, vol. ii, p. 428.

Catalogue du fonds tibétain, vol. iii, p. 378). (2) *Prakaraṇārya-vācā-śāstra*, 顯暢聖教論. The chapter concerning our subject corresponds almost *verbatim* with the preceding. (3) *Mahāyānābhidharma-saṅgīti-śāstra*, 大乘阿毘達磨集論. The theories expounded in this work differ very often from those contained in the two preceding texts. Its doctrines are explained in the commentary written upon it by Sthiramati¹ and called (4) *Mahāyānābhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti-śāstra*, 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論. Then we can collect a great deal of information from the commentaries written by K'uei Chi, the disciple of Yuan Chwang. I have used the Commentary on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, which has been partly translated by me in a previous study² which may complete in some way the statements contained in the present paper. I am aware of the fact that K'uei Chi wrote also a commentary upon the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra*, called 瑜伽師地論略纂, and another on the *Abhidharma-saṃyukta-saṅgīti*³; but I could not here in India get copies of these two texts. On the other hand, I have used the commentary of Shên T'ai, another disciple of Yuan Chwang, on the *Nyāya-mukha*.⁴ The second category is represented by the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, by Dinnāga.⁵ It contains, as we shall see, much precious information about the logical activity of the schools that preceded him.

¹ On Sthiramati see Péri in *BEFEO*. 1911, 348 and 378.

² Notes on the *Nyāya-praveśa* in *Bollettino della Scuola di Studi Orientali*, 1928.

³ This is called 大乘阿毘達磨雜集論述記, usually quoted under the abridged form 對法論疏.

⁴ The *Nyāya-mukha* (not *Nyāya-tarka-dvāra-śāstra*; see *JRAS*. 1928, p. 7) has been translated into English by me and compared with the corresponding portions of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*. It will shortly be published in the *Materialien zur Kunde des Buddhismus* of Professor Walleser.

⁵ The *Pramāṇa-samuccaya* is preserved in Tibetan, together with two translations of the *vṛtti* of Dinnāga himself (*Bstan ggyur*, mdo, ce, Cordier, p. 434). I have used the copy of the University of Calcutta, which has been kindly put at my disposal by the authorities. This copy belongs to the Narthang edition.

In the third category we may include those quotations and allusions which can be found in Uddyotakara's *Nyāya-vārttika* and Vācaspati Miśra's *Nyāya-vārttika-tātparya-ṭīkā*.

It is evident that the second and the third category can supply us only with fragments, while in the first we are confronted with complete texts or commentaries, which, through the intermediacy of Yuan Chwang, are likely to go back to a tradition of exegesis current in the Indian monasteries at the time of the travels of the great pilgrim. In any case, by combining all these references, we can attain a better knowledge of Indian logic before Dinnāga than we have had up to the present. We shall begin by studying the Chinese translations which belong to the so-called Yogācāra school started by Asaṅga and developed by Vasubandhu. The teaching of this school, in its dogmatical structure, seems to be more related to the Sautrāntika doctrines than to the ontological theories expounded in the *Laṅkāvatāra* or in the *Mahāyāna-śraddhotpāda*.

The contents of the chapters that are of interest to us were made known by Sugiura, and after him by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, who based himself upon the resumé given by the Japanese scholar. But even this summary is far from correct or complete. Moreover, there is in the books referred to many a detail which has been passed unnoticed by the Japanese and Indian scholars. Even the attribution of the *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* to Maitreya is wrong, although it is generally accepted and repeated by Indologists. This fact is rather important because, accepting the attribution of the text to Maitreya, we should be compelled to admit *ipso facto* an earlier date for it; but there is no doubt that it is by Asaṅga and represents perhaps one of the last and most complete products of the wonderful activity of the great master.

In the exposition that follows we shall indicate by A the group *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* and *Prakaraṇārya-vācū* and by B the group *Saṅgīti* and *Samyukta-saṅgīti*.

II

The first classification that we meet is that concerning "speech", *vākya*, 論, *smra.ba*. There are seven heads, viz. :—

- I. *vākya* in itself, 論體性, *smra.ba*.
- II. The place where speech is made, the *pariṣat*, 論處所, *smra.ba.ṣal.c'e*.
- III. The basis or the support of speech, 論所依, *smra.bai.g'zi*, *vākya-mūla* or *vākyaśraya*.
- IV. Adornment of speech, 論莊嚴, *smra.bai.rgyan*, *vākya-lāṅkāra*.
- V. The defeat of a speech, i.e. in argument, 論墮負, *smra.bai.c'ad.pas.gcod.pa.*, *vākya-nigraha*.
- VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech, 論出離, *smra.ba.las.byuñ.ba.*, **vāda-sambhava*.
- VII. Those characteristics which are the causes of a speech being appreciated (by the hearers), 論多所作法, *smra.ba.gces.spres.la.dgos.pai.c'os.rnams*.

We shall later discuss the third point, which has the main interest for us, and give here a mere summary of the various subdivisions of the other six items, as they have not the same bearing on the history of logical theories in India.

I. *vākya*. This can be of six kinds—

- (a) *Vākya* in itself.
- (b) Excellent words, that is words with which the world is pleased.
- (c) Disputation-words, which are uttered when two men engaged in a discussion maintain quite different opinions about a particular object or a particular thesis. It is worthy of notice that, while B simply states that it consists in holding opposed views, A insists at length upon the various causes of the dispute. It asserts that these are to be found in the *abhiniveśa*, "attachment," of the creatures belonging to the *kāma-dhātu* or in the criticism that human beings are inclined to express about the sinful deeds of body, mind and speech of others, or in the discussion of the various *dṛṣṭis*, e.g.

those of eternity or of *uccheda*, at a time when the disputants are not yet free from passion.

(d) Rebuke-words (*apavāda-vākya*), 毀謗論 or (B) 毀論, *ts'ig.ñan.pa.smra.ba*. It includes unpleasant words or the teaching of false theories.

(e) Accordant speech, 順正論, *mt'un.par.smra.ba*. : any speech which is in accordance with the dharma and aiming at producing a right knowledge in the mind of the hearers.

(f) Teaching, 教導論, *gdams.par.smra.ba*.

The first two items can be either good or bad, and therefore it is necessary to distinguish them according to circumstances; the next two are always bad and therefore must be avoided. The last two are always good and therefore must be practised.

II. Place where a speech is made—

(a) before a king ;

(b) before a governor ;

(c) in a great assembly ;

(d) before *śramaṇas* who are well versed in the dharma ;

(e) before Brahmins ;

(f) before those who like to hear the dharma.

IV. Adornment of speech. Its fundamental aspects are five according to A, but six according to B.

A. I and II

B. *Saṅgiti* and *Sthiramati*

(a) Perfect knowledge of one's own as well as of another's system, 善自他宗 *bdag.dañ.p'a.rol.gyi.lugs.šes.pa* (*sva-para-siddhānta-jñāna*).

Id.

(b) Perfection of the phrase, 語句圓滿 *ts'ig.sbyor.ba.p'un.sum.ts'ogs.pa*. A phrase is perfect when it is possessed of five good characteristics. That is to say, it must be :—

Id.

- | | |
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| (1) devoid of any rustic expression. | No mention of these five subdivisions. The perfection of the phrase consists in avoiding mistakes through knowledge of the <i>śabda-śāstra</i> and the <i>vyūtpatti-śāstra</i> . |
| (2) easy. | |
| (3) evident. | |
| (4) coherent. | |
| (5) having a good meaning. | |
| (c) 無畏, <i>mi . ajigs . pa .</i> ,
<i>abhīrutva</i> , fearlessness. Even if one finds himself among a <i>pariṣat</i> numerous or hostile, he must be sure of himself. | Id. |
| (d) 敦肅, <i>brtan . pa</i> , <i>dhīratā</i> , firmness. | Id. |
| (e) Speech possessed of those characteristics that will be esteemed and attractive, 應供, <i>no . mi . bzlog . pa</i> . | Id. |

Adds: 辯才 = *pratibhāna*, when sentences flow uninterruptedly.

At this point A gives a list of twenty-seven *praśaṃsā-guṇas*, which are the ornaments, as it were, of an excellent speech :—

- (1) high estimation by hearers ;
- (2) belief and acceptance by hearers ;
- (3) absence of fear ;
- (4) knowledge of the mistakes in the thesis of the adversaries ;
- (5) knowledge of the superiority of one's own thesis ;
- (6) absence of *abhiniveśa* ;
- (7) not to be partial towards one's own system ;
- (8) not to renounce one's own law and rules ;
- (9) to understand quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;
- (10) to grasp quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;
- (11) to explain quickly what has been said by the adversaries ;

(12) the power of captivating the assembly with gifts of speech ;

(13) to be able to rejoice those who like *hetu-vidyā* ;

(14) the power of expressing in the best way the meaning of the arguments ;

(15) no trace of depression in the body, while discussing ;

(16) no depression in mind while discussing ;

(17) no stammering ;

(18) to maintain always presence of mind (*pratibhā*) ;

(19) no bodily fatigue to be shown ;

(20) memory always functioning ;

(21) mind uninjured ;

(22) no pain or impediment in the throat ;

(23) expressiveness of the voice ;

(24) restraint of one's own mind in order to prevent anger ;

(25) to comply with the other's mind in order to avoid his wrath ;

(26) to act in such a way that the adversary may be persuaded in his own mind ;

(27) to be considered everywhere as a great *ācārya*.

V. *Nigraha-sthānas*. These can be of three fundamental kinds :—

(a) *vacana-sannyāsa*, 捨言, *brjod.pa.gtoñ.pa* ;

(b) when the speaker perceives that his words have been refuted with success by the opponent and therefore tries to avoid further discussion, 言屈, *brjod.pa.dma'.dbab.pa.*, *vacanābhībhava* ;

(c) erroneous speech, *vacana-doṣa*, 言過, *brjod.pai.ñes.pa*.

Vacana-sannyāsa consists in confessing one's own defeat and in acknowledging that the thesis of the adversary is right. According to group I it can be of thirteen kinds ; e.g. my thesis is wrong, your thesis is right, etc.

Vacanābhībhava occurs when a speaker, realizing that his arguments are wrong, tries to avoid the discussion, saying that he has something else to do, or brings into the discussion

new arguments not connected with previous ones, or looks irritated, angry, conceited, or reveals some defect or fault in the adversary which the latter does not like to have disclosed, or looks offended or shows impatience or distrust, or has nothing to reply and therefore keeps silence, or looks abashed and trembling or bends his head or appears as if he were deprived of the faculty of thinking and speaking.

Vacana-doṣa can be of nine kinds—

- (a) to speak at random ;
- (b) violent expressions, suggested by anger, etc. ;
- (c) obscurity of expression, when the speaker cannot be understood either by the assembly or by the adversary ;
- (d) lack of proportion, when the expression is either defective or excessive (*ādhikya-nyūnatva*) ;

(e) meaningless, 非義相應, *don.dañ.lān.pa.ma.yin.pa, vyārtha*. It is of ten kinds :—

- (1) *anarthaka*, 無義, *dgos.pa.med* ;
- (2) *apārthaka*, 違義, *don.pa.med.pa* ;
- (3) *yukti-hāni*, 損理, *rigs.pa.las.ñams.pa* ;
- (4) *sādhya-sama*, 與所成等, *bsgrub.par.byā.ba.dañ.qdra.ba* ;
- (5) *jāti*, 招集過難, *ltag.gc'od.pa* ;
- (6) *arthānupalabdhi*, 不得義利, *don.mi.dmigs.pa* ;
- (7) *asambaddha*, 義無次序, *don.dañ.mi.qbrel.ba.* ;
- (8) *aniścita*, 義不決定, *ma.ñes.pa* ;
- (9) *siddha-sādhya*, when the proof is itself to be proved, 成立已成, *sgrub.pa.yaṅ.sgrub.par.byā.ba.yin.pa* ;
- (10) a speech according to illogical or wrong doctrines, *ts'ul.bzin.ma.yin.zin.ts'ags.pai.sñad.du.mi.hos.pai.smra.ba.t'ams.cad.kyi.rjes.su.abrañ.ba'o*, 順不稱理諸邪惡.

Sthiramati knows only the first five of these *nigraha-sthānas*, and he considers the other five as mere explanations of them (1 < 6, 2 < 7, 3 < 8, 4 < 9, 5 < 10) ;

(f) *aprāpta-kāla*, when the various arguments are not brought forward in order ;

(g) *aniścita* (or *aniyata*), when someone either attacks an argument that he has already established as his thesis or establishes as a thesis an argument that he has already attacked or suddenly changes his ideas;

(h) obscurity;

(i) lack of cohesion.

VI. That which derives or comes forth from a speech.

This is threefold, consisting of (a) *guṇa-doṣa-parīkṣā*, 觀察德失, *yon . tan . dañ . ñes . pa . brtag*; (b) *pariṣaṭ-parīkṣā*, 衆會, *ak'or . brtag . pa*; (c) *pāṇḍityāpāṇḍitya-parīkṣā*, 善不善, *mk'as . mi . mk'as . brtag . pa*.

The first consists in examining whether the discussion undertaken will be of some use or not to the speaker and to the hearers. If one knows that no good result is to be expected from the discussion, he must avoid it.

The second consists in ascertaining whether the *pariṣaṭ* is impartial, learned, strictly honest. If this be not the case, the discussion must be avoided.

The third consists in examining whether one has the knowledge and the ability necessary to carry on the discussion satisfactorily. If an aspirant acknowledges that he is not possessed of the requisite and indispensable qualities, he must renounce the disputation.

VII. The characteristics which cause a speech to be appreciated by the hearers are (a) knowledge of one's own and opposing systems, (b) absence of fear, (c) promptitude of intelligence: (a) *sva-para-mata-jñāna*, 善自他宗, *bdag . dañ . p'a . rol . gyi . gzuñ . lugs . šes . pa*; (b) *abhīrutā*, 無畏, *mi . ajigs*; (c) *pratibhāna*, 辯才, *spobs . pa*.

Now we shall study the section dedicated to the third item, that is, to the basis or support of a speech. In a discussion we can distinguish two elements, which are respectively called (a) the *probandum*, *sādhya*, 所成義, *bsgrub . par . bya . bai . don*, and (b) the proof, *sādhana*, 能成, *sgrub . pa*. The *probandum* is twofold, that is to say, we may prove either a subject (lit. an entity, *svabhāva*, 自性, *ño . bo . ñid*) or an

attribute (lit. a quality, *viśeṣa*, 差別, *bye.brag*). In the first case I can affirm or deny the existence of something, that is, I can say that it is or is not. In the second I may affirm or deny that a given quality belongs or not to the subject. In this way according to the example given by Sthiramati a *sādhya* can be of either of the following types:—

(a) "the *ātman* is, is not."

(b) "the *ātman* is all-pervading" or "sound is non-eternal".

The proof, or *sādhana*, consists of eight terms, although the list and the definition of these vary remarkably in the various texts that represent our sources.

A.	B.
(1) <i>pratijñā</i> , proposition, 立宗, <i>dam.bca.ba</i> .	Id.
(2) <i>hetu</i> , reason, 辯因, <i>gtan.ts'igs</i> .	Id.
(3) <i>dṛṣṭānta</i> , example, 引 喻, <i>dper.brjod.pa</i> .	Id.
(4) <i>sādharmya</i> , homogeneity, 同類, <i>mt'un.pa</i> .	Application, 合.
(5) <i>vaidharmya</i> , hetero- geneity, 異類, <i>mi.mt'un.pa</i> .	Conclusion, 結.
(6) <i>pratyakṣa</i> , direct per- ception, 現量, <i>mñon.sum</i> . <i>pa</i> .	Id.
(7) <i>anumāna</i> , inference, 比 量, <i>rjes.su.dpag.pa</i> .	Id.
(8) <i>āgama</i> , authority, 至 教, <i>yid.c'es.pai.luñ</i> .	Id.
(1) "Proposition," <i>pratijñā</i> .	

A. *Pratijñā* consists in maintaining as one's own thesis a particular point of view concerning the twofold *probandum* already referred to. It is either based on the *śāstra*, or is the result of an independent intuition (*pratiḥhā*), or has been

heard from somebody else. And it is designed either to maintain one's particular point of view, or to show the mistake in another's argument, or to subdue the other's pride, etc.

B. *Pratijñā* is the argument that the *vādin* accepts of his own free will, as that which must be proved (以所應成自所許義 = **sādhyatvena svayam anujñāto 'rthah*); and it must be expressed to others in such a way that they can understand. Sthiramati explains how the various elements of the definition are necessary; "that which must be proved," because what is already proved is not a thesis; "accepts of his own free will," because what is said by another is not a *pratijñā*; "to others," in order to show that it takes place where there are a *vādin* and a *prati-vādin*; "expressed by words," because what is expressed by mere signs (*ingita*) of the body is not a *pratijñā*; "in such a way that they can understand it" because a proposition the meaning of which is not clear cannot be called a *pratijñā*.

(2) "Reason," *hetu*.

A. *Hetu* is meant to prove the *probandum*, and it shows forth that logical reason which is derived from the "example", "homogeneity," "heterogeneity," "direct perception," "inference," and "authority".

B. When an object (*artha*) to be proved is not yet evident, the reason consists in the indication of those characteristics which will make it known, and which rest upon its perceptibility or non-perceptibility by direct perception and so on. Perceptibility and non-perceptibility concern either the essence (自體, *svabhāva*) or the form (相貌, *nimitta*).

(3) "Example," *dṛṣṭānta*.

A. This also is designed to prove the *probandum*; it consists in adducing those same *dharma*s which are inherent in a reason and which are accepted by common belief, general knowledge, etc.

B. It consists in expressing the relation between what is

seen (*dr̥ṣṭa-anta*) and what is not yet seen (未見, *adr̥ṣṭa-anta*).

(4) A. "Homogeneity," that is similarity of characteristics (相貌, *rtaḥ, nimitta*); similarity of essence (自體, *no.bo.ñid, svabhāva*); similarity of action (業, *las, karma*); similarity of attributes (法, *c'oṣ, dharma*); similarity of cause and effect (因果, *rgyu.daṅ.ābras, kārya-kāraṇa*). It is worthy of notice that according to the Chinese translation the last four are subdivisions of the first item.

B. "Application" is a logical rule, rightly expressed, which adduces other facts belonging to the same class or genus in order to prove the attribute (of the subject).

(5) A. "Heterogeneity," reciprocal diversity. It has four aspects, which are the opposites of those referred to under (4) (or five according to the Tibetan translation).

B. "Conclusion." This consists in affirming that certitude has been reached.

Here Sthiramati gives the following example of a syllogism:— Suppose that a Buddhist wants to maintain against an *ātma-vādin* that the *ātman* does not exist. He will argue in this way:—

(1) *pratijñā*: all *dharma*s are *anātman*.

(2) reason: because, if we assume (*prajñapti*) that the *ātman* is in the *skandhas*, we fall into a fourfold mistake.¹

¹ Four cases are possible:—(a) the *ātman* has the characteristics of the *skandhas*; (b) it is in the *skandhas*; (c) it is in another place; (d) it is assumed without any relation to the *skandhas*.

(a) As the *skandhas* are not autonomous, but dependent on causes and conditions and subject to birth and destruction, the same implication would be necessary as far as the *ātman* is concerned; but this is contradictory to the common definition of the *ātman*.

(b) As the *skandhas* which are the basis (所依, *āśraya* or *ādharma*) are non-eternal, the *ātman* which rests upon them (能依, *ādheya*) must be non-eternal.

(c) In this case the *ātman* would be without cause and therefore without function (無用, *niṣkriya*).

(d) In this case the *ātman* would be isolated and free; no need therefore to strive for its liberation.

(3) "Example," namely those which we make when we assume that in the present the past is still existent.¹

(4) "Application": as the *ātman* has been refuted, the other attributes also, such as eternity, etc., are to be declared non-existent.

(5) "Conclusion": therefore the five *skandhas* are *anātman* and non-eternal.

(6) "Direct perception."

A. This has three characteristics, that is:—

(a) it is evident, 非不現見, *lhog.tu.ma.gyur.pa.*, *a-parokṣa*.

(b) devoid of imagination, 非思構所成; but Tib. *mñon . par . brtags . zin . yin . pa . ma . yin . pa . dañ* (reading doubtful) *brtags . par . bya . ba . yañ . ma . yin . pai . mñon . sum . gyi . ts'ad . ma .* = **parikalpita-parikalpya-abhāva*.

(c) devoid of error, 非錯亂所見, *ma . qk'rul . pa.*, *a-bhrānta*.

(a) It derives from the senses when they are uninjured, and it precedes *manaskāra*. It depends upon (a) production of homogeneous perception, 同類生, *mt'un.pa.skyes.pa*; (β) production of heterogeneous perception, 異類生, *mi.mt'un.skyes.pa*; but Tibetan, followed by *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra*, *yañ.dag.par.qdas.pa.skyes.pa*, *samatikrānta-utpāda*; (γ) proximity, 不極遠, *t'ag.rin.pa.ma.yin.pa*, *an-ati-dūratā*.

(a) When the *indriyas* belonging to the sphere of *kāma* (*kāmāvacara*) perceive (lit. are born in) objects belonging to the same sphere.

(β) When the senses belonging to a superior *bhūmi* perceive objects belonging to a superior *bhūmi*.

(γ) Obstructions which must be absent in order to have a direct perception are of four kinds, (i) obstruction which derives from covering, as through darkness or ignorance; (ii) obstruction which derives from being hidden, as through the force of some *mantra*, etc.; (iii) obstruction which derives

¹ The same arguments must be repeated here *mutatis mutandis*.

from being overpowered, 映障所礙, *zil.gyis.gnon.pa*, *abhībhava*, as the small by the great, etc.; (iv) obstruction which derives from bewilderment, *moha*, such as magic power, *māyā*, sleep, *taimirika*, etc.

(b) The second term also is twofold; first of all it includes the perception of objects which results as soon as these come in contact with us. So, e.g., when a doctor gives a medicine to a patient, through the colour, the smell, the taste, etc., he has a direct perception of the medicine. On the other hand, the virtues which are inherent in the medicine can only be imagined until the disease is over. They are no more imagined when one knows that the patient has recovered. The term refers also to the *adhimukti* or realization of a particular element, e.g. water, in another element, e.g. earth, in the process of meditation.

(c) *abhrānta* means absence of seven kinds of errors; these errors are the following:—

(a) *saṃjñā-bhrānti*, to think that an object is this when it is not this, *atasmin tad eva*; e.g. to take a mirage, *marīci*, for water.

(β) *saṅkhyā-bhrānti*; e.g. to see the complex in the elementary, as happens to the *taimirika*, who sees two moons instead of one.

(γ) *ākāra-bhrānti*, to suppose that an object has a certain form when it has not; e.g. to see a wheel in a turning fire.

(δ) *varṇa-bhrānti*; as in the case of someone suffering from *kamalā*, 迦末羅, *mig.ser.gyi.nad*.

(ε) *karma-bhrānti*, to attribute an action to something which in fact is not so acting; e.g. the appearance of movement in trees when one runs very fast.

(ζ) *dṛṣṭi-bhrānti*, to persist in the errors already referred to and to think that they correspond to reality.

(η) *citta-bhrānti*, to rejoice in these errors.

All these varieties of perception can be reduced to the four following:—

rūpendriya-pratyakṣa;

manah-pratyakṣa ;

loka-pratyakṣa, including in fact the two preceding ;

suddha-pratyakṣa, which can be *laukika*, as well as *lokottara*.

B. Perception is the very thing, rightly perceived, devoid of error. "The very thing" and "rightly" are intended to express the right perception of the *rūpa*, etc., through the eyes and to indicate that a pot, etc., that, according to common belief, is the object of perception, is, in fact, not the object of perception, as it is only a conventional assumption. 假, "perceived," is meant to indicate that in the act of perception all the causes of obstruction must be absent ; "devoid of error" excludes false and erroneous perceptions, as that of a *marīci*, etc.

(7) *Anumāna*.

A. It consists in the discrimination of an object through imagination. It is of five kinds (cf. above, p. 463, (4) A) :—*nimitta-anumāna* ; as to infer fire from smoke ; it depends on the fact that the relation between the two was noted before.

sva-bhāva-anumāna ; as to infer unperceived existence from a present perceived existence or from one part of an entity to deduce the unperceived part, e.g. to infer the past from the present or a car from a single portion of it, as a wheel.

karma-anumāna, from an action to infer the basis or the support of it ; e.g., when we see an object from afar, if it is motionless, we infer that it is a tree ; if it moves, we infer that it is a man.

dharma-anumāna ; when we know that many *dharma*s are inter-related, from the perception of some we infer the existence of the others. From birth we infer death, etc.

kārya-kāraṇa-anumāna, inference of notions which are related as cause and effect.

B. "Inference" is any conviction besides that derived from direct perception ; as, when we have already seen an

object and now see only a part of it, we infer the other part.

(8) "Authority."

A. It includes the teachings of the wise or the doctrines that have been heard from them or are in accordance with them. It is of three kinds: (a) it is included in the holy words; or (b) it represents the opposite (*pratipakṣa*) of the passions; or (c) it is not contradictory to the characteristics of the law.

B. It is not contradictory to the other two *pramāṇas*.

At the end of this chapter A adds the following notes on the syllogism in general:—

If someone asks why we have to formulate the proposition when we want to establish the argument assumed by us, the reply is that this proposition is meant to show the argument that we wish to prove. The "reason" shows, on the other hand, that that logical and sure evidence which is based upon a manifest fact is not absent in the object to be proved. The "example" indicates that evident object in which this logical reason is seen to be present. The other five elements of a syllogism are meant to express contradiction and non-contradiction with the "reason" and the "example". This contradiction consists in two kinds of fallacies, *aniścita*, uncertain, 不決定, *ma.ñes.pa*, and *sādhya-sama*, identical with the probandum, 同所成, *bsgrub.par.byā.ba.dañ.ādra.ba*. The *aviruddha*, on the other hand, is certain, *niścita*, *aikāntika*, 決定, *gcig.tu.ñes.pa*, and different from the *sādhya*, 異所成, *bsgrub.par.byā.bai.k'yad.pa*.

III

These are the contents of the logical chapters of the *Yogācāra* works as preserved in Chinese and partly in Tibetan. It is quite evident that they have a mixed character; purely logical doctrines are inserted in dogmatical discussions, and generally the various topics

are treated in such a way as to testify that *hetu-vidyā* did not yet fit quite well into the general scheme of the doctrine. Even those sections that deal with mere *vivāda*-rules, e.g. those dedicated to the *nigraha-sthānas*, have a far less systematic character than in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* or in the *Upāya-hṛdaya*; many of the items which come under that group have in fact very little to do with logic. The theory of the *nigraha-sthānas* itself is not based on the classification of the possible wrong formulations of a syllogism. A comparison with the list of the *nigraha-sthānas* given in the *Nyāya-sūtras* and in the *Caraka-saṃhitā* will prove useful in establishing the relation between the various texts.

NYĀYA-SŪTRAS (V, ii, 1).	CARAKA-SAMHITĀ ¹	A AND B
<i>pratijñā-hāni</i>	id. (4)	
<i>pratijñāntara</i>		= III, g
<i>pratijñā-virodha</i>	<i>viruddha</i> (13, cf. <i>vākya-doṣa</i>)	
<i>pratijñā-sannyāsa</i>		— I, <i>vacana-sannyāsa</i>
<i>hetv-antara</i>	id. (14)	included in II
<i>arthāntara</i>	id. (15)	included in II
<i>nirarthaka</i>	id. (10, <i>vyartha</i> , cf. under <i>vākya-doṣa</i>)	under III, e
<i>avijñātārtha</i>		= III, c, obscurity of expression
<i>apārthaka</i>	id. (11; cf. under <i>vākya-doṣa</i>)	under III, e
<i>aprāpta-kāla</i>	<i>kālātīta</i> (6)	III, f
<i>nyūna</i>	id. (8)	= III, c)
<i>adhika</i>	id. (9)	III, c)

¹ The numbers in brackets show the serial order that the various *Nigraha-sthānas* have in the actual list of the *Caraka-saṃhitā*.

NYĀYA-SŪTRAS (V, ii, 1).	CARAKA-SAMHITĀ	A AND B
<i>punar-ukta</i>	id. (12)	
<i>ananubhāṣaṇa</i>		included in II
<i>ajñāna</i>	id. (1)	
<i>apratibhā</i>		included in II
<i>vikṣepa</i>		<i>vacanābhībhava</i> II
<i>matānuyñā</i>	id. (5, <i>abhyanuyñā</i>)	
<i>paryanuyojyo-</i> <i>pekṣaṇa</i>	id. (3, <i>anuyojyasyā-</i> <i>nanuyoga</i>)	
<i>niranuyojyānuyoga</i>	id. (2, <i>ananuyoj-</i> <i>yasyānuyoga</i>)	
<i>apa-siddhānta</i> <i>hetv-ābhāsa</i>	<i>ahetu</i> (7)	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} \textit{prakaraṇa-sama} \\ \textit{samśaya-sama} \\ \textit{varṇya-sama} \end{array} \right.$

It is quite evident that we are confronted in A with un-systematic and perhaps archaic theories of the *nigraha-sthānas*, the classification of which seems to have been suggested more by extrinsic reasons concerning the behaviour of the disputants than by analysis of the intrinsic errors of a speech. Moreover, we do not find any trace of technical terminology. An argument is considered as wrong chiefly because it does not convey any meaning. Therefore it receives the general designation of "*vyartha*", meaningless. The ten varieties of this can be reduced to five only, as rightly suggested by Sthiramati himself. But this list of five has nothing in common with the five *hetv-ābhāsas* of the *Nyāya-sūtras*, except the *sādhya-sama*. The *anarthaka*, which happens when there is *arthānupalabdhi*, is the *anartha-nigraha-sthāna* of the N.S. and Caraka. The *apārthaka* is the same as that of Caraka and N.S. *Jāti* is simply enunciated.

Let us pass now to the most interesting section and consider first of all the question of the *pramāṇas*. Nāgārjuna knows only four *pramāṇas*, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna*, *upamāna*,

and *āgama*; these are referred to in the *Upāya-hṛdaya* and are refuted as self-contradictory in the *Vigraha-vyāvartanī*.¹

Asaṅga in his treatises reduces the means of knowledge to three only, *pratyakṣa*, *anumāna* and *āgama*,² and it is quite evident that in B even *āgama* is authoritative, according to him, only in so far as it is based on the first two *pramāṇas*. We must study these means of knowledge separately.

Pratyakṣa, according to A, must be *aparokṣa*,³ unmixed with imagination, *nirvikalpa*, and devoid of error, *abhrānta*, or *avyabhicāri*.⁴

The first two items of *aparokṣa* have some bearing upon the study of the dogmatics of Buddhist mysticism, but not so much upon the history of these doctrines, with which we are dealing here. The other two, *avyavadhāna* and *anati-dūrātā*, are more interesting to us, as they represent a classification of the various cases in which, owing to some hindrance, the direct perception of an object cannot be produced. The question of the *parokṣa* was discussed very early in Indian speculation. Patañjali and Caraka have already a list of the various *āvaraṇas*; then the complete series of the eight impediments that obstruct perception can be found in Vasu(bandhu)'s commentary on the *Śata-śāstra* of Āryadeva⁵ and they perfectly agree with the list given in the Sāṅkhya treatises (*Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, 7). The following scheme will show the analogies which our text presents with the other schools and at the same time its peculiarities.

¹ For the *Upāya-hṛdaya* and the *Vigraha* I can refer to my forthcoming translation in the Baroda Sanscrit Series.

² Three *pramāṇas* can be found also in the Commentary of Sthiramati upon the *Triṃśaka-kārikā* of Vasubandhu, p. 26.

³ Or *aparīkṣita*; this expression is, in fact, in the *Caraka-saṃhitā*, Sūtra-sthāna, xi, 8.

⁴ The two terms are almost synonymous, and the Chinese as well as the Tibetan can be translated in both ways.

⁵ For the list given in the *Śata-śāstra* see my translation of this text in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, 1925.

On the *āvaraṇas*, according to Patañjali and Caraka, see Strauss, *Mahābhāṣya ad Pāṇini*, 4, 1, 3, in *Aus Indiens Kultur, Festgabe Richard von Garbe*, 1927, p. 84.

<i>Patañjali.</i>	<i>Caraka.</i>	<i>Comm. on the Ś(ata) Ś(āstra).</i>	<i>Sāṅkhya texts.</i>	<i>A.</i>
<i>ati-sannikarṣa</i>	id.	id. (2)	as in Ś.Ś.	—
<i>ati-viprakarṣa</i>	id.	id. (1)	as in Ś.Ś.	<i>dūrata</i>
<i>mūrty-antara- vyavadhāna</i>	<i>āvarṣa</i>	<i>vyavadhāna</i> (6)	id.	} 1, 2
<i>tamasāvṛtatva</i>				
<i>indriya-daur- balyatva</i>	<i>karṣa-daur- balya</i>	<i>indriya-ghāta</i>	id.	
<i>ati-pramāda</i>	<i>mano-'nava- sthāna</i>	<i>mano 'nav.</i>	id.	4, <i>moha</i>
	<i>samānābhī- hāra</i>	<i>samānābhīhāra</i> (7)	id.	
	<i>abhibhava</i>	<i>abhibhava</i> (7)	id.	} 3, <i>abhibhava</i>
	<i>ati-saukṣmya</i>	<i>saukṣmya</i> (5)	id.	

The next necessary quality of *pratyakṣa* is according to A *abhrānta* or *avyabhicāri*; that is, it must be devoid of error. These errors can be of five kinds; in fact, it is evident that the two other errors given by Aśaṅga in the supplementary list of the seven *bhrāntis*, I mean *citta-bhrānti* and *dṛṣṭi-bhrānti* have more a dogmatical than a logical bearing and belong rather to inference than to direct perception. The *saṃjñā-bhrānti*, defined as consisting in believing *atasmin tad*, corresponds to the *avyabhicāri*, as understood by Vātsyāyana in commenting on N.S., I, 1, 4. It is rather interesting to note that the other varieties of *bhrānti* were accepted by Dharmakīrti, as we can infer from the examples given for each of them. Thus the *sāṅkhyā-bhrānti* (example, *timira*, as in Dharmak.) corresponds to the *indriya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of N.B.T.; the *nimitta-bhrānti* (example, *alāta-cakra*, as in N.B.T.; N.B. *āśu-bhramaṇa*) corresponds to the *viśaya-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa*; *karma-bhrānti* (example, a moving tree, as in N.B.T.; *nau-yāna* of the N.B.) corresponds to the *bāhyāśraya-sthita-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of the N.B.T.; *varṇa-bhrānti* (*kamala*) corresponds to the *saṃkṣobha* of the N.B., that is, to the *adhyātma-gata-vibhrama-kāraṇa* of the N.B.T. We must not discuss here whether Aśaṅga was right in assuming that *saṃjñā-bhrānti* is a separate class¹; but we

¹ In fact, it is clear that all the various *bhrāntis* consist in assuming *atasmin tad*.

must insist upon this analogy between Asaṅga and Dharmakīrti. We know that Dinnāga does not add the attribute *abhrānta* to his definition of *pratyakṣa* and that in his *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti* he attacked the epithet *avyabhicāri* given by the Naiyāyikas. On the other hand, Dharmakīrti defines *pratyakṣa* not merely as *kalpanāpodha*, but as *kalpanāpodham abhrāntam*. This addition is not an innovation introduced by him, but due to his acceptance of the old theory of the Sautrāntikas. This fact is not only proved by our texts, but also is clearly pointed out by Mallivādin in his *Ṭippaṇī* (p. 19, Stcherbatsky ed.).

But Asaṅga adds another division of *pratyakṣa* in four items, that is :—

- (a) *rūpendriya-pratyakṣa* ;
- (b) *manah-pr.* ;
- (c) *laukika-pr.*, which includes these two ;
- (d) *śuddha-pr.*, pure, which can be either *laukika* or *lokottara*.

This classification of direct perception is also worthy of notice, because it shows some points of contact with the fourfold *pratyakṣa* which we find in Dinnāga as well as in Dharmakīrti. In fact, it is easy to recognize that the first two items and the last correspond respectively to the *rūpendriya*, *manah*, and *yogi-pratyakṣa* of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, *Nyāya-mukha*, *Nyāya-bindu*, etc. It is difficult to see what the third item is meant to represent, but it seems that it has nothing to do with the *sva-samvedana-pratyakṣa*, which is very likely to have been an innovation due to Dinnāga and depending on his epistemological theories.

But, as it is evident from the texts, Asaṅga knew another definition of direct perception, namely that which we find in the *Saṅgīti* ; here the *pratyakṣa* is the very thing rightly perceived and devoid of error. The Chinese 自正明了無迷亂義 presupposes an original like this, *svayaṃ samyak-praṭīto 'bhrānto 'rthah*. The com-

mentary by Sthiramati clearly indicates that this definition is meant to distinguish the exact perception from the fictitious ; we cannot speak of having a perception of a pot. In fact, when we see a pot we cannot say that the knowledge that we have of the pot is direct perception, as this is confined to *rūpa*, etc., that is, to the *dharmas* from which it results. We find, therefore, here the same definition of direct perception which was formulated by Vasubandhu. In fact, we know from Uddyotakara that this master gave the following definition of *pratyakṣa* :—" *tato 'rthād vijñānam* " (*Nyāya-vārttika*, Benares ed., p. 40). That in this and in many other places Uddyotakara quotes *verbatim* from the works of Vasubandhu, and chiefly from his *Vāda-vidhi*, is proved by the refutation that Dinnāga writes of that same definition, which he attributes to the *Vāda-vidhi*.

Pramāṇa-samuccaya, chap. i, fol. 3a :—

*don.de.las.skyes.rnam.par.śes.
mñon.sum.yin.žes.byā.bai. . . .*

P.S.Vṛtti,¹ a, fol. 16 :—

*don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.śes.
mñon.sum.yin.žes.byā.bai.ādir. . . .*

P.S.V., b, fol. 79b :—

*don.de.las.skyes.pai.rnam.par.śes.pa.mñon.sum.yin.
no.žes.byā.ba.ādir. . . .*

It is important to see how one and the same author is trying to define perception in two different ways.

The fact is that according to the *Sūtras* or even to the Abhidharma literature there is hardly any place for *Pratyakṣa*, as it is understood in the other schools. It was relatively easy for the Vaiśeṣika or the Nyāya, both being realistic systems, to formulate a theory of perception, but it was

¹ As I said before, we have two translations of the *vṛtti* of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, which do not always agree and seem to be very often defective. This fact increases the difficulty of the text, which is one of the most abstruse.

not so easy to introduce this doctrine into a system which is chiefly based on the *dharma* theory and in which there was only question of particular moments of internal *viññānas*, each corresponding to its analogous external *āyatana* or *dhātu*. The definition as given in the *Saṅgīti* and strictly related to that of Vasubandhu is more in accordance with the traditional dogmatics; the second is far more elaborate and it is of the highest interest, as we already find there the terms which will be accepted by Dinnāga (*kalpanāpodha*) and by Dharmakīrti (*abhrānta*), showing therefore the first noticeable attempt towards the later and more organic development of Buddhist logic.

If we pass now to *anumāna*, or inference, we must point out that no explicit mention is to be found either in A or in B of the distinction between the *svārthānumāna* and the *parārthānumāna*, which is expounded in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, but which was certainly anterior to Dinnāga. In fact, the *parārthānumāna* was known to the *Tarka-śāstras*, as we shall see later on. But the distinction is implied in Asaṅga. Although, in accordance with traditional dialectics, the syllogism comes first in his works, *anumāna*, included in the list of the *pramāṇas*, represents the subjective means through which we can apprehend an object or a truth, quite independently of that verbal formulation which is inherent in a syllogism, and consists in the evident and valid conclusion that our mind can draw from some facts previously ascertained by direct experience.

To the two definitions contained in A and B we may add that of the *Vāda-vidhi*, referred to and criticized by Dinnāga:—

P.S., ii, fol. 9a:—

de.la.med.na.mi.abyuṇ.ba.

rañ.rig.rnam.pas.qdod.ce.na.

P.S.V., chap. ii, a, fol. 34b:—

rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa.nas.ni.med.na.mi.abyuṇ.bai.
don.mt'ön.ba.de.rig.pa.rjes.su.dpag.pa'o.

P.S.V., b, chap. ii, fol. 116b :—

rtsod . sgrub . par . med¹ . na . mi . qbyun . bai . don . mt'ön .
ba . de . rig . pa . ni . rjes . su . dpag . pa'o .

Now in this sentence we can easily recognize the definition of *anumāna* quoted and refuted by Uddyotakara in his *Nyāya-vārttika*, p. 54, *apare tu bruvate nāntarīyakārtha-darśanaṃ tad-vido 'numānam*. It is therefore evident that here also we are confronted with another fragment from Vasubandhu ; consequently the attribution of this definition to Dinnāga himself, as suggested by Randle, cannot be accepted. *Anumāna* presents the five fundamental aspects² which we shall find in the homogeneous example ; that is, we may have *nimitta-anum.*, *bhava-anum.*, *karma-anum.*, *dharma-anum.*, *kārya-kāraṇa-anum.* Only two items of this fivefold classification can be seen in the list of the *Vaiśeṣika-Sūtras* (*kārya*, *kāraṇa*, *saṃyogi*, *virodhi*, *samavāyi*, V.S. ix, ii, 1), while in *Dharmakīrti* we have, as is known, only *anupalabdhi*, *svabhāva*, and *kārya*. But, as we should expect, the section which is largely developed is that dealing with the syllogism. This is divided into two parts, a probandum, *sādhya*, and a proof, *sādhana*. The proof is said to be eight-fold ; but the eight members are in fact reduced to five only, as the last three are nothing but the *pramāṇas* already referred to.

The first thing that we must point out is that the probandum is considered as separate from the syllogism itself ; it is not the *pratijñā* or proposition. This probandum can be of two kinds, either an "essence" or a "quality", *svabhāva* or *viśeṣa*. In the first case the mere existence or non-existence of the subject can be predicated ; e.g. "the *ātman* is", "the *ātman* is not." In the second case the probandum is a particular predicate which must be proved as belonging or not belonging to the subject, e.g. "the *ātman* is all-pervading", "the *ātman* is not all-pervading." This notion of the *sādhya* is

¹ Xyl., *byed*.

² Randle, *Fragments from Dinnāga*, p. 21.

common to both A and B ; but, if we consider the five *avayavas*, which constitute the syllogism, the difference between the two groups of texts is greater. *Pratijñā*, *hetu*, *drṣṭānta* occur in both groups, although there is some difference as regards the various terms. But the last two terms are enunciated in a quite different way. While in B we find the same terms as in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, which occur also under another name in *Prāśastapāda*, in A we have only "homogeneity" and "heterogeneity", which are nothing but two different aspects of the *drṣṭānta* itself, as K'uei Chi already recognized.

This fact is worthy of notice, because it shows that, while in the first instance Asaṅga followed the ancient scheme, as handed down in the various *Tarka-śāstras*, or *Vivāda-śāstras*, in his greater work he acknowledges that the last two members are superfluous, thus practically reducing the syllogism to three members only, as it is proved by the additional notes with which he concludes the section that we are studying. If we were to follow the explanation of Sthiramati, we should be compelled to admit that a three-membered syllogism is also expounded in the *Saṅgīti*. But I do not think that his interpretation is exact. Although the definition given by the *Saṅgīti* is not perfectly clear, it seems that *upanaya* consists for Asaṅga in referring to the subject the analogous facts ascertained by the example, in order to prove the attribute expounded in the proposition. Sthiramati lived long after Asaṅga, when Buddhist logic, chiefly through the speculations of the *Tarka-śāstras* of Vasubandhu and Dinnāga, had reached a well-developed and advanced stage. At that time the syllogism was generally considered to be composed of three terms only ; so that, in order to bring the *Saṅgīti* into accordance with the new theories without altering the textual reading of the book, Sthiramati, who according to the Chinese sources was well versed in logic (*BEFEO*. 1911, p. 379), tried to give the terms another meaning. In fact, the syllogism that he gives as an

instance is really composed of three members only. The other two are meant to express that other attributes, proved by the same reason, can be predicated of the subject. That the reason "because it is a product" can prove the non-eternity as well as the absence of *ātman* is accepted by Dinnāga also and Dharmakīrti.

Therefore I am inclined to think that in the *Saṅgīti* we have, in fact, the traditional type of syllogism of five members, which Sthiramati, in his commentary, endeavours to explain in accordance with the new theories. If it be so, A would represent the first text in which we find an attempt to decrease the members of the syllogism.

We can represent the theories held by Asaṅga concerning the syllogism in the following way :—

		A.	
sādhya	{ sound		" non-eternal "
	{ <i>svabhāva</i>		<i>viśeṣa</i>
	{ <i>pratijñā</i>		" sound is non-eternal "
sādhana	{ <i>hetu</i>		" because it is a product "
	{ <i>dṛṣṭānta</i>	{ homogeneity,	" as a pot "
		{ heterogeneity,	" as the ether "
		B.	
sādhya	as before		
	{ <i>pratijñā</i>		
	{ <i>hetu</i>		
sādhana	{ <i>dṛṣṭānta</i>		
	{ <i>upanaya</i>		
	{ <i>nigamana</i>		

Be that as it may, the fact remains that we do not find in Asaṅga any trace of the theory of the threefold aspect of a "reason", the *trairūpya*, which certainly represents the starting point of the new logic. At least we have no grounds either for affirming or denying that Asaṅga must be credited with this innovation, which at any rate is very far from that perfection of elaboration which is the chief merit of Dinnāga's logic. At any rate, we know that some of the *Tarka-śāstras* expounded a five-membered syllogism, while in the Chinese sources this reduction of the syllogism to three members

is generally attributed to Vasubandhu, a statement that is supported by Vācaspati Miśra himself.¹ For Vasubandhu the three *avayavas* are *pratijñā*, *hetu* and *dṛṣṭānta*. We shall see subsequently his definition of the "reason". So far as the *pratijñā* is concerned, we know from Uddyotakara that the definition proposed by the *Vāda-vidhi* was *sādhyaḥbhidhānam pratijñā* (N.V. 117). This definition might at the first glance appear similar to that given by the Naiyāyikas; but this is not the case, as the word *sādhya* has in the definition of the *Vāda-vidhi* a different and peculiar meaning; here, in fact, *sādhya* is understood as *pakṣa-dharma*, where *pakṣa* is the object to be proved in the course of the discussion. This can be gathered from the full definition quoted in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*, chap. iii, fol. 45b, *rtsod.pa.sgrub.par.ni.bsgrub.byar.brjod.pa.tsam.dam.bca'.bar.agyur.ba.ma.yin.gyi.adi.ltar.p'yogs.bsgrub.bya.yin.no.p'yogs.de.ci.cig.rnam.par.dpyad.pai.adod.pai.don.te.* P.S.V. b, 127b: *rtsod.pa.bsgrub.par.ni.bsgrub.bya.brjod.pa.tsam.dam.bca'.ba.ma.yin.gyi.'on.kyañ.p'yogs.kyi.c'os.bsgrub.bya'o.p'yogs.gañ.yin.pa.rnam.par.dpyad.par.adod.pai.don.p'yogs.yin.te.* This means that the definition *sādhyaḥbhidhāna-mātram* has not the same meaning as in the *Nyāya-sūtras* and therefore is not subject to the refutation that Dinnāga made of the N.S. *Sādhya* is said to have here a technical sense. The original of the sentence, which is evidently composed of two fragments put together by Dinnāga, in order to show how the *Vāda-vidhi* interpreted the definition, can easily be restored into Sanscrit: *Vāda-vidhau sādhyaḥbhidhāna-mātram pratijñā na bhavati, api tu pakṣadharmah sādhyaḥ. pakṣo vicāraṇāyām iṣṭo 'rtho*. The restoration is obvious, as the second part of the definition is also to be found in the *Nyāya-vārttika* (p. 106) in a place where Uddyotakara refutes the Buddhist theories concerning the *pakṣa*. In this way we have also identified

¹ N.V.T., p. 298 (Benares ed.), *atra Vasubandhunā pratijñādayas trayo 'rayavā dur-vihitā Akṣapādalakṣaṇenety uktam*; cf. N.V., p. 136.

another of the manifold doctrines criticized by Uddyotakara in the course of his work without giving the name of their author.

No allusion, so far as I know, can be found in the *Nyāya-vārtika* to the theory of the "example" expounded in the *Vāda-vidhi*; but, fortunately, the definition of the *dr̥ṣṭānta* given in that book has been preserved by Diñnāga; and from this it appears that according to Vasubandhu the example is the expression of the relation between the reason and the *sādhya*. *P.S.V. a*, chap. iv, fol. 70b: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . pa . nas . de . dag . gi . ḡbrel . ba . nes . par . ston . pa . ni . dpe . ste*. *P.S.V. b*, fol. 154a: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . de . dag . ḡbrel . bar . bstan . pa . gañ . yin . pa . ḡdi . brjod . pa . dpe . yin . te*.

But what about the "reason"? Must the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory of the *hetu* be really attributed to Diñnāga or is it an innovation of Praśastapāda? Or are there proofs through which we can safely assume that it was anterior to both? Our sources show beyond any doubt that the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory was known to the Buddhist schools before Diñnāga.

First of all, we gather both from K'uei Chi and from Shên T'ai¹ that the theory of the *vi-pakṣa* was known to the ancient masters, who held two different opinions about it, which were not accepted by Diñnāga. Some thought that the *vi-pakṣa* is that which excludes the *sa-pakṣa* as well as the *pakṣa*; so in the syllogism "sound is non-eternal, because it is a product, like a pot" the *vi-pakṣa* "ether" excludes the contrary of the non-eternal as well as of the pot. On the other hand, other logicians said that the *vi-pakṣa* is everything except the non-eternal, while for Diñnāga, as is known, *vi-pakṣa* is *yatra pakṣo na vidyate*. We find here the same terms and elements which are peculiar to the definition of the reason as given by Diñnāga or in the *versus memoriales* quoted by Praśastapāda. Moreover, the actual

¹ K'uei Chi, chap. iii, Shên T'ai, chap. ii. Even for the *Tarka-śāstra* preserved in Chinese (see above, pp. 452 sqq.) the third *lakṣaṇa* of the *hetu* is *vi-pakṣa-vyāvṛtti*.

definition of the *hetu* contained in the *Vāda-vidhi* and refuted by Dinnāga confirms the Chinese sources. In fact, in that book the reason is said to consist in the enunciation of that *dharma* which is non-existent where there is no attribute analogous to the *sādhya*.

P.S.V. a, chap. iii, fol. 57b: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . pa . nas . de . mt' un . med . la . med . pa . yi . c' os . bstan . rtags . žes . pa .*

P.S.V. b, fol. 138a: *rtsod . pa . bsgrub . par . ni . de . lta . bui . med . na . mi . qbyun . bai . c' os . ŋe . bar . bstan . pa . ni . gtan . ts'igs . so .*

Dinnāga objects to the formal exactness of the definition; but it seems that even for Vasubandhu the *pakṣa-dharmatā*, *vi-pakṣe sattva*, *sa-pakṣe sattva* were the three fundamental characteristics of the reason. And, as we shall see later on, we have another text almost certainly anterior to Dinnāga in which the three *lakṣaṇa*-theory is clearly expounded.

We must now consider the various theories concerning logical errors. Asaṅga, in the concluding portion of A, reduces all the possible logical errors to the contradictory, which contains two sub-groups, inconclusive, *aniścita* or *anaikāntika* and *sādhya-sama*. There is no trace of this theory in B, where allusion to logical mistakes can be found eventually in the section dedicated to the *nigraha-sthānas*.

On the other hand, the *Vāda-vidhi* knows the same list of the *hetu-ābhāsas* as is accepted by Dinnāga, that is, *asiddha*, *aniścita*, and *viruddha*. The definition of these errors, if we are to follow the statement of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, was not given in the *Vāda-vidhi*; but they were only enunciated and specified through a corresponding example.¹

¹ P.S.V. a, chap. iii, 63b: *de . la . re . žig . rtsod . pa . sgrub . pa . nas . ma . grub . pa . dan . ma . nes . pa . dan . agal . bai . don . ni . gtan . ts'igs . lta . r . snan . ba'o . žes . zer . ro . de . la . ma . grub . pa . la . sogs . pa . ni . dper . brjod . nas . mts'an . ŋid . ma . yin . te . dper . na . mig . gi[s] . gzuñ . bya . yin . pai . p'yir . mi . rtag . go . žes . bya . ba . ma . grub . pa . dan . lus . can . ma . yin . pai . p'yir . rtag . go . žes . bya . ba . ma . nes . pa . dan . bye . brag . rnam . kyī . dbaṅ . po . las . byuñ . bai . p'yir . mi . rtag . go . žes . bya . ba . agal . ba . gcig . dan . grañ . can . pai . rgyu . la . obras . bu . yod . pa . yin . te . yod . pa . skye . pai . p'yir . ro . žes . bya . ba . agal . ba . gñis . pa'o .*

Asiddha: "sound is non-eternal, because it is perceived by the eye."

Aniścita: "sound is eternal, because it is formless."

The *viruddha* can be of two kinds, (a) if a Vaiśeṣika maintains that sound is eternal because it can be perceived by the senses; (b) if a Sāṅkhya says that the effect is pre-existent in the cause, because it is born. This means that according to the *Vāda-vidhi*, as is in fact proved by another passage of the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*, the *viruddha-hetvābhāsa* is either *pratijñā-viruddha* or *siddhānta-viruddha*, a theory that is refuted by Dinnāga in the *Nyāya-mukha* as well as in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya*.

Thus, gathering and comparing the various fragments and quotations scattered in the sources still available, we can supply, in a certain way at least, the loss of the original texts and attain a better knowledge of logical theories accepted or formulated by Buddhist writers before Dinnāga.

The first result of these investigations is that long before Dinnāga logic, which as *tarka* or *hetu-vidyā* was blamed and condemned by the ancient schools, was accepted at least as a subsidiary science by the Buddhist doctors and developed

P.S.V. b, fol. 146a: *re . ŋig . rtsod . pa . bəgrub . par . ni . ma . grub . pa . dañ . ma . nes . pa . dañ . qgal . ba . ni . don . ŋid . gtan . ts'igs . kyi . skyon . yin . te . de . la . ma . grub . pa . la . sogs . pa . rnames . kyi . mts'an . ŋid . ma . bśad . par . dpe . rnames . bśad . pa . ni . dper . na . ma . grub . pa . ni . sgra . mi . rtag . ste . mig . gis . gzuñ . bai . p'yir . ŋes . bya . ba . dañ . ma . nes . pa . ni . lus . can . ma . yin . pai . p'yir . rtag . go . ŋes . bya . ba . lta . bu'o . bye . brag . par . rnames . kyi . dbañ . pos . gzuñ . bar . bya . yin . pai . p'yir . mi . rtag . go . ŋes . bya . bai . qgal . ba . gcig . dañ . grañs . can . gyi . qbras . bu . rgyu . la . yod . pa . yin . te . skye . bai . p'yir . ro . ŋes . pa . ni . qgal . ba . gñis . pa . yin . no .*

P.S.V. a, 46, chap. iii, b: *rtsod . par . sgrub . par . ni . qdi . qgal . bai . gtan . ts'igs . ltar . enaḥ . ba . ŋid . kyi . k'oñ . du . bśdus . te . mts'an . ŋid . de . lta . bu . las . ni . qgal . ba . dañ . ldan . min . de . ni . qgal . bar . rnam . pa . gñis . su . bstan . te . dam . bca' . bai . don . dañ . qgal . ba . dañ . grub . pai . dañ . qgal . ba'o .*

P.S.V. b, chap. iii, fol. 129a: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . pai . yañ . qdi . qgal . bai . gtan . ts'igs . ŋid . du . qdus . pa . yin . gyi . dei . mts'an . ŋid . k'o . nas . de . ni . qgal . ldan . min . der . ni . qgal . ba . rnam . pa . gñis . bstan . te . dam . bca' . ba . dañ . qgal . ba . dañ . grub . pa . mt'a' . dañ . qgal . ba'o .*

on independent lines. Great masters such as Asaṅga and Vasubandhu, and perhaps many others whose names are lost, perfected the ancient rules of discussion, *kathā* or *vivāda*. Asaṅga was, as far as we can guess, the first to introduce *hetu-vidyā* in his dogmatical works.

The growth of the great philosophical systems, the codification, so to say, of the *sūtras*, the blossoming of a large dogmatical literature, devoted to commenting upon them, involved the sects in many discussions and struggles, through which not only were *vivāda* and its rules perfected, but mere heuristic began to leave the place to logic and epistemology, an achievement for which Dinnāga was mainly responsible.

Even for Vasubandhu logic was still a section of *vāda*; and, in fact, all the books written by him on this topic seem to have had the title *vāda*. According to Shen T'ai some of his works were:—

(1) 論心, *Lun hsin*, *Vāda-hṛdaya*, a title which reminds us very much of the **Upāya-hṛdaya*. The restoration as *Vāda-kaśāla*, proposed by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, is untenable.

(2) 論式, *Lun shih*, which is the *Rtsod.pa.sgrub.pa* of the Tibetan sources and the *Vāda-vidhi* of Uddyotakara, the fragments of which we have collected in this paper.

(3) 論軌, *Lun kuei*. This Vidyābhūṣaṇa restores arbitrarily as *Vāda-mārga*. In a previous paper I had no definite suggestion to advance.¹ But now I think that more precision is possible: 式 *shih* and 軌 *kuei* are synonyms in Chinese; therefore we have to suppose that even in the Sanscrit original two synonyms were used, *vidhāna* conveying the same meaning as *vidhi*, just as *shih* is equivalent to *kuei*. The Sanscrit sources confirm this hypothesis; in fact, a *Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkā* is quoted in the *Nyāya-vārttika*, p. 117, *yad api Vāda-vidhāna-ṭīkāyāṃ sādhayatīti śabdasya svayaṃ pareṇa ca tulyatvāt svayaṃ iti viśeṣaṇaṃ sādhayatīti kilāyaṃ śabdah prayojye prayaktari ca tulya-rūpo bhavatīti. . . .* We

¹ See my Notes on the fragments from Dinnāga, *JRAS.* 1928, 379-90.

find here expressed the same theory as already met with in that passage of the *Samyukta-saṅgīti* in which Sthiramati, who, as is known, was a follower of Vasubhandhu, is commenting upon the definition of the *pratijñā* contained in the *Saṅgīti*. Therefore I think that we can safely restore the Chinese 論軌 as *Vāda-vidhāna*.

Another conclusion that seems to follow from the material collected is that the question of a mutual borrowing between Dinnāga and Prasaśtapāda must be dropped. The fact that the theory of the three *lakṣaṇas* of a reason was known before Dinnāga rather implies that each master took it, although perhaps developing and formulating it in a better and more organic way, from some other, previous, school of *Vāda-śāstra* which, in this respect at least, held different views from those expounded in the *Nyāya-sūtras*. That this is really the case is proved by the fact that we have another text anterior to Dinnāga in which the *tri-lakṣaṇa* theory is clearly enunciated. This text is the *Tarka-śāstra*,¹ which, if we are to judge from the Chinese sources, enjoyed a very great authority not only in India, but also in Central Asia and in China. Dharmagupta studied that book while residing in Kuchā. Paramārtha translated it into Chinese and commented upon it.² We do not know its author; but it is evident that the present redaction of the text, as it has been handed down to us, was written by some Buddhist. Now in the second section of this book, dedicated to the *jāti*s, under the item *sādharmya-khaṇḍana* or *sādharmya-śama*, we read the following sentence 我立因三種相是根本法同類所攝異類相離, which translated into Sanscrit runs thus:—*asmābhis tri-lakṣaṇo hetuḥ pratiṣṭhāpitaḥ; tad yathā pakṣa-dharmāḥ sapakṣa-sattvaṃ vipakṣa-vyāvṛttiḥ*. References to the same doctrine can be found in other passages of the same book.

¹ On the 如實論 see Ui's *Studies in Indian Philosophy*, vol. i, 222.

² The commentary written by Paramārtha was called 如實論疏. Cf. BEFEO. 1911, p. 351, n. It is lost.

Although the text contains a list of *nigraha-sthānas* which is almost identical with that in the *Nyāya-sūtras*, it presents also some very precise similarities to views accepted by Vasubandhu. We know from Dinnāga that the theory of the *jātis*, as expounded by Vasubandhu in his *Vāda-vidhi*, was different from that expounded by Akṣapāda. Vasubandhu divided all the possible cases of *jātis* into three groups, *viparīta*, *abhūta*, *viruddha*, and in each of these were comprehended various sub-groups, which have been quoted by Dinnāga in the following way:—

P.S.V. a, chap. vi, fol. 94a: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . p'yin . ci . log . dañ . yañ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . ñid . dañ . agal . ba . ñid . rnams . kyis . lan . skyon . brjod . pa . yin . no . žes . brjod . do . de . la . p'yin . ci . log . ni . c'os . mt'un . pa . dañ . c'os . mi . mt'un . pa . dañ . rnam . par . rtogs . pa . dañ . bye . brag . med . pa . dañ . p'rad . pa . dañ . ma . p'rad . pa . rnams . la . ni . gtan . ts'igs . dmigs . šin . qbras . bu . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa . ni . t'e . ts'om . du . brjod . do .*

P.S.V. b, fol. 177a: *rtsod . pa . sgrub . par . ni . p'yin . ci . log . dañ . yañ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . dañ . agal . ba . rnams . ni . lan . gyi . skyon . žes . bśad . pa . yin . no . de . la . p'yin . ci . log . pa . ni . c'os . mt'un . pa . dañ . mi . mt'un . pa . dañ . rnam . par . rtog . pa . dañ . k'yad . par . med . dañ . gtan . ts'igs . dañ . p'rad . pa . dañ . dmigs . pa . dañ . t'e . ts'om . dañ . ma . brjod . pa . dañ . qbras . bu . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o .*

P.S.V. a, fol. 95a: *yañ . dag . pa . ma . yin . pa . ni . t'al . ga . bar . agyur . ba . dañ . don . kyis . go . bar . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o .*

95b: *agal . ba . ni . ma . skyes . pa . dañ . rtag . par . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa'o .*

P.S.V. b, fol. 178b: *t'al . ba . dañ . don . gyis . go . ba . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa . ni . yañ . dag . pa . [ma]¹ . yin . pa'o .*

Ibid.: *ma . skyes . pa . dañ . rtag . pa . mts'uñs . pa . la . sogs . pa . agal . ba . yin . pa .*

¹ Left out in the xyl.

The text, especially in the passage concerning the *viparīta*, does not seem to be quite correct ; but with the help of the commentary of Dinnāga we can make a list of the *jāti*s accepted by Vasubandhu which is analogous to that found in the fragment of the *Tarka-sāstra* preserved in Chinese, as is proved by the following scheme :—

<i>Vāda-vidhi</i>	<i>Tarka-sāstra</i>
VIPARĪTA	
<i>sādharmya-sama</i>	1 id.
<i>vaidharmya-sama</i>	2 id.
<i>vikalpa-sama</i>	3 id.
<i>aviśeṣa-sama</i>	4 id.
<i>ahetu (?) -sama</i>	5 id.
<i>prāpti-aprāpti-sama</i>	6 id.
<i>upalabdhi-sama</i>	7 id.
<i>saṁśaya-sama</i>	7 id.
<i>avarṇya-sama</i>	7 id.
<i>kārya-sama</i>	7 id.
ABHŪTA	
<i>prasaṅga</i>	id.
<i>arthāpatti</i> , etc.	id., plus : <i>prati-dṛṣṭānta</i>
VIRUDDHA	
<i>anutpatti-sama</i>	id.
<i>nitya</i>	id., plus : <i>svārtha-viruddha</i> .

As I have said before, we do not know anything about the author of this book, or its age ; but we may presume that it was anterior to Dinnāga. It may be also that this *Tarka-sāstra*, or a redaction of it, was existent already in the time of Vātsyāyana. There is in *Nyāya-sūtras*, ii, 2.3, an allusion to some logicians who denied any validity to *arthāpatti*, as being inconclusive. Vātsyāyana, commenting upon this *sūtra*, writes, *asatsu megheṣu vṛṣṭir na bhavātīti satsu bhavātīty etad arthād āpadyate, satsv api caikadā na bhavati seyam arthāpattir apramāṇam iti*. Now we have in the second

section of the *Tarka-sāstra* referred to the following passage :—
 可顯物者。有二種有義至有非義至。義至者若有雨必有雲。若有雲則不定或有雨或無雨, which can be translated into Sanscrit thus :—
yad abhivyaktaṃ dvi-vidham, arthāpattir anarthāpattiś ca. yadi vṛṣṭir bhavati tadā meghenāpi bhavitavyaṃ, meghe saty api tu kadācid vṛṣṭir bhavati, kadācin na bhavātīty anaikāntikatā.
 The correspondence is almost perfect ; so we should be inclined to think that Vātsyāyana and even the final redactor of the *Nyāya-sūtras* knew, if not this same text, then another of those *Tarka-sāstras* which seem to have existed long before Dinnāga and in which the criticism of *arthāpatti* was already formulated. That we can speak of *Tarka-sāstras* and not of a single *Tarka-sāstra* is proved by two references to them which can be found in the *Pramāṇa-samuccaya-vṛtti*. In both cases Dinnāga uses the plural ; moreover, the second fragment clearly shows a doctrine of the syllogism quite different from that contained in the text translated into Chinese. The first quotation is to be found at the beginning of the third chapter dedicated to the *parārthānumāna* :—

P.S.V. a, chap. iii, 44 : gal . te . rjes . su . dpag . par . bya . ba . ston . pa . ni . dam . bca' . ba . brjod . par . bya . ba . ste . rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnam . su . gzan . gyi . don . rjes . su . dpag . pa . dgon . pa . de . ji . ltar . yin . že . na .

P.S.V. b, 126b : hoñ . te . rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnam . su . gzan . gyi . don . rjes . su . dpag . pa . la . rjes . su . dpag . par . bya . ba . ston . pa . dam . bca' . ba . bkod . pa . gañ . yin . pa , which perhaps corresponds to an original like this :—*yady anumeyābhidhānam pratijñāvacanam iti Tarka-sāstreṣu parārthānumānam*. The other quotation occurs just at the beginning of the fourth chapter, in which Dinnāga expounds his doctrine of the " example " :—

P.S.V. a, chap. iv, 66b : rtog . ge . pai . bstan . bcos . rnam . su . ni . p'yogs . kyi . c'os . ñid . tsam . gtan . ts'igs . kyi . sbyor . ba . yin . no . žes . grags . te . dper . na . adi . byas . pai . p'yir . žes . pas . sgra . mi . rtog . par . go . bar . byed . pa . lta . bu'o .

P.S.V. b, fol. 149a: *rtog . gei . bstan . bcos . rnam . su . sbyor . ba . la . gtan . ts'igs . žes . bya . bas . p'yogs . kyi . c'os . tsam . ŋid . bstan . pa . yin . te . dper . na . byas . pai . p'yir . žes . bya . ba . adir . sgrai . žes . bya . ba . rtogs . pa . yin . no*.

These two translations do not perfectly agree, but their meaning is clear. According to the *Tarka-sāstras* the indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term in the syllogism is expressed by the *pakṣa-dharma*, and therefore the "example" is not necessary, that is, the middle term as residing in the subject of the inference is sufficient to prove the *probandum*. The theory, which we find elsewhere in the later development of Indian logic, is not accepted by Dinnāga, who thought the example absolutely necessary to express the other two *lakṣaṇas* of the "reason". The same theory is also referred to and criticized by the Jaina *Nyāyāvatāra*,¹ which calls it the theory of the *antar-vyāpti*. It was certainly not accepted by Vasubandhu, as Vidyābhūṣaṇa thought, but it was at any rate anterior to Dinnāga, as is sufficiently proved by the above reference, which shows how far logical speculations must have advanced even before the advent of the great Buddhist thinker. This very important development of logical schools in the period between Aśaṅga and Dinnāga, of which we have unfortunately some fragments only, must change our ideas of the authorship of the various theories which we find in the texts handed down to us, and also of the relation between the various authors. We must

¹ *Nyāyāvatāra* 20: *antar-vyāptyaiva sādhyasya siddher bahirudāhṛtiḥ | vyarhā syāt tad a-sad-bhāve 'py evam nyāya-vido viduḥ*

that is, a syllogism like this, "on the hill there is fire, because there is smoke," is perfectly valid, as there is an inner indissoluble connection between the major and the middle term and therefore the example "as in the kitchen" (*bahir-vyāpti*) is not necessary. This theory cannot be attributed to Vasubandhu, as suggested by Vidyābhūṣaṇa, *History of Indian Logic*, p. 268, n. (and in his edition of the *Nyāyāvatāra*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 17). That Vasubandhu formulated the syllogism in three members is proved by what we already said and by the clear statements of K'uei Chi and Vācaspati Miśra.

acknowledge that perhaps the treatises which still remain are but a small part of all which was written regarding this subject by some generations of thinkers. The similarity that we can find between this and that author does not imply a mutual borrowing, but can be quite well explained as due to the fact that either writer was following some previous authoritative text or original.

Meccan Musical Instruments

By HENRY GEORGE FARMER, Ph.D.

(PLATES VII-VIII)

AMONG the most interesting exhibits at the Rijks Ethnographisch Museum at Leyden are the Meccan musical instruments presented by the well-known Arabist and traveller, Professor Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje. They are displayed, in a special case containing other Meccan objects, in the bureau of the Director, Dr. H. H. Juynboll. These instruments, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me, were not collected by himself personally, but by a Jidda friend who, unfortunately, omitted to supply the requisite data for scientific registering. Even their names are denied us. Yet with the help of the donor, both by conversations and correspondence, and the courtesy of the Director of the Museum, the present writer is able to submit an account of these instruments, which comprise a lute, two viols, three rustic reed-pipes, an oboe, a flute, and a tambourine.

Even Dr. Snouck Hurgronje has not been able to furnish me with many precise details concerning instrumental music among the Meccans, for the simple reason that during his sojourn in the Holy City (1884-5) as a student of the sacred law, he was, naturally, obliged to keep aloof from anything like musical entertainments,¹ for, as Burton says, whilst music may not actually be sinful (*haram*) to a Muslim, it is certainly religiously unpraiseworthy (*makrūh*).² There are, however, many references to music and musical

¹ Ali Bey, who made the pilgrimage to Mecca at the beginning of the nineteenth century, said: "I never once heard the sound of a musical instrument or song during the whole of my stay that was executed by a man; but my ears were struck once or twice by the songs of some women" (*Travels of Ali Bey*, ii, 103).

² Burton, *Arabian Nights* (Lady Burton's edit.), vi, 59. For music in relation to Islām, see my *History of Arabian Music*, chap. ii.

instruments in Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka* (La Haye, 1888-9, 2 vols. and atlas).

We must bear in mind at the outset that the population of Mecca has long been cosmopolitan, especially since the 'Uthmānī Turkish conquest in 1517, and this fact helps us to appreciate the following statement made by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje to the present writer: "There is no special Meccan tradition in music or musical instruments. They are imported into Mecca chiefly from Egypt (+ Syria) and Al-Yaman, and the instruments keep their names from their country of origin."¹

Yet, in the early days of Islām, Mecca was one of the centres of Arabian musical culture, and many of the celebrated *virtuosi* mentioned in the *Kitāb al-aghānī* belonged to the Holy City, and among them Ibn Misjah, Ibn Muhriz, Ibn Suraij, and Yahyā al-Makkī, the first being the systematizer of the Arabian musical theory and practice of classical times,² and the last being the author of a *Kitāb fī'l-aghānī*³ which was used by Abū'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in compiling his own work.

THE LUTE. 1973/25.

History.—The Meccan lute is called the *qabūs*.⁴ According to the Turkish writer, Evliyā Chelebī (d. c. 1679), the *qapūz* was "invented" by a *vezīr* of Sultān Muḥammad II (d. 1481).⁵ The instrument, however, is described by Ibn Ghāibī in his *Jāmi' al-alḥān fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī*, written in 1418.⁶ The former writer refers to a three-stringed lute, whilst the latter deals with a five- (double) stringed instrument, which he terms the *qūpūz rūmī* ("Byzantine *qūpūz*").

¹ Since the Wāḥḥābī conquest, music has probably been proscribed.

² *Al-Aghānī*, iii, 84.

³ *Al-Aghānī*, vi, 17-18.

⁴ Snouck Hurgronje, *Mekka*, ii, 54. Landberg, *Arabica*, iii, 29.

⁵ Evliyā Chelebī, *Siyāḥat nāma* (Constantinople edit.), i, 638. *Travel's of Evliya Efendi*, i, ii, 235.

⁶ Bodleian MS., No. 1842, fol. 77v.

Of course the Arabs knew of the lute under the name of *mizhar* in pre-Islāmic times.¹ It was, apparently, a skin-bellied instrument, and it was used until the close of the sixth century, when the lute proper, a wooden-bellied instrument, called the *'ūd* (= "wood"), was introduced into Mecca from Al-Ḥīra.² Later, the Persian lute (*'ūd fārisī*) was adopted by the Arabs.³ When the *qabūs* was introduced we have no information. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) and Al-Fayūmī (d. 1333) speak of an instrument called the *mi'zaf*, which they describe as "a sort of a *ṭunbūr* made by the people of Al-Yaman",⁴ which, says the author (d. 1790) of the *Tāj al-'arūs*, is the instrument "now called the *qabūs*". The instrument may therefore be traced to pre-Islāmic times,⁵ and after.⁶

The word *qabūs* (*qabbūṣ* in 'Uman, and *qanbūṣ* in Ḥaḍramaut) would appear to be Turkish. Landberg, however, suggests an Arabic root in قَبَضَ ("to pinch", "to take with the finger-tips"), and equates قَبَضَ (= مَبَضَ) with قَرَعَ ("to strike, play a musical instrument").⁷ On the other hand, the persistence of such words as the 'Uthmānī Turkish *qūpūz* قوپوز, the Uzbek *qūbūz* قوبوز, or *qāwūz* قاولوز,⁸ and the Kirghiz *gūbūz* قوبوز, is too constant to be ignored. Landberg himself admits, however, that it is not impossible for the instrument to have been introduced by the Turks,⁹ seeing that the Ghuzz (from 1104) and the Ayyūbids (1173-1228) held sway in Al-Yaman, whilst the 'Uthmānī Turks have ruled from 1517 (1512) to 1916. The late Dr. J. P. N. Land

¹ *Iqd al-farīd* (Cairo edit., 1887-8), ii, 186.

² Al-Mas'ūdī. *Prairies d'or*, viii, 94.

³ *Al-Aghānī*, i, 98.

⁴ Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v. عَزَفَ.

⁵ *Kitāb al-īmā' wa'l-īmā'ifā'*. Madrid MS., No. 606, fol. 13-14.

⁶ Lane, *Lexicon*, loc. cit.

⁷ Landberg, op. cit., 29-30.

⁸ Fitrat, *توزيک قبال سبقة موسيقاى*, (Tashkent, 1927), p. 43.

⁹ Landberg, 30-1.

argued for the Turkish origin of the word, which is also the opinion of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje.¹

The Exhibit.—Total length, 100 cm. Greatest depth, 11 cm. Greatest width, 25 cm. The instrument is made of wood, with the exception of the lower portion of the belly (*wajh*),² which is covered with skin to the extent of 33 cm. The face of the neck (*'unq, raqaba*) is flat, and runs flush with the belly, there being neither fingerboard or frets (*dasātīn*). Strictly speaking, one can scarcely refer to a neck in this particular case, seeing that the entire instrument, from the nut (*anf*) downwards, constitutes the sound-chest (*kāsa, qaṣ'a*), the whole being made in one graduated piece, hollow throughout. Indeed, the three chief sound-holes (*a'yūn, shamsiyyāt*) are in the face of the neck, the minor sound-holes being at the back. The instrument is beautifully made, being exquisitely carved and decorated in colours.

Unlike the classical lute (*'ūd*),³ the *qabūs* has no *musht* or bridge-tail-piece. It is mounted with a separate bridge (*hāmīla, faras*), as well as a separate tail-pin (*zubaiba*) to which the strings (*awtār*) are fastened. There are six tuning-pegs (*malāwī, 'aṣāfīr*), five large and one small, but we have no information concerning the grouping of the strings or the *accordatura* (*taswiya*). The *qanbūs* of Ḥaḍramaut, which is practically identical with the Meccan exhibit in shape, possesses seven strings, one of metal and six of gut, the latter being tuned in pairs. In the Ḥaḍramī instrument, the lowest string is of metal, and the *accordatura* is in fourths, like the *'ūd* of classical days. Dr. Snouck Hurgronje mentions the Meccan *qabūs* being used by some pilgrims to Sittanā

¹ Landberg, 114. Indeed, the name given to the musical instruments of the Nabataeans and Jarmaqs by Ibn Khurdādhbih (*d.* 912), might very well refer to *qunbūzāt* (قنوزات = قنوزات), as I have already hinted in my *History of Arabian Music* (p. 6). See also *JRAS.* 1928, 515.

² The classical names for the various parts of the lute after Al-Fārābī are given, followed in some instances by the modern Egyptian terms after Villoteau.

³ Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that the word *'ūd* is not used by the Meccans, except in poetry.

Maimūna.¹ It is described by him as a four-stringed instrument much like the *kamānja*.² The Ḥaḍramī *qanbūṣ* is played with a plectrum (*miḍrab*, *rīshat al-nasr*) of quill, 15.5 cm. long.

THE VIOLS. 1973/26 AND 27.

History.—The earliest viol that we read of as used by the Arabs is the *rabāb*. Legend asserts that it was known to them before and during the time of the Prophet.³ We know of it definitely as a bowed instrument from the tenth century, when it is described by Al-Fārābī⁴ and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'.⁵ In Arabic, *rabāb* was primarily a generic term for any bowed instrument, in the same way, perhaps, as *kamān* in Persian and *ghizhak* in Turkish, whatever specific types these names may have represented later.

Several distinct types of the viol may be recognized among the Arabs. In Al-Ḥijāz, both the flat-chested type and the long-necked globular-chested type, known in Egypt respectively as the *rabāb al-shā'ir*⁶ and *kamānja 'ajūz*,⁷ were in common use.⁸ The former has ever been a favourite with the *badawī*, as Ibn Ghaybī (d. 1435) tells us.⁹ In the sixteenth century, the *rabāb* was to be found even in the Meccan cafés.¹⁰ The *kamānja 'ajūz* type, such as we have

¹ Mekka, ii, 54-5.

² The Meccan *qanbūṣ* exhibited is certainly not "much like" the *kamānja 'ajūz* of Lane (*Mod. Egypt.*, chap. xviii), to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers us. There is, however, a type of *kamānja* to which it could be likened. See Engel, *Catalogue of the Musical Instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, 210.

³ Evliyā Chelebi, *Travels*, i, ii, 226, 234.

⁴ Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 77.

⁵ Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Bombay edit.), i, 91-2.

⁶ And the *rabāb al-mughannī*.

⁷ Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, 900, 916. Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th ed.), 356, 364.

⁸ Doughty, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1888), i, 264, 289. *Catalogue of the Crosby Brown Collection of Musical Instruments* (1905 et seq.), ii, 81-2.

⁹ Bodleian MS. cit., fol. 78v.

¹⁰ De Sacy, *Chrest. arabe*, i, 159 of text.

in one of the exhibits (No. 27),¹ is fully described in the *Kanz al-tuhaf* (fourteenth century) under the name of *ghishhak*,² by Ibn *Ghaibī* under the names of *kamānja* and *ghizhak*, each being a separate type,³ and by *Aḥmad Ughlu Shukrullāh* (fifteenth century), a Turkish writer, who calls it the *ighigh*.⁴

Mecca probably took the name (√Pers. *kamāncha*, dim. of *kamān*), as well as the instrument, from Egypt, where we read of it as early as the thirteenth century.⁵ Egypt may have borrowed it during the Kurdish ascendancy of the *Ayyūbids*, as the instrument was considered almost a national instrument with the Kurds.⁶

The Exhibits.—The first instrument (No. 26) is an unusual type and quite dissimilar from the *kamānjāt* of Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Turkestan,⁷ and is probably indigenous. Total length, 78.5 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 8 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 7.5 cm. Length of foot, 5.5 cm. The neck, called the '*amūd*' in Egypt, which is cylindrical, and the tuning-peg box are made of one piece of plain wood. The foot is of iron, and is inserted into the lower end of the neck, passing through the sound-chest. The latter is a coco-nut (*jauz hindī*) shell, one-third of which is cut off. Over this cut portion a skin is stretched which serves as the belly, and is fastened to the shell by means of nails. The back of the sound-chest is perforated with innumerable sound-holes. There are four tuning-pegs, and the gut strings (which in the present exhibit are scarcely original) pass over a nut. The bridge exhibited is also not original.

This would appear to be the type of *kamānja* to which Dr. Snouck Hurgronje refers in his *Mekka*, since it is a four-

¹ It actually corresponds in size with the *kamānja farkh* or *kamānja suḡhayyir* of Villoteau.

² Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 262.

³ MS. cit., 78-78v.

⁴ Lavignac, *Ency. de la Musique*, v, 3012.

⁵ Al-Maqrīzī, *Hist. des Sultans Mamlouks de l'Égypte*, i, i, 136.

⁶ Berlin MS., We. 1233, fol. 47v.

⁷ Bowed instruments are not used in Ḥaḍramaut. Landberg, 25.

stringed instrument. We have no information concerning its *accordatura*, but the four-stringed *kamānja rūmī*, which is not unlike the European viol, is sometimes tuned—from the lowest to the highest string—A. E. G. d.¹ The bow (*qaus*), which is the same shape, only smaller, as the warrior's bow, is of wood, with horse-hair stretched from end to end. Horizontal length, 65.5 cm. Width of arc, 6.5 cm.

The second instrument (No. 27) is clearly of Egyptian provenance. Total length, 73 cm. Diameter of sound-chest, 9.5 cm. Depth of sound-chest, 5.5 cm. Length of foot, 20.5 cm. Its construction, in general principles, is the same as that of the preceding. The sound-chest, which is of coco-nut, is open at the back, where it is cut off. There are two tuning-pegs, and the strings pass over a crude, bulky nut, which, obviously, is not original. The two strings are made of horse-hair, and are attached to a fork or tail-pin, which is distinct from the foot. The bridge is missing.

The instrument is well made, the neck, tuning-pegs, peg box, and scroll are nicely finished in colours of black, yellow, red, and green, the latter also being the colour of the belly skin. We do not know its *accordatura*, but the Egyptian instrument of this type has its strings tuned a fourth apart.²

REED-PIPES. 1973/128, 129, 29.

History.—As I have remarked elsewhere,³ the Arabs called every instrument of the "wood-wind" family a *mizmār*, although the term was also used specifically for a reed-pipe, i.e. a reed-blown pipe. It is highly probable that the early *mizmār* was a simple reed-pipe with a cylindrical tube, played with a single reed. As early as the sixth century the poet Al-Muzarrid tells us of the *mizmār* at a convivial party.⁴

¹ See exhibit 149, *Catalogue . . . du Musée Instrumental du Conservatoire royal de Musique de Bruxelles*. Villoteau, *Description*, i, 882. Fétis, *Hist. Mus.*, ii, 141.

² The fifteenth century *kamānja* of Ibn Ghaibī was tuned similarly.

³ *JRAS*. 1929, p. 119.

⁴ *The Mufaddaliyyāt*, xvii.

In the following century, the *mizmār* and *duff* (tambourine) were the martial instruments of the Jewish tribes of Al-Ḥijāz.¹ The *mizmār* was used as an accompaniment to the singers of the early Umayyad period.² The Prophet Muḥammad so highly esteemed the tones of the instrument that he likened the chanting of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī to "a reed-pipe (*mizmār*) from the reed-pipes of David",³ although there is a *Ḥadīth* which says that the Prophet stopped his ears when he heard the *mizmār*.⁴

The double reed-pipe is called the *diyānai* (? *dūnai*, "double nai") by Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. 912),⁵ whilst Al-Fārābī (d. 950) describes it as the *mizmār al-muzawwaj* ("married *mizmār*"), the *mizmār al-muthannā* ("double *mizmār*"), or the *diyānai*.⁶ From the eleventh century, the word *zammāra*, later corrupted to *zummāra*,⁷ has been used,⁸ although not always perhaps in reference to a double reed-pipe. In an Arabic treatise entitled *Al-shajara dhāt akmām al-ḥāwiya uṣūl al-anḡām*, the "wood-wind" comprise the *nāy*, *zamr*, and *mauṣūl*.⁹ The last-named instrument is mentioned as early as the thirteenth century,¹⁰ and the word means "joined". This leads one to conclude that the *mauṣūl* was also a double reed-pipe.

In modern times, *zummāra* as the name for a double reed-pipe survives in Egypt,¹¹ and also in Mecca.¹² In North Africa, however, the *zammāra* is described as a "chalumeau ou

¹ *Al-Aghānī*, ii, 172.

² *Al-Aghānī*, ii, 121.

³ *Iqd al-farīd*, iii, 176.

⁴ Ibn Khallikān, *Biog. Dict.*, iii, 521.

⁵ *JRAS.* 1928, p. 511.

⁶ Kosegarten, *Lib. Cant.*, 204.

⁷ Schiaparelli, *Vocabulista in Arabico* (13th century), s.v. "*fistula*".

⁸ Seybold, *Glossarium Latino-Arabicum* (eleventh century), s.v. "*fistula*".

⁹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 1535. See Villoteau, op. cit., i, 617.

¹⁰ Al-Maqrizī, *Histoire*, i, i, 136. Ibn Ḥajar, Berlin MS., We. 1505, fol. 24. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il, *Safinat al-mulk*, 471.

¹¹ Lane, *Modern Egyptians* (5th Edit.), p. 367.

¹² Snouck Hurgronje, Doughty, *Travels*, ii, 118, refers to a double reed-pipe at Khaibar as a *mizmār*.

flageolet",¹ whilst the double reed-pipe is termed the *maqrūn* or *maqrūna*.² In Syria and Palestine the latter instrument is called the *mijwiz* (sic).³

With the appearance of reed pipes with conical tubes played with a double reed like the Persian *surñāy*, or the Arab *nāy zunāmī* (*zulāmī*), the cylindrical tube instruments were relegated to the folk and mendicant class, with whom they have since remained.

The Exhibits.—No. 128. Cylindrical tube of bamboo, 18.2 cm. in length. With the reed inserted, 22.7 cm. in length. There are five finger-holes (*thuqab*) at the following distances from the *manfakh* or place of blowing:—

8	cm.
10.8	„
13.1	„
15.7	„
118.4	„

No. 129. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo, with a Vandyke pattern scratched on each. The tubes are fastened together with string. Length of tubes, 20 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 23.7 cm. There are five finger-holes in each tube, at the following approximate ⁴ distances from the *manfakh*:—

8.7	cm.
11.4	„
14.1	„
16.8	„
19.5	„

No. 29. Two cylindrical tubes of bamboo fastened together with string and wax. Length of tubes, 23.6 cm. Length with reeds inserted, 26 cm. There are five finger-holes in

¹ Beaussier, *Dict. pratique Arabe-Français*.

² Lavignac, *Encyclopédie*, v, 2793. *Revue Africaine*, 1866.

³ Dalman, *Palästinisches Dīwān*, 25. Cf. *Cat. of the Crosby Brown Collection*, ii, 80, 81.

⁴ I say "approximate" because the distances in the two tubes do not strictly correspond.

each tube, at the following distances approximate from the *manfakh*:—

9.7 cm.
12.5 „
15.4 „
18.3 „
21.1 „

The reed with which these instruments are blown is probably the oldest type of vibrating reed known to us. It consists of a hollow piece of cane stopped at one end, a horizontal slit being made in it, penetrating to the interior cavity, so as to make a vibrating tongue.¹ The reed is invariably attached to the tube by means of string so as to prevent loss.²

THE OBOE. 1973/28.

History.—The Arabs were acquainted with the oboe from an early period. About the beginning of the ninth century, a famous wind-instrumentalist at the *Khalifate* court, named *Zunām*, invented or improved an oboe, which was called after him the *nāy zunāmī* or *zunāmī*.³ The name fell into desuetude in the East, but in the West it continued to be used for many centuries, although corrupted into *zulāmī*.⁴ This is probably the instrument which is described by *Al-Fārābī* (d. 950)⁵ and *Ibn Zaila* (d. 1048)⁶ under the titles of *mizmār wāḥid* and *nāy* respectively. It is the *zamr* of the *Mamlūk* military bands,⁷ and the *mizmār* (in Persian *nāy siyāh*) of the *Kanz*

¹ This reed is described and delineated by Villoteau, *op. cit.*, i, 966. Plates (vol. ii), cc, fig. 24.

² In the plate one of the reeds of No. 29 has slipped down into the tube of the instrument.

³ *Tāj al-'arūs*. *Al-Ḥarīrī*, *Maqāmāt*, xvii. *Al-Maqqarī*, *Moh. Dyn.*, i, 56. *Schiaparelli*, *op. cit.* *Ibn Khaldūn*, *Prolegomenes*, ii, 353.

⁴ Cf. *Ency. of Islām*, ii, 136, where *zallāma* (*sic*) is considered a *metathesis* of *zammāra*.

⁵ *Leyden MS.*, Or. 651, fol. 78. *Kosegarten*, *Lib. Cant.*, 98.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. MS.*, Or. 2361, fol. 236.

⁷ *Al-Maqrizī*, *op. cit.*, i, i, 173.

al-tuḥaf (fourteenth century).¹ Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435) describes it as the *zamr siyāh nāy*.²

The *surṇāy* or *surṇā* of the Persians appears to have been a smaller type of oboe. It was a martial instrument with the 'Abbāsid *khalīfs* in the ninth century,³ and was used similarly by the Fātimids in the eleventh century,⁴ and by the Mughals in the fourteenth century.⁵ At the same time, the terms *zamr* and *surṇā* appear to have been interchangeable in many instances. The *surṇā* is described by Ibn Ghaibī,⁶ and by the author of the *Sharḥ al-adwār*.⁷ Under Turkish influence the word has been altered to *zurnā*, and has become interchangeable with *zamr*.⁸

In Spain and North Africa there was a kind of oboe known as the *ghaiṭa*, which we read of as early as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. 1377), who identifies it with the *surṇāy* of the Mughals.⁹ The name still persists in Spain, Morocco, and Algeria, although in Southern Tunisia it is called the *zammāra*, whilst in Constantine it is the *zurna*.

The Exhibit.—This instrument has a conical tube of cherry-wood (*karaz*), with a separate head (*faṣl*)¹⁰ of boxwood (*baqs*), of a combined length of 30 cm., terminating in a bell or pavilion. There are seven finger-holes in the front of the tube and one thumb-hole at the back, the latter being called the *qawl* ("speech").¹¹ The bell also contains a number of small holes for accoustical purposes.

It is played by means of a double-reed (*qashsha*) which is

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.

² MS. cit., fol. 80.

³ *Al-Aghānī*, xvi, 138.

⁴ Nāṣir-i Khusrau, *Safar nāma*, 47.

⁵ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 126.

⁶ MS. cited, fol. 80.

⁷ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v-174.

⁸ Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931.

⁹ Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, ii, 126.

¹⁰ I give the modern Egyptian terms for the various parts of the instrument as given by Villoteau. See also Delphin et Guin, *Notes sur la Poésie et la Musique Arabes*, pp. 38-9.

¹¹ Cf. the term "speaker key" in the European clarinet.

fastened to a brass staple (*laulā, laulya*) upon which is mounted a disc called the *ṣadaf*, or *ṣadaf mudawwar*, because it is generally made of shell or bone. The player usually takes the reed completely into his mouth, his lips touching the *ṣadaf*.

The head (*faṣl* or *fāṣila*) is a wooden cylinder 9 cm. long, 7.5 cm. of which is fitted into the upper interior of the tube of the instrument. A portion of this cylinder is cut out on one side, and ordinarily this "cut side" is turned towards the line of the finger-holes of the tube. When, however, the "uncut side" of the cylinder is turned towards the line of the finger-holes, the two upper finger-holes are closed, thereby lowering the pitch of the instrument.

The total length of the instrument, with reed and spindle added, is 33 cm. The exhibit is clearly of Egyptian provenance, and is practically identical with the *zamr*, or *zurnā ṣuḡhayyir*, which is fully described and delineated by Villoteau.¹ The finger-holes are situated at the following distances from the end of the reed :—

5.3 cm.
7.7 "
10.4 "
13 "
15.6 "
18.1 "
20.8 "

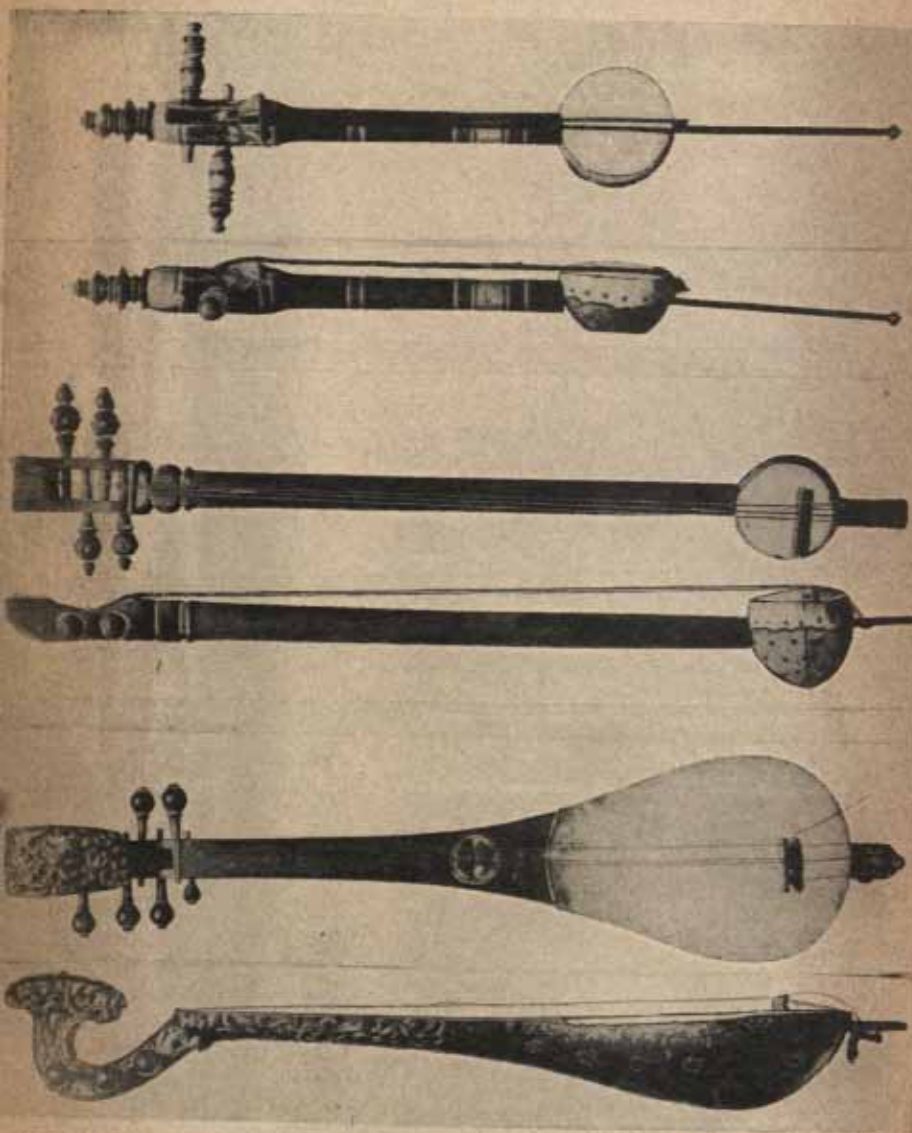
THE FLUTE. 1973/28.

History.—Elsewhere I have shown² that the pre-Islāmic flute was probably called the *quṣṣāba* (= *qaṣaba*).³ With the influence of Persia, which brought the word *nāy*, the Arabic name was neglected in the East, and the flute came to be known as the *nāy abyād* ("white *nāy*"), so as to distinguish it from the oboe which was called the *nāy aswād* ("black

¹ Villoteau, op. cit., i, 931, and plates.

² *JRAS.* 1929, p. 120.

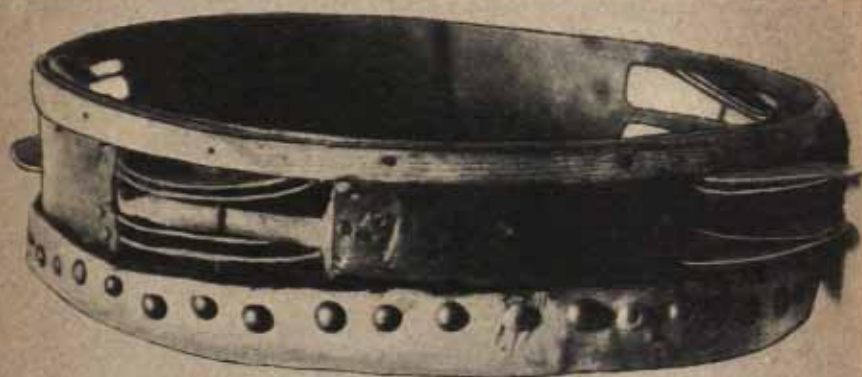
³ *The Muṣaddaliyyāt*, xvii.



VIOL.
No. 27.

VIOL.
No. 26.

LUTE.
No. 25.



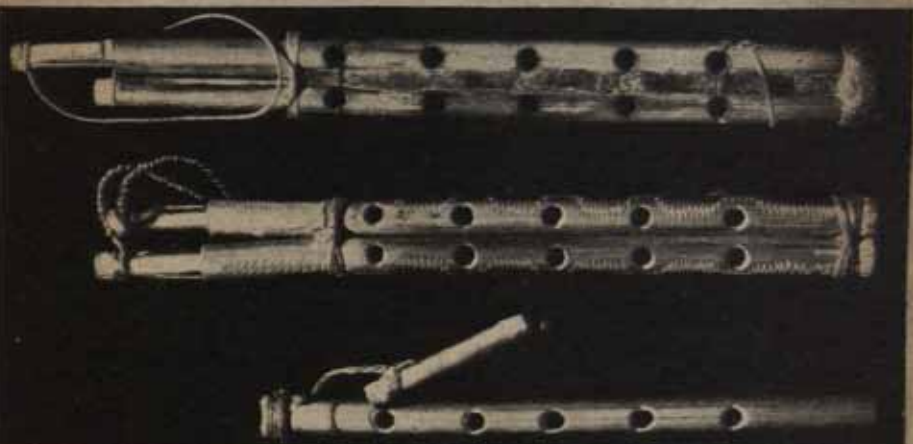
TAMBOURINE.
No. 35.



FLUTE.
No. 28.



OBOE.
No. 30.



REED-PIPES, No. 29,
No. 129,

No. 128.

nāy").¹ In modern times the word *nāy* has stood for flute in Egypt² and Syria.³ Only in the West has the old Arabic name *qaṣaba* persisted.⁴

The small flute or fife has generally been called the *shabbāba* (*shabāb* = "youth"). This is the designation in North-West Africa,⁵ although the term *juwāq* is just as frequently used.⁶ In Egypt, *shabbāba* often stands for the *flûte à bec*, in common with the term *ṣaffāra* (vulg. *ṣuffāra*).⁷ The latter designation, I am informed by a native of Jidda, would properly be the name for the Meccan flute exhibited, because it is made of brass (*ṣufr*). This reminds us that Ibn Sida (d. 1065) says that the *ṣaffāra* is "a hollow thing in which a boy whistles to pigeons", to which definition Al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414) adds that it was made of copper (*naḥās*).⁸

The *nāy* is ignored by Al-Fārābī (d. 950), because he counted the flute among the instruments that were inferior (*ukhur*), whilst the *mizmār* was considered to be among the perfect (*akmāl*) instruments.⁹ The flute is described under the name of *nāy abyād* in the *Sharḥ al-adwār* (fourteenth century),¹⁰ and in the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (fourteenth century) as the *bīsha*.¹¹ Ibn Ghāibī (d. 1435) gives details of the instrument as the *nāy safīd* ("white *nāy*").¹² All these flutes were made of wood or bamboo.

The Exhibit.—This is a vertical flute, played by directing

¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.

² Villoteau, op. cit., i, 954. Lane, op. cit., 362.

³ Russell, *Natural History of Aleppo* (2nd ed.), i, 152.

⁴ Salvador-Daniel, *The Music and Musical Instruments of the Arab*, 109. Christianowitsch, *Esquisse historique de la Musique arabe*, 31. Delphin et Guin, *La Poésie et la Musique arabes*, 37.

⁵ Christianowitsch, 31.

⁶ Salvador-Daniel, 116. Delphin et Guin, 45.

⁷ Villoteau, i, 951.

⁸ *Al-Qāmūs*, s.v. صفر.

⁹ Leyden MS., Or. 651, fol. 15.

¹⁰ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 173v.

¹¹ Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 263.

¹² MS. cit., fol. 79v.

the wind from the lips sharply across the orifice at the *manfakh* or blowing-place. To effect this the instrument is not held vertically, but with the bottom end slightly inclined to the left side. Unlike the better type of *nāy*, this instrument has no *rās* or head with which to support the lip of the player.

The tube is cylindrical and of brass, its length being 48 cm. It has six finger-holes at the following distances from the *manfakh* :—

21·6 cm.

24·7 „

27·7 „

32·5 „

35·4 „

38·7 „

THE TAMBOURINE. 1973/35.

History.—The generic name for tambourine in Arabic was *duff*. Al-Muṭarrizī (d. 1213) says that there were two kinds of *duff*, the rectangular and the round. In the specific sense, however, *duff* stood for the former type, and *dā'ira* for the latter. Some legists placed the former among the forbidden instruments, whilst the latter was made "allowable". Others said that it was only the tambourine with "jingles" that was censured. The *duff* was known in pre-Islāmic times, and was a particular favourite with the women.¹ In the sixteenth century it was used in the Meccan cafés.²

The round form was apparently the *ghirbāl*, which had the approval of the Prophet.³ It had no "jingles", but "snares" were stretched across the inside of the "head".⁴ This type, seemingly, was afterwards called the *bandair* or *bandīr*, such as we find nowadays in North-West Africa.⁵

¹ Farmer, *History of Arabian Music*, 27.

² De Sacy, op. cit., i, 159.

³ *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v.

⁴ *Kitāb al-imtā'*, fol. 12v.

⁵ Villoteau, i, 988, describes the Egyptian *bandair* with "jingling plates", which properly belong to the *tār*.

The round type possessing jingling plates in the shell was called the *tār* or *tar*.¹ Early in the twelfth century, we read of it in Al-Yaman,² and it is also referred to in the thirteenth century *Vocabulista in Arabico*, and in the *Alf laila wa laila*.³

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje informs me that he never heard the *duff*, the *mazhar*,⁴ or the *dā'ira* mentioned in Mecca, but he has shown us in his book that the *tār* was quite popular. It was used by the ladies at *Shaikh* Maḥmūd,⁵ and at the festivities at circumcision,⁶ on each occasion accompanied by another type of tambourine called the *tabla*.

The Exhibit.—This *tār* is so rudely constructed that we imagine it to be of *badawī* origin. The shell or body, which is made of wood, is 25·5 cm. in diameter, and 6·5 cm. in depth. One side of the shell is covered with a green skin "head" fastened to the shell by means of brass-headed nails. There are four double sets of jingling metal plates inserted in the shell.⁷

Among other Meccan musical instruments mentioned by Dr. Snouck Hurgronje in his monumental *Mekka* are the *qānūn* and *tabla*. The *qānūn* or psaltery is mentioned as being used by some pilgrims to Sittanā Maimūna.⁸ The author also informs me that he frequently heard in the Holy City of certain Circassian slave-girls who were adept performers on the instrument. The history of the *qānūn* has been dealt with elsewhere.⁹ The modern instrument has been carefully described by Villoteau.¹⁰ If it is of Syrian,

¹ It is written without the *l* in North-West Africa. Hōst, *Nachrichten von Marokos und Fes*, writes *tirr*.

² Kay, *Yaman*, 54.

³ Macnaghten edit., i, 165; iv, 172.

⁴ The *mazhar* is a round tambourine with jingling rings of metal in the shell instead of jingling plates of metal.

⁵ *Mekka*, ii, 61.

⁶ *Mekka*, ii, 142.

⁷ See Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*, 366, for a typical example of an Egyptian *tār*, as well as a description of its use.

⁸ *Mekka*, ii, 54-5.

⁹ *JRAS.* 1926, pp. 239-52.

¹⁰ Villoteau, *op. cit.*, i, 883.

Egyptian, or Turkish provenance,¹ it is usually mounted with 69, 72, or 75 strings, which are tuned in "threes", giving a diatonic scale of 23, 24, or 25 notes respectively.² There is a Turkish specimen in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London.³

The *tabla* or long-shelled tambourine,⁴ is mentioned as being used by ladies at *Shaiḫ* Maḥmūd,⁵ and elsewhere. It is identical with the instrument known in other Arabic-speaking countries as the *darabukka*, *darābukka*, *darbūka*, and *dirbakki*.⁶ This type of instrument has been known to the Arabs for centuries. Probably the *kabar* belonged to this class,⁷ and perhaps the *dirrāj* or *durraij* also.⁸ Doubtless the *در بله* mentioned in the *Alf laila wa laila* is a copyist's error for *darabukka*,⁹ as Burton has assumed.¹⁰ The modern instrument is fully described by Villoteau,¹¹ Lane,¹² and the

¹ In *La Musique turque* by Raouf Yekta Bey (Lavignac's *Ency. de la Musique*, v, 2845-3064) it is stated that in the course of the eighteenth century the *qānūn* fell into complete desuetude in Turkey, and that under Sultān Selīm III (1789-1807), the most flourishing period of Turkish music, not a solitary *qānūn* player's name has been preserved. We are told that the instrument was re-introduced into Constantinople by an Arab of Damascus during the reign of Maḥmūd II (1808-39).

At the close of the seventeenth century, Evliyā Chelebī (d. c. 1679) mentions both makers and players of the *qānūn* in Constantinople. (*Narrative of Travels*, i, ii, 227, 234.) It is introduced by the Turkish poet Nābī into his *Khairābād*, written in 1705-5. (Gibb, *Hist. of Ottoman Poetry*, vi, 233.) It is mentioned by Toderini (*Letteratura turchesca*, Venice, 1787, i, 238) among the instruments in use in his day in Turkey. The present writer possesses an eighteenth century engraving by G. Scotin, entitled *Fille Turque jouant du Canon*.

² *Cat. . . . du Musée inst. du Conservatoire royal du Musique de Bruxelles*, iii, 342, No. 1901; i, 191, No. 152. *Cat. of the Crosby Brown Collection*, ii, 77, No. 1248.

³ No. 1032/69.

⁴ *Mekka*, ii, 61.

⁵ *Mekka*, ii, 142.

⁶ Villoteau writes *darābukka*.

⁷ See *JRAS.* 1928, pp. 514-15.

⁸ Golius, *Lexicon*, 814. Al-Firūzābādī (d. 1414) likens it to the *tunbūr*.

⁹ Macnaghten edit., i, 244.

¹⁰ Burton, *Arabian Nights*.

¹¹ Villoteau, i, 996.

¹² Lane, *Mod. Egypt*, 366-7.

Encyclopædia of Islām, whilst several specimens from Arabia are to be found in the Crosby Brown Collection.¹

The martial instrument *par excellence* to the Arab is the kettledrum (*tabl*, *naqqāra*), and a Muslim has said: "The drum is the music sound of the religion of Islām."² Indeed, legend has it that Bābā Sawandik the Indian played the kettledrum called the *kūs* in the wars of the Prophet,³ although there is only mention of the tambourine called the *duff* in the older authors.⁴ In the tenth century we read of several types of kettledrums, the ordinary mounted kettledrum called the *tabl al-markab* (= *naqqāra*, *dabdāb*), and the great kettledrum, called the *kūs*, as well as an instrument with a shallow shell known as the *qaṣa*.⁵ Later, we find a monster kettledrum called the *kūrka*. Burton shows the *badawī* of Al-Ḥijāz pounding his kettledrum "pulpit-like",⁶ whilst Lawrence has delightfully portrayed the part played by the instrument in his account of the Amīr Faiṣal's march from Yanbu' to Wajh in January, 1917.⁷ In the Kelvingrove Museum, Glasgow, there is a fine copper *naqqāra* about 48 cm. in diameter. It once formed part of the *marātīb* (insignia) of the Mahdī.⁸ My Jidda friend saw a similar kettledrum in the *hasham* (retinue) of the Meccan *sharīf* in pre-war days.

¹ Nos. 335, 349, 364.

² Doughty, ii, 119.

³ Evliyā Chelebi, i, ii, 226.

⁴ See my *Hist. of Arabian Music*, 10.

⁵ *Iḥwān al-Safā*, i, 91. Ibn al-Ṭīqṭaqa, 30. *Eclipse of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate*, vi, 175.

⁶ Burton, *Personal Narrative* . . . , iii, 76.

⁷ *Revolt in the Desert*, 64 et seq.

⁸ Villoteau has fully described the various Egyptian kettledrums.

The Supernatural in the Popular Belief of the Gilgit Region ¹

BY LIEUT.-COL. D. L. R. LORIMER, C.I.E.

GILGIT offers a rich field to the student of Folklore, and one which up to the present has been only partially worked.

Colonel John Biddulph was first on the scene with his *Tribes of the Hindoo Koosh*, published in 1880, which provided valuable information regarding the beliefs and customs of the people of Gilgit.

Some stray facts can be gathered from the discursive linguistic works of Dr. G. Leitner; and in his last work—*Dardistan in 1866, 1886, and 1893*—he gathered together a mass of miscellaneous material which he describes, somewhat ambitiously perhaps, as "An Account of the History, Religions, Customs, Legends, Fables, and Songs of Gilgit, Chilas, Kandia (Gabrial), Yasin, Chitral, Hunza, Nagyr, and other parts of the Hindu Kush".

Lastly there is Munshi (now Khan Bahadur) Ghulam Muhammad's interesting article: "Festivals and Folktales of Gilgit," in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. i, 1905-7, pp. 93-127.

These are the only important contributions to the subject with which I am acquainted, and it need scarcely be said that they are far from exhausting the field of research.

Chance and the exigencies of the Service took me to Gilgit in 1920, and kept me there till 1924. Unfortunately I am neither a scholar nor a folklorist, so all I can hope to do is to offer some additional information from this somewhat neglected region and leave others to make what use of it they can.

¹ A paper read in part at the Seventeenth International Congress of Orientalists held at Oxford in 1928.

The matter I have to present came to me largely fortuitously. My own interests lay in matters linguistic, and my immediate object was to obtain knowledge and specimens of the local languages. These languages are, of course, unwritten.

My principal method in such cases has been to get the people to tell me current popular tales and legends, and to give me accounts of local customs and beliefs, and to write them down to their dictation.

The content of my language material may therefore present subject of interest to folklorists, but it has not been collected with the critical knowledge or care of an expert folklorist.

Material thus casually collected is bound to present contradictions, ambiguities, and possibly misunderstandings, when it is not set in the firm frame of a story.

In regard to the terrain with which we are concerned, it is enough to recall that it is situated in the extreme north of India, to the north-west of Kashmir, in one of the loftiest mountain tracts of the world: the meeting point of the Hindu Kush and Karakoram ranges, where peaks and even ranges of 20,000 feet are a commonplace. The physical features are such as to favour isolation, a condition difficult of attainment in a continental country. Access for foreign influences must always have been difficult and restricted.

Even in recent times with the advent of the Pax Britannica, the partial establishment of foreign administration, and the construction of traversable roads, there has been no overwhelming inflow of exogenous influences, only a gradual infiltration. Thus old-standing beliefs and customs have not been subjected to any violent assault by modern disintegrating forces.

Isolation, however, is never more than relative.

In the case of Gilgit, at some unknown time, probably not more than 500 or 600 years ago, Islam gained admittance and sooner or later became the sole recognized religion in the region. Islam is a whole cultural system in itself,

providing everything from popular tales and domestic ritual upwards, and its effects on the outlook of any uncultured people must be immense.

Again a new period of foreign influence opened in the nineteenth century, first with the incursions of the Dogra rulers of Kashmir, resulting in partial occupation and administration, and later, in 1892, by the establishment of British general control in the rest of the country.

There are three principal languages in use in the Gilgit area: Burushaski, *Şhina* and Khowar. Burushaski is the language of the people of Hunza Nagir, and a dialect of it is spoken by the inhabitants of Yasin. *Şhina* is the language of the majority, current, in various dialects, over the greater part of the Gilgit Agency, as well as in Darel and Tangir to the south. It is an Aryan language. Khowar is also of that stock and is the language of Chitral. It is spoken in the western districts of Gilgit, Ghizer, and part of Kuh, and as a secondary language in Yasin.

How far there are to-day any definite ethnical distinctions in the population corresponding to these different languages is an open question. There has certainly been considerable mingling through intermarriage and individual migration, but there are at present insufficient data for solving the ethnological problems of the Gilgit region. When in Gilgit I secured anthropometric measurements of some 600 men from the various districts, and it is possible that if these are ever worked out by some competent anthropologist they may afford grounds for intelligent guessing.

The material of which I am going to make use reached me chiefly through the medium of *Şhina*: that is, it represents the beliefs of the *Şhin* and Yashkun speakers of *Şhina*. To a lesser extent I shall be able to refer to corresponding beliefs existing among the Burushaski speakers of Hunza and Nagir. It is significant that the names of several of the principal Supernatural actors are different in the two languages, for this means that even if the two linguistic communities derive

from a common racial source these supernatural beings have been long enough in the possession of each to acquire independent existence in its language. This of course probably represents an inversion of the facts. It is safer on the whole to assume independent origins and gradual assimilation through contact and social fusion.

It appears to me not an impossible theory that of the two great sections into which the Shina-speaking population is divided, the socially inferior Yashkuns represent the earlier population who probably shared the language and culture of the surviving Burushaski-speaking peoples, while the Shins were an invading and conquering race who imposed on the Yashkuns their language and probably took over from them some of their beliefs.

The Khowar in the western districts is due probably to the extension of the Chitrali population beyond the political and natural borders of Chitral, reinforced by intermarriage which goes on at the present day, and in part to political domination in the past, which in quite recent times amounted to actual rule. Punial and Yasin are still governed by members of the Khushwakht family of Chitral whose mother tongue is Khowar.

In order to facilitate the arrangement and handling of the material with which we have to deal, it is necessary to adopt some system of classification of the Supernatural. I am not in a position to offer any scientific scheme, but a very rough grouping will suffice to serve our needs.

From one point of view we may regard the Supernatural as represented:—

1. By **ANIMATE BEINGS** possessing certain supernatural powers or qualities, e.g. demons, witches, etc.
2. By **QUALITIES** or **VIRTUES** pertaining to, or affecting inanimate objects, exhibited in magical or irrational processes and properties.

With the latter category, comprising examples of sympathetic and contagious magic, the working of the evil

eye, rain-making, cures, and so on, I shall not here attempt to deal.

The first or animate category may be analysed as including :—

1. Beings whose supernatural operations are observable in ordinary daily life—the **LIVING SUPERNATURAL**. These may be superhuman or non-human beings, or they may be ordinary human beings.

2. Beings whose operations are chiefly found embalmed in folk tales—the “**LEGENDARY**” or “**LITERARY**” **SUPERNATURAL**. These may be regarded as superhuman or non-human.

At the top of the scale of the Superhuman, the God of Islam under his Persian name **KHUDA** appears to have ousted all rivals. Only among the Burushaski-speaking peoples are there traces of more primitive animal spirits, or spirits assuming animal forms, treated as objects of reverence or worship. The name under which their memory has been preserved is Bōyo. This I believe to be the plural of a singular form Bō.in, but I should just mention that this is a point on which doubt is possible.

Among the **Ṣhīṇa** speakers the principal forms of superhuman being are sometimes referred to collectively in a phrase of association as “**Jinn, dē.ū, peri**”.

Jinn as a foreign (Arabic) word of Islamic origin is given rather a wide and vague application, but **Dē.ūs** and **Peris** can be roughly differentiated as demons and fairies.

The term **Rāḥ** is generally used of inanimate protective objects, which belong to the impersonal side of magic, but in the form **Rāḥi** it possesses also a personal significance.

Chèḥ is the name of an important type of apparitional supernatural.

Whether Ghosts, the Spirits of the Dead, are to be reckoned as human or superhuman is a nice question. They are, I suppose, in fact sub-human. They seem to be recognized under the foreign (Arabic) title of **Arwāḥ**, but to play no very active part in popular belief.

Yaçh and Yaçhōlo still receive attention in some localities as beings capable of affecting, at least prejudicially, the prosperity of the crops.

Turning now to purely human beings gifted with supernatural powers we find two principal representatives of the class: the Rū.i, a woman displaying some of the powers and proclivities of the western witch, and the Daīyāl, a person of either sex endowed with some of the abilities of the Seer and the Prophet.

There are also the possessors of the EVIL EYE, voluntary or involuntary, and there are persons who have acquired powers of magic (çhīla).

These are the principal *Dramatis Personæ* of the Living Supernatural, and we may now examine their peculiarities in somewhat greater detail, paying particular attention to the Bōyo, the Çhèçh and the Rū.i, partly because of their peculiarly local character, as signalized by their purely local names, and partly because of their intrinsic importance.

THE BŌYO

From what I have heard I very much fear that the Bōyo are as extinct as the Dodo, though their extinction is of quite recent date. Perhaps they still enjoy a tenuous existence in the phantasies of some elderly minds, but their day of power and awe is gone, their cult is dead, and their worshippers departed.

From the little information I possess it appears that the Bōyo lived in holes at the foot of trees and rocks; and that the cult consisted in placing offerings of food, at any rate of slaughtered animals, at the foot of the trees, i.e. presumably in front of the holes. The Bōyo themselves are described as puppies, or animals like puppies, so this simple form of worship was probably acceptable to them. At any rate they condescended to eat the offerings.

There were Bōyo in residence at a spot on the Dadimo Lat a little above the fort at Hīndi, and the cult was maintained

there by the local people till a few years ago, when it was stopped, I think, by the orders of the Mīr of Hunza. Animals were slaughtered there "in the name of the Bōyo".

From a story of Hunza tribal history it appears that the Bōyo were regarded as the avengers of broken oaths taken in their names. In a dispute about the ownership of land between two brothers Khuru and Khamer, Khamer proposed that the case should be decided by their taking oath. Khuru, the weaker party, who was also incidentally in the right, agreed and said: "O brother, the Sahāla Bō.in and the Hālasa Bō.in are very powerful and they are quick to wrath." But Khamer, who meditated a ramp and had no mind to be caught in this way, would not even hear this proposal out. "If we swear by them," he said, "they will work us evil." So the idea was dropped and with it disappeared our chance of learning the methods of taking oath by the Bōyo.¹

The Bōyo now bear the stigma attaching to the gods of a superseded religion. "Bōyo-worshipper" (bōyo ū.ilikinas) is now used in the sense of *heathen, pagan*.

There seems to be a special association between the Bōyo and trees, and the trees share in their sanctity. Whether they each have their own independent virtue, or whether the one owes its worshipfulness in any measure to the merits of the other it is impossible to say.

In the two remaining texts in which I have references to the Bōyo the associate tree plays an important part. In a statement made in Ṣhina by Ṣūbahdār Sulṭān 'Alī of Nagir regarding certain popular practices at Chaprōt he said: "Further they say that all the people used to assemble to do worship to a pine-tree that was there. They used to take a grey goat and slay it at the foot of the tree and a great

¹ I have here accepted the relation of Bō.in and Bōyō as singular and plural which is morphologically quite in order, and is asserted by some, though denied by other authorities. The word bō.in seems to survive in bō.indūrgas (pl. bō.in dūrgasho) which was explained as arwāh—the spirits of the dead. Dūrg-, occurring in other compounds, appears to refer to a dead person.

number of puppy-dogs used to come out from below the pine-tree to drink up the blood. Then the people used to return rejoicing to their homes, and they used to say among themselves: 'Thanks be! Sickness has now been banished from the country.'"

Here it is stated that the tree is worshipped, but that the puppies, who are doubtless the Bōyo, benefit by the sacrifice. The *Shīna* word (*šilō.iki*) translated "worship" means to *appease, placate, propitiate, do reverence to*. It corresponds, I think, exactly to the Burushaski *-*ilikinas*.

The other story, in which the tree also plays the chief rôle, is briefly as follows: From ancient times there was a juniper-tree in the garden of a man called Keramo Derbēsh, living in the Dirāmiting territory. It was called the Bōyo Gal ("the Bōyo juniper"). It was said that formerly animals like puppy-dogs used to come out from under it. The people of Hunza used to propitiate them (worship them) and called them Bōyo. One, Bagher Tham, cut the tree down and he promptly died. Two stems grew up again from the stump and a man cut one of them. He became paralyzed and an idiot. A man called Māmad Shāh cut down the remaining bough and he fell down from a cliff and was killed. After this people were afraid to meddle with the tree and left one bough (not previously mentioned) unmolested. Last year and the preceding year (1923 and 1922) this bough was still *in situ*. Then a man Yaqīn, obtained permission from the owner (Keramo Derbēsh) and cut it down and took it to his house. But he had a dream in which a number of women appeared to him and asked him why he had cut down their juniper-tree, and intimidated him. In view of past history he became alarmed and returned the juniper bough to its original owner, Keramo Derbēsh, in whose house it now lies, for no one will venture to burn it.

Here we are left wondering whether there was any connection, other than topographical, between the juniper and the

Bōyo, and whether the ladies who resented the ill-treatment of the tree were an original dream-invention of Yaqīn's or were personages already known to the public.

This is all the information I can give about the Bōyo. As far as I know they have no counterpart in the present-day beliefs of the Ṣhīṇa-speaking peoples.

We next come to the association of the JINN, DE.Ū, PERI. The name Jinn, as already stated, is not an authentic local title, but has been derived from Islamic sources. It is used rather vaguely for all beings of the apparitional order. The popular mind is probably not very clear about the exact nature of all the supernatural phenomena which it encounters, and welcomes a non-committal term carrying all the flavour of high religious sanction. There are many stories in which Jinn appear, and it is probable that the foreign name has brought with it some foreign conceptions and associations. I am inclined to regard them with suspicion, though in the main I believe them to be merely re-christened Çhèçh and perhaps Dē.ūs.

Another foreign (Arabic) term, Balā, seems to be used even more vaguely for evil spirits or demons whose presence you suspect or perceive, but whom you have not yet clearly seen and to whom you cannot put a name.

On the other hand a third foreign (Arabic) name, Shaitān, seems to carry with it a more definite personality. Shaitān is a leader among malignant and malicious spirits, at least a demon with an individuality, the Devil, Satan. He is probably a foreign intruder. On these foreign or denationalized Devils whose antecedents are somewhat suspect I shall not here spend time.

I may just mention by way of illustration that if after "concocting" magic, a process which takes forty days, you then sit down in the open and draw a line round yourself on the ground, a Jinn will appear and try to frighten you. If you keep up your courage other Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris will come and try to frighten you. Finally if you remain firm

the King of the Jinns, Dē.ūs and Peris himself appears, confesses that he is in your power and enquires your wishes—and so on.

I think it is a pure coincidence that where I have the term Balā it occurs usually in conjunction with horses. A groom and a horse—both later in my service—had a thrilling experience with a Balā which it would take too long to relate here, but the principle involved was elsewhere stated to me as follows: "If one mounts a horse at night and rides anywhere, then if the horse sees a Balā it will refuse to go forward. If at this moment the rider looks over the horse's head between its ears the Balā will be visible to him."

The more frivolous character of the Devil, Shaiṭān, is shown in the following: If in certain circumstances you can snatch the cap off the Devil's head and take refuge in a masjid and avoid his efforts to seize you by the seat of your trousers and go off with them, then if you put on the Devil's cap you will be able to see him, but he will not be able to see you and others will not be able to see either you or him—a piquant if not very useful situation.

If these foreign—Arabic—names could be eliminated, as I confess I should like, I think it would be found that most of the beings rendered innominate, would readily gain admittance to the ranks of the Çhèçh and the Dē.ūs.

DĒ.Ū

The name Dē.ū, akin to the Sanskrit *dēva*-, may be regarded as a legitimate Śhīṇa word. At any rate, its source need not be sought in Islam or Islamic influence.

Dē.ūs play a prominent part in the folktales of the country as demons, ogres, etc., usually of maleficent proclivities, but they also descend into legendary history. In the latter situation they probably represent a once locally dominant race which has died out or been absorbed. But that is probably only a later identification. Their origin must lie in or before the Folktale period which is presumably much

earlier. This, however, is not the place to deal with the Dē.ū of myth or legend.

The Dē.ū of to-day is a shadowy and illusive being, scarcely to be isolated from the group of Jinn-dē.ū-pēri. He is evidently not endowed in the popular consciousness with a very definite or vivid personality. Demonic possession is usually attributed to Jinns, but it is noteworthy that there is the expression *dēwē.i dakhāl ṣhātīn*, denoting possession by a Dē.ū.

We know something of the general habits of the Dē.ū, which they share with their supernatural colleagues the Jinns and Peris. For instance, I have the following note among others: "At the time when the mulberries are ripe people do not eat them at midday. They say that Dē.ūs and Peris throw people down (from the trees at that hour)."

It should be explained that people, especially children, climb into the trees to eat mulberries and other fruit, and that there are often accidents and broken limbs due to their falling down.

Again: "In summer-time Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris live in the open country. In autumn they come to inhabited places." And: "At the time when a woman has given birth they do not keep an adze close by in the house. If there is an adze at hand, and if it goes by night and opens the door and brings the Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is into the house, then the woman suffers injury." Why adzes go and open the door is duly explained (cp. p. 529).

It is possible by the "concoction of magic" followed by other rites to make the Jinns, Dē.ūs, and Peris subject to one. There was a man known as the Chilēgi Saiyid living a few years ago, and probably still alive, who had achieved this.

Such general facts could be multiplied, but I can recall no Ṣhīṇa account of any definite individual Dē.ū taking part in any actual exploit at the present day.

In Burushaski there is a word Pfūt (plural Pfūtū or Pfūtants) which is interpreted as Dē.ū or Jinn.

In a long story the titles Būrum Pfūt and Dī.u Safīd, the "White Dīv", are used indifferently for a beneficent Dīv, but the story itself must be regarded as a foreign importation.

There is, however, another genuine local story in which Pfūtū play a principal part. The narrator explained them as Jinns, but the story must go far back to long before the time when the word jinn was known in the country, and Dē.ū would seem to be a more appropriate rendering. In this story a man had lost his goat and in searching for it he saw a light and came upon a party of Pfūts engaged in revels. He joined in their dancing and in the feasting which followed it. After the feast the Pfūts collected the skin and bones of the animal which they had eaten. The man concealed the rib which had fallen to his share and the Pfūts replaced it by an artificial wooden rib. Then they shook the bones up in the skin and a goat came to life. The man recognized it as his missing property. When he got home he found the goat awaiting him there, and when he slaughtered it he found it had a wooden rib. During this experience he learnt one of the Pfūts' tunes. It is still known and played in Hunza.

One curious point about this story is that the Pfūts were either indifferent to the presence of a human being, or oblivious of it, and there is no clue to their usual attitude towards man.

The Burushaski Dangalaṭas, and, in some aspects, the Bīlas, are probably to be regarded as female Dē.ūs.

PERI

When we come to the Peris we are on somewhat firmer ground. We know a good deal about their characteristics, and they do still on occasion enter into relations with human beings.

The resemblance of the word "Peri" to "fairy" is of course purely accidental, but there are actually points of similarity between Peris and western fairies, whether or not there is

any blood relationship. The name is identical with the Persian word represented in Avestan by *pairika* to which there seems to be no recorded parallel in Sanskrit, but it is conceivable that in *Ṣhīṇa* it is an original and not a borrowed word.

However this may be, the Peris are quite firmly established under that title in popular belief in Gilgit, Chitrāl, and among the Pathans. The word is known in Burushaski, both in foreign stories and as a complimentary epithet for women and boys, but I have come on no Peris in the definitely local stories of Hunza and Nagir.

The Peris of the *Ṣhīṇa*-speaking peoples are of both sexes. The female is called a Peri and the male a Periān. They are not spoken of as "little folk", and appear in general to resemble human beings. They eat "pillau", as is attested by Pashūs (anti-witches) and others who have seen them. Their eyes are said to be vertical, that is with the axis set vertically. I fancy they have only one eye placed in the middle of the forehead as is recorded of Jinns and others, but I cannot quote authority for this. They can fly; but if cow-dung is thrown on a Peri, or if its clothes are held in the smoke of a cow-dung fire it becomes unable to move. This point is illustrated in a Burushaski story, which is, however, of foreign origin. I have only one instance of a Peri with a name: a Peri called Mādi is said to live on the mountain of Diāmer (Nanga Parbat).

Peris wear green clothing and consider that they have exclusive rights in that colour. Hence we are told: "If anyone puts on green clothes it is said that the Peris get angry and snatch at the man and crush him. The reason is this: the Peris say: 'Green garments are our clothing. Why have they put them on?' and they become angry."

This claim is supported by their human confidants, the Daīyāls. As witness: "Daīyāls say that when a Daīyāl dances the Peris come flying through the air and remain watching the people. The Daīyāls say, 'We understand

what the Peris say. We communicate it in songs to the people.' If the Daīyāl sees anyone wearing green clothes he gets angry. The reason for this is that the peris wear green clothes, they say, and therefore if any earthly being puts on green clothing the peris become angry and do him injury."

The attitude of the Peris towards ordinary mortals cannot be described as cordial or benevolent. For instance: "They say that if anyone goes to the desert at midday the peris will snatch at his eyes and make him blind."

If a new house proves to be poor or unlucky it may be due to the adverse influence of a Periān. Again: "When a woman, all of whose children have died, gives birth to a child the mother cuts the umbilical cord and licks the blood that comes from it. The reason for this is that over every woman there is a Peri woman. The Peri woman says, 'Now that this woman has drunk the blood of her child she will never do me any good,' and fearing the woman the Peri clears out."

Here the reluctance to relinquish power over a human being indicates how such power is prized. Various methods are employed to obtain it even to the point of stealing or carrying off children or adults. In this we have an important resemblance between the Peris and the fairies of the West. The following notes are relevant in this connection: "A *dernīji mā* (i.e. 'outside mother') is a fairy in the jungle who gives milk to a child and rears it. When the boy grows up he is a good mountaineer." In one known case the perifosterling says he only sees his Peri mother when he is alone.

"Ten or more years ago (i.e. counting from 1922) a boy was carried off by the Peris from Nāpur. His clothes were found on the hills but he has never returned again."

One of the grooms of the Assistant Political Agent, Chilās, made the following statement: "Every day (i.e. always) at the (end of the) dark period of the moon the peris carry me off. I see them and they see me. They say to me, 'You stay with us and we'll look after you well. If you don't

stay we'll throw you down from the mountain.' They thus put me in great fear and then I promise to stay." So far, however, he had apparently successfully evaded either staying or being thrown down from the mountain.

Of the common motif of a man marrying a fairy wife I have only one example, and it does not contain the usual feature of the fairy wife imposing a prohibition on the man which he breaks to his undoing. In the *Şhīna* story the parties are more equally matched than usual, for the husband is a *Daīyāl*. Still he had the worst of it in the long run.

A *Daīyāl* of *Herāmōsh* bewitched a *peri* and casting a spell on her hair tied it all up in knots. Then he married her and in due course they had a daughter. When the daughter grew up her father instructed her that if her mother ever asked her assistance in dealing with the population of her hair she should give it, but on no account should she undo the knots. One day when the mother and daughter were out with the goats the anticipated situation arose and the girl played her part. The mother then explained that her husband had been angry with her and had tied her hair in knots and she appealed to the girl as her daughter to undo them. In a moment of sympathy and forgetfulness the girl performed the service. Immediately the *Peri* slew all the goats and flew away carrying her daughter with her. The *Daīyāl*, on discovering his treble loss, remained where he was weeping and beating his breast.

I think it was in 1922 that *Rājā Sifat Bahādur*, Governor of *Yasin*, married a *peri* lady, presumably *in absentia*, but doubtless with all due ceremony. I believe that to his intimates he claimed to have seen her, but a youth, who was probably an epileptic and certainly a scoundrel, acted as go-between and the *Peri's* agent in the affair. The *Rājā* cannot have proved a wholly acceptable husband, as shortly after the wedding he had a fall at polo and broke some ribs. Later, I think, he damaged his knee, and before two years were out he was assassinated in Independent Territory.

I have recorded instances of human-peri marriages in Chitrāl, but that lies outside our present beat.

RĀÇĤ

The term *rāçĥ*, cf. the Sanskrit root *rakṣ-*, "to protect," is usually applied to material objects, which exercise protective powers over human beings. Among such objects are included articles worn as talismans. It is also said, however, that everyone has a guardian spirit in the form of a small girl—*Rāçĥe Mulai.i*, or *Rāçĥi*. There may be two of them. These *Rāçĥi* communicate with the *Pashū* or Anti-witch when their protégés are in danger.

Again, if a bad woman rides on a horse the horse's *Rāçĥi* is depressed. Here the *Rāçĥi* was explained as the *sitāra*, "star" or "fortune", but it is not therefore to be assumed that it is an impersonal abstraction. The conception of a man's "luck" or "fortune" as a living being who is sometimes asleep and sometimes awake is very common.

In a Burushaski story there are three women who are the "Guardians" (*rāçĥakūyo*) of a king of Irān. They know his fate beforehand and how he can escape it, but are not in direct communication with him. This story, however, is obviously of foreign origin, at least in its existing form, and the guardian women are an integral part of it and could hardly have been introduced as an afterthought.

ÇĤĤĤ

We now pass to a very active and vital group of the Living Supernatural—the *ÇĤĤĤ*. The name is not identifiable as a foreign loan-word and has all the appearance of being good *Şhīna*. If I am right in believing the *ch*'s to be cerebral, they would ordinarily correspond to Sanskrit *kṣ* or *tr*, but I cannot suggest a derivation.

ÇĤĤĤ appear to me to present features of interest and originality, but they may be commonplace to the instructed folklorist. I shall first mention some of the chief characteristics and then illustrate them by specific examples.

A Çhèçh is a sort of bogle which usually appears at night. It is said to "fall"—*çhèçh dijen*. A sound is sometimes heard and the Çhèçh appears in the form of some animal, such as a horse, donkey, or cow, but sometimes as a human being. Sometimes it appears as a tall figure which reaches up to the sky and is swathed in white clothing—a guise which is also sometimes adopted by Jinns.

When a man sees a Çhèçh he may faint with fear and fall to the ground. If, however, he can manage to preserve his courage and presence of mind and repeat the Call to Prayer (*azān*) the apparition will disappear. The people then reckon them to be Jinns.

Çhèçh are commonly attached to particular localities, from which it appears they do not wander. There are many such Çhèçh-haunted places in Gilgit proper as well as outside.

A Çhèçh is known to frequent the garden of the Political Agency office. Another haunts the neighbourhood of the P.W.D. Staff Bungalow and has been seen by many people. Its beat extends from there to the Political Agency Office, a distance of a few hundred yards. Another haunts a tree in the garden of the Divisional Engineer's house in the same area. Some deserted houses above the Ranbīr Bāgh are the home of another.

A Çhèçh has been seen by many near the European cemetery. My informant's brother once saw a man wearing black clothes in the cemetery. This apparition pursued him, kicked him, and flung him into an irrigation channel.

Çhèçh, like ghosts, are rather addicted to graveyards. Many other Çhèçh-haunted places could be mentioned.

The following are one or two well-authenticated stories of Çhèçh and their doings. One night Ghulām Muhammad, Chaukidār (night-watchman), was sleeping in pursuance of his duty with his brother in the verandah of the Political Agent's Office in Gilgit. The brother used to give the following account, reported in slightly differing versions, of their experiences: "We were sleeping in the verandah of

the office. I awoke at midnight and found a horse sitting beside me. It had an English saddle on. I thought it must belong to some visitor and have strayed. So I tied it up to a tree and kept my eye on it. Presently I saw that it had turned into a donkey, and it came and sat down beside my head. My big brother beat it and it went and sat down on the road and turned into a bull. My brother repeated the Call to Prayer and it disappeared."

Sarfarāz, Chaprāsi of the Political Agency Office, told me the following, which is compounded of two slightly differing versions: "There is a lot of earth near the door of our cow-house in Amperi, Gilgit. They say that there were formerly there a mother and six daughters. They are not there now. My father's younger brother says he had seen them himself. About the year 1915-16 one day the (elder) brother was going at night to another quarter. By the path he saw a thin little girl sitting on a big stone. He felt an instinctive fear of her. He said: 'The child came down to the path and caught hold of my hand. I pulled in the direction of my house, and it pulled in the direction of the byre. At last with a great effort I got my hand free and went on to my house. The girl said, "Go now, O man, your luck is great. You have escaped from me, otherwise I should have killed you here." She pointed out to him a spot, a few hundred yards further on and said her beat extended up to there. She said that she had a mother and six (five ?) sisters."

Sarfarāz, continuing, said: "My uncle returning thence to the house lost consciousness. They burned a lot of talismans and gave the *Ākhund* what he demanded, and my uncle recovered." Owing to this misadventure, however, none of the children of this senior brother survived, and on his death his land came to Sarfarāz. People advised him not to continue to live there, so he built a new house. At midnight a noise of cats is sometimes heard, but no cats are ever seen.

Here is another episode. "They say that a *Çhèçh* appears

at the Balbè Gīri on the way to Nōmal. Several times the men who carry the mails have seen it. One time when a zamīndār, Shukur Khān by name, carrying the mail approached the Balbè Gīri, a Balā came out on to the road and would not let him pass. Shukur Khān says: 'I remembered and prayed to God and blew on my body and said the Call to Prayer. Immediately the Balā left the road. I noticed its eye was in the middle of its forehead. I went along the road and it went up to the mulberry-tree at the roadside, and when I looked it disappeared. I spent the night at Nomal and early next morning came in to Gilgit.' Shukur Khān told the above story to his family."

There are other similar stories in which the apparition is called a Jinn, but it seems clear that the Jinn is of the Çhèçh variety. They merely did not happen to be related as instances of çhèçh phenomena.

It is possible that Çhèçh is in fact a sort of abstract term denoting something like "apparition" or, possibly, "fear." The use of the verb "fall" with it suggests such a significance.

ARWĀH

Ghosts, or Spirits of the Dead, whether they rightly belong to the category of the Superhuman or not, may be disposed of here. I have only two notes regarding them, both recorded in English. Çhèçh, I was told, are often associated with graveyards and so also Arwāh (Spirits of the Dead), who are said to come out and hold meetings. At one of these re-unions they were dividing up some food. To one of those present they refused any share on the ground that his relatives on earth gave no offerings of food for the dead. The ghost so penalized repudiated responsibility. He said he had a son living and they should refer to him on the subject. One wonders whether after this the son had a Çhèçh or ghost experience.

I was further told that the Spirits of the Dead come and

carry you far away and do you injury. They enter into the skins of dead persons and so make their appearance.

Possibly ghosts sometimes figure as Çhèçh or Jinns or are confused with them. There are tales of how people have had dealings with jinns masquerading in the forms of known human beings, but these are rather cases of the impersonation of actual living people.

YAÇH

The name Yaçh corresponds to the Sanskrit *yakṣa*-. Yaçh are probably to be regarded as a class of Dē.ū who are in some way interested in agriculture. I was given the following statement: "At the time of the removing of the crops (from the fields) the people make *mūl* in a dish and prepare a flavouring of bitter kernels which they add to it. They do this in the name of the Yaçh. They then add ghee to the *mūl* and eat it. They say 'The Yaçh is eating the Yaçh's *mūl*.' If they didn't prepare the Yaçh's *mūl* they say the Yaçh(s) would carry off the grain and not make it prosper." The last word rendered "Yaçh(s)" is peculiar in form and somewhat resembles the word for "bear", but the rendering given is probably correct.¹

A note is given that the Yaçh will become unconscious if it eats a bitter thing. Hence no doubt the bitter kernels.

The Yaçh, so far as this custom goes, might be regarded as little more than an abstraction, a fertility, or anti-fertility, spirit of some kind, but there is one story told of a very active and practical Yaçh. It was given me as follows: "There is a man of Gurikōt (a place near Astōr) called Rozāli. They say that a Yaçh has formed a friendship with the wife of Rozāli. The Yaçh brings grain and goods from one place and another and collects them in Rozāli's house. They say if Rozāli scolds his wife or beats her some live stock or other in his house dies. For this reason the man does not scold his wife. If anything in the house goes astray or gets lost

¹ Cp. Yaçhōlo, p. 527, n.

he keeps quiet. The man has children, their appearance they say, is ill-favoured, like that of a Yaçh. The Yaçh lives in his house and he (Rozāli) is superior, they say, to all the Astōris in wealth. They say that the Yaçh is in Rozāli's house in the skin of a cat. They say that his wife's food every seven days is 24 eggs and 2 seers (4 lb.) of ghee. This matter is publicly known to all the people. A number of Astōri people have told us this story." The wife's diet seems rather limited in kind, but bread and vegetables are perhaps taken for granted.

YAÇHŌLO

The Yaçhōlo,¹ by his name, must be some sort of cousin of the Yaçh, but he is a shadowy personage whose only known interests are agricultural. Here is all the information I have about him: "At the time of the reaping of the wheat and barley, in the name of the Yaçhōlo they put some mûl (gruel) in a dish and carry it to some place in a field where there is a big stone and where they say the Yaçhōlo is. The reason is this: they say, 'if we propitiate the Yaçhōlo our wheat and barley will be plentiful.' Nowadays they do not do this in Gilgit (proper), but in Shināki places, e.g. Bagrōt, at places on both sides of the River (Sherōt, Shakiōt, and Bārgo), and at Herāmosh, in these places they do it."

We may now pass on to the Human Supernatural, of whom the Rū.i and the Daīyāl are the chief. The term Rū.i is Şhīna. The Burushaski equivalent is Bīlas, but the word has also, I think, wider application. In Khowār the idea is, I believe, covered by the word Gūr.

RŪ.I

The Rū.i is perhaps the most interesting of the whole Gilgit cast, and of her I happen to have particularly full

¹ I have lately come on an isolated note: "Yaçhōl, a demon like a bear."

information. I might have devoted the whole of this article to her but decided that it was preferable to cover as wide a field as possible. All I can do in the available space is to mention briefly her chief characteristics and her methods.

Rū.is are witches with a limited repertory. They are ordinary women possessing some specialized tastes and gifted with some extraordinary powers. Their master-taste is an appetite for human flesh which they indulge at the expense of their less gifted neighbours.

Briefly stated, their procedure is as follows : a Rū.i disables and seizes a victim and bears him off, flying through the air to some tryst where the whole Rū.i community is assembled. There they slaughter the victim, after which they chop him up into bits and distribute portions to all present. The company then partake of the feast so furnished and return again to their homes as they came. Meanwhile the victim, whose visible and material body has to all appearance remained at home unaffected, presently falls ill and dies.

A few details may be given regarding the various episodes in this drama. It appears that normally a particular Rū.i is told off by the group to provide a victim for the next assembly. The duty falls on the various members in succession. At the same time one may consider it unlikely that a Rū.i would ever see a favourable opportunity and let it slip. The process of capture is facilitated by her ability to change into any animal form she pleases. Like the *Chèchè* she may do a series of lightning changes. So she may appear as a cat, donkey, magpie, etc., or simply as a woman or as one after another in succession. Rū.is hunt alone or sometimes in couples.

If the intended victim detects the Rū.i and divines her mission, and can keep his head and do her a physical injury, he escapes her clutches and she it is who suffers. She appears at home bearing the injury which she sustained, it may be when in animal form, and unless her victim can be brought to visit her sick-bed she dies. If through ignorance or

weakness he does come to her, she recovers and he in his turn dies.

When the Rū.i succeeds in her attack she flies off with the victim to the Rū.is' meeting-place. Rū.is fly mounted on boxes or on spinning-wheels. They are debarred from the use of the broomstick, for that is an implement of Western civilization unknown in Gilgit. The victim is carried slung in a sheet. As it is stated that at certain places Rū.is are sometimes *heard* flying through the air, one may conclude that they are not visible when they fly and that they conduct their revels in spiritual, immaterial forms and not in their everyday fleshly bodies. Similarly with the victim, for his bodily presence remains to all appearance safe in his home. What the Rū.i secures is only some spiritualized, but still edible, presentation of him.

A Rū.i in action has to look where she is going and to mind her steps, for if her foot touches water or a graveyard she can proceed no further.

When the victim has been safely conveyed to the place of assembly where all the Rū.is of the district are collected, it simply remains to chop him up and distribute him in fragments to the company. The chopping-up is effected with an adze. Hence, incidentally, the adze has acquired a taste for human flesh and is a dangerous house-mate for a woman at child-birth as it is apt to go and open the door to give admittance to Dē.ūs, Peris, and Rū.is (cp. 517).

No time is wasted on cooking or dressing the flesh, for the Rū.i likes her meat raw. Nor does dancing, so far as my information goes, enter into the order of the day. This is curious in view of the procedure at the Sabbats of the Western Witches and the popularity of dancing on festive occasions in Gilgit at the present day.

I have mentioned physical obstacles which may intervene between the Rū.i and the indulgence of her tastes, but she has other more active interference to reckon with.

There are two kinds of human ANTI-RŪ.I, whose business

and pleasure it is to come between the Rū.i and her prey. These are gifted with superhuman faculties of perception and with powers of locomotion not inferior to the Rū.i's.

The PASHŪ—the word belongs to the root *pash-*, “to see”—is a “seer”, a man or woman who sees what ordinary people cannot see. The Pashū can see not only Rū.is in action but also Dē.ūs and Peris.

By one means or another the Pashū gets to know that someone has been carried off. We have it generally stated that people's guardian spirits—Rāçhi—inform the Pashū when their protégés are threatened; but in one case a Pashū told me that the Rū.is themselves informed him, when he was asleep, that they were carrying off a victim and invited him to come along: a sporting action on their part, for the Pashū's function is to baulk them of their prey.

The moment the Pashū learns of an abduction he starts off in pursuit. He also flies through the air no less swiftly than the Rū.is, a feat which is all the more remarkable in that he flies in his proper person and not only in an immaterial semblance. When he is absent on a mission of rescue his place at home is empty.

Having come up with the Rū.is at their meeting-place the Pashū demands the surrender of the victim, but if the latter is already dead his labour has been in vain. If the victim is still alive he enters into negotiations with the Rū.is and as a rule succeeds in striking a bargain with them. For a ransom, in the shape it may be of a goat or an ox to be delivered within a certain period, they relinquish their prey.

All then return apparently to their various homes.

The Rū.is are not above making attempts to deceive the Pashū by concealing their victim in the skin of a goat, cow, or other animal.

A practising Pashū, who told me that he was peculiarly successful in rescue work, claimed that in two years he had had 200 successes against 100 failures. He had gone as far afield

as India. In his flights he was unconscious of mountains or other obstacles, but it is probable that like the Rū.is he must not touch water or a graveyard.

The other Anti-Rū.i is the Mitū. I am unable to give any explanation of the name. Mitūs appear to be always men. The Mitū is a more ambiguous person than the Pashū. He is professedly an antagonist of the Rū.is, but he seems to slip very easily into the rôle of aider and abettor. Ostensibly his functions and practice are similar to the Pashū's, but he appears to have less authority and less firm moral purpose. When he fails, he yields to pressure or persuasion by the Rū.is and allows himself to be used as a sort of human anvil on which the victim is dismembered, or else he himself chops him up. He still, however, retains some of his original better feelings, for he refuses to accept a share of the victim's flesh.

Some doubt is cast on the Mitū's original good faith by a statement made to me by a Pashū: that the Mitū accompanies the Rū.is carrying an axe with him; but perhaps this imputation is due to professional jealousy.

I must confess to some doubt as to the use of the Mitū as a chopping-block. It is a curious idea and I have no actual vernacular text to support it, only notes made in English of what I understood at the time was told me.

The Mitū is unconscious when travelling on his errand of mercy, but if his foot touches water he returns to consciousness, is unable to proceed further, and returns home.

Mitūs are found in Nagir and Bagrōt, but there are none in Gilgit proper.

It may perhaps be useful to offer a few more facts about Rū.is. Rū.is are numerous and ubiquitous in the Gilgit area. They are found in Puniāl, Hunza, Nagir, and other districts, as well as in Gilgit proper.

My Pashū friend told me that in Gilgit there were some 300 of them, but this I can only take to be a gross exaggeration. I fancy he was something of a misogynist, for he also

informed me, with all the seriousness that the statement deserved, that there is a trace of the Rū.i in all women.

All women in fact are potential Rū.is—a truly terrible thought.

Fortunately, in practice Rū.is are products of heredity rather than education. The potential Rū.i does not seem as a rule to pass spontaneously into the practising Rū.i, but if a woman is a Rū.i her daughter will also be a Rū.i.

As regards their external distinguishing features the infallible sign of a Rū.i is that her feet are turned backwards. This must only be when she is functioning as a Rū.i, and even then it is noteworthy that when she is in animal form the animal's feet are not reversed in this way. Rū.is' hair and clothes are said to be repulsive. Their hair stands up on end. Their mouth is red (query—with blood ?) when they have been maltreating anyone and at night they vomit. People then say, " Perhaps she has killed some one to-day."

It is a very remarkable thing that Rū.is and their doings do not seem to arouse any active resentment either in the public or in private individuals. There are many women who are notorious as being practising Rū.is, but they do not appear to be subjected to any form of persecution. I have heard of no case of Rū.i-baiting.

Tests and ordeals, such as ducking, may be unnecessary where the quality of at least the most important Rū.is is known to everyone and is beyond dispute, but then one would expect that they would be dealt with summarily and drastically by the irate relatives of their victims.

The above is a dry summary of the main facts about Rū.is. It would be possible to support it by many actual instances, but that would take too much space. I will, however, quote just a couple of stories which illustrate some of the main points.

The following is the story of a Nagir Rū.i which I recorded in English : " Two young men in Nagir one day wanted water. There was a shortage of water so they went to the head of an

irrigation channel where it entered a field. The men both saw two cats going along in front of them. The cats kept looking back at them and fire was issuing from their mouths. The elder of the young men threw stones at the cats, on which they both turned and seized him by the leg. Being strong-minded he preserved his senses and did not fall down but beat the two cats with a stick. The two cats then turned into a donkey. The youth, thinking that the donkey was perhaps someone's which had strayed or been left behind, mounted it.

"When they had gone on some distance he dismounted from the donkey and saw that it had turned into a magpie. He threw a stone at it and it turned into two women. With a stone he broke the head and upper jaw of one of the women, and both women vanished. In the morning the young man returned to his home and lapsed into unconsciousness.

"Meanwhile the woman who had been wounded went out on to the roof of her house, fell down from it and broke her head and her jaw, which accounted for the results of her previous misadventure. The people carried her into the house and she not unnaturally developed symptoms of indisposition. She told her people that a certain man had cast the evil eye on her and said that he must be sent for. The man accused was of course the youth who had broken her head when she was playing the Rū.i. They went off and called him, but he refused to come. The woman died. The other woman who had been with her, and the man, are still living."

The following is a statement made to me by the experienced Pashū already referred to: "Four days ago when I was asleep the Rū.is came and informed me by word of mouth: 'We have taken So-and-So, you come.' They then bore off their victim like stones carried by the wind. I said: 'I'll rescue him,' and started off after them. I caught them up at Bāldas, a big boulder in the direction of Herāli. I told them to let him go. The boy's mother was among the Rū.is. She let go the sheet in which he was tied, and I raised it up. The boy was dead. If a victim is freed when still alive all is well,

but if he dies then his real self at home dies in a day or two. On this occasion there were present many Rūis from all quarters."

In taking leave of the Rūis it is, I presume, superfluous to lay stress on their similarity to the witches of the West. Almost every point that has been mentioned above can be duplicated from European records of witches.

THE DAĪYĀL.

We now come to the Daiyāl, the last of the characters whom I propose to treat of here. Daiyāls are superhumanly endowed human beings, who at the present day chiefly exhibit their powers by furnishing answers to recondite questions. They supply on request information relating to what lies outside the scope of the ordinary senses of sight and hearing, and regarding what is going to come to pass in the future.

Their sources of knowledge are hidden, but there is nothing obscure about their procedure, for they exhibit their powers before all the world in broad daylight.

The public attend on the local polo ground, which corresponds to the village green. At one side sit the local band of drums and pipes and the Daiyāl enters the circle formed by the spectators. There he primes himself by inhaling the smoke of burning juniper twigs which has some sort of intoxicating effect on him. After this he divides his time between stooping over and listening to the drums, dancing round the circle in various measures and posturing in the middle of it.

At certain points he may be asked questions by members of the general public, the answers to which he ostensibly obtains by listening to the drums or by watching the behaviour of some grains of corn thrown on the vibrating parchment of a drum. His answers are couched in language which is really I think unintelligible, but which someone eventually is always found to interpret.

An account of a Daiyāl display has been given by Colonel A. Durand in his "Making of a Frontier", so I need not elaborate the matter here. It will be enough if I contribute a few more general facts about Daiyāls themselves.

In Burushaski the equivalent of Daiyāl is Bītan (plural bitaiyo). Daiyāls may belong to any class of the population and to either sex. In fact they are nowadays, I believe, confined to a few special families. The chief, perhaps the only seat of Daiyāls at the present day, is the small side valley of Bagrōt.

I have seen exhibitions by two female Daiyāls in Hunza, but to the best of my recollection they were said to belong to a family which originally hailed from Bagrōt. Similarly the performer at a specially arranged display at Gilgit Headquarters, in this case a man, had been brought from that place for the occasion.

There is a possibility, however, of fresh recruitment to the ranks of Daiyāls. "A certain number of people," I was told, "become new Daiyāls." On the other hand, one may withdraw temporarily or permanently from the faculty.

Daiyāls possess, or at any rate have in the past possessed, more than the mere powers of second sight and prophecy. They are on more intimate terms with the supernatural world than ordinary folk. In talking of the Peris I have already quoted the statement that the Peris come to watch the Daiyāls' performances and that they are the source of the Daiyāls' knowledge; and again that it is on their account that the Daiyāl objects to the use of green clothing by the laity.

At an actual performance I was warned that they disliked anything red, and that they were liable to lose self-control and to attack anyone wearing or displaying it. We nervously took stock of our belongings, for the wild-eyed officiating Daiyāl looked only semi-human and capable of anything whether in his mind or out of it. But why should red be objectionable, except as the complementary colour to green?

In the past Daīyāls have had the power to "bind" super-human beings, as is shown by the well-known story of the Daīyāl who bound the Gilgit Yaçhini. We also have the Daīyāl of Herāmōsh and his Peri wife which I have already recounted (v. p. 521), and the great Hunza Bītan, Shon Gukur, bound the cannibal Bīlas, Dadi, and her seven daughters.

Whether or not present day Daīyāls can "bind", they can at any rate be "bound" at least with their own consent, when presumably they are inhibited from the use of their special talents. The procedure was described to me, not very lucidly, as follows: "When a Daīyāl thinks of having himself bound, they twist an iron bracelet and place the Daīyāl in the hands of a man. Then they breathe on the bracelet and bind the Daīyāl (with it?). If the bracelet gets lost then the man again becomes a Daīyāl."

Once a Daīyāl, by no means always a Daīyāl, for apart from having himself bound the Daīyāl may definitely abandon the career. My Pashū friend told me that his family on the father's side had originally been Daīyāls, but that his grandfather, under priestly influence had given up being a Daīyāl and had become a Pashū. My friend's father, however, had wished to continue as a Daīyāl, but the opposition of the family had been too strong for him, and though he quarrelled with them on the head of it, he too became a Pashū.

I very much fear that Daīyāls in these evil days, whether of religion or scepticism, are losing credit and esteem, and that this interesting college of soothsayers may presently die out and their valuable gifts be lost to the world.

The Text of the *Buddhacarita*

Cantos IX-XIV, 32

By E. H. JOHNSTON

I N the *Journal* for April, 1927, pp. 209-26, I published some notes on the text of the first eight cantos of the *Buddhacarita* in the light of the old MS. in Nepal and of the Tibetan translation as edited and translated by Dr. Fr. Weller. The second part of the latter work has now appeared, containing the Tibetan text of cantos ix-xvii and the translation of cantos x-xvii, the translation of canto ix, which has gaps in the Sanskrit, being apparently reserved for further consideration. The notes in this part are full and careful and will be found of great help to all interested in the restoration of the Sanskrit text. We have every reason, too, to be grateful to Dr. Weller for undertaking the difficult task of translating the part from xiv, 33, on, for which no Sanskrit text exists, and, though, inevitably, owing to the nature of the Tibetan translation if the Sanskrit text were to be discovered minor details in Dr. Weller's translation would be found to require modification, at least we can now see clearly how Aśvaghoṣa handled the story.

In resuming the notes I proceed in the same manner and with the same abbreviations as in the previous article. I include canto ix in my notes, as owing to its difficulty and the further information given by the MS. it is better to publish my results before Dr. Weller's translation appears.

At this stage it seems to me desirable to discuss the various interpolations in the text. Verses viii, 54; xiii, 73; and xiv, 21 are generally agreed to be spurious, and I have also condemned below as obviously not genuine a verse in the long gap that occurs in canto ix in Cowell's edition. Besides these, most of the following suspicious verses must be interpolations; not one is required in its context and nearly all are definitely below Aśvaghoṣa's standard of writing. Other verses also

are omitted from the Chinese translation, but that is no more than a ground for suspicion owing to the freedom with which the translator handled the text.

i, 20 (39). The construction is clumsy. The use of the title Tathāgata is very suspicious; except for the spurious verse, i, 81 (86), the Buddha is called "the prince" or some analogous term up to xii, 90 (88), where, having become an ascetic, he is called *muni*; he is also called Bodhisattva at ix, 30, and x, 18. The title *ṛṣi* is not used till canto xiii. The *Saundarananda* follows the same practice. The expression *vigate 'pi rāge* recalls xiii, 31, and this verse was perhaps inserted as a parallel to it. It is the only thoroughly doubtful verse which appears in the Chinese.

i, 81 (86). Not in the Chinese. The use of *muni* is suspicious. Aśvaghōṣa could never have been guilty of so crude a verse.

ii, 15. Not in the Chinese. The comparison with so little known a king as Anarāya (see below) is remarkable bathos in face of that with Manu in the next verse. A poor and inappropriate verse.

iii, 65. See my previous article. This verse may have been inserted, just as verse iv, 87, was altered, so as to water down Aśvaghōṣa's references to the Buddha's dealings with women in his youth; in that view the essence of the verse lies in the word *balād*.

iv, 17. The Chinese mentions the names of the seers quoted as illustrations on each side, but not Manthāla's. It is one of the very few names in Aśvaghōṣa of which no trace can be found elsewhere; the story and the name of Jaṅghā seem equally unknown. The verse itself is uncommonly difficult, because even if *bhikṣur* is taken in the sense given to it in my previous article it ought to govern the accusative and otherwise the verse is untranslatable.

iv, 87*cd*. See my previous article.

v, 65. The verse does not appear in Beal and is somewhat doubtful.

xii, 57 (55). This does not appear in Beal, and *d* is taken from xii, 75 (73). It is not wanted in the context at all.

xiii, 23. See my note below on this verse.

The following notes should also be added to my previous article on the first eight cantos.

i, 42 (47) *d*. Weller, p. 188. *A* has *kṛtavān śaktiḥ*, the *virāma* under *n* being probably a later addition. The conjecture *kṛtavān na śaktiḥ* is poor as spoiling the play on words.

ii, 15*d*. Read *purānaranyasya*, and cf. the closely parallel verse, *Rāmāyaṇa* (ed. Gorresio), ii, 119, 10. I now find this reading to have been anticipated by Gawroński (*Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, p. 38) and by Rasivadekar in his commentary to Sovani's edition.

iii, 9*a*. Analogous passages suggest that °*lājam* should be substituted for the feeble °*jālam* in *prakīrṇojjvalapuṣpajālam*. On this view *T*'s otherwise inexplicable *ḥbras-spos* should either be explained as the same as S. C. Das's *ḥbras-so-ba* (= *lāja*), meaning perhaps "perfumed rice", or be amended to *ḥbras-brṇos* or *-phos* (v. Jäschke under *ḥbo-ba* 2), "parched rice."

iii, 25*d*. This requires further explanation. *T* runs as follows: *bḍag-gi* (*ātmanah*) *srid-pa-gzhan* (*punarbhāva*) *ma* (?) *cuñ-zhig* (*kimcit*) *brtags-pa* (*mene*) *ḥdra* (*iva*). *Ma* cannot go with *gzhan*, because, if a negative, it could not follow and *gzhan-ma* could only stand for the feminine of *anya*, *apara*, etc. I took it to be a negative combined with *cuñ-zhig*, and in view of *T*'s rather casual handling of negatives thought it safe to transfer the negative to *punarbhāvam*, the only place in the sentence where it could be fitted in. But Dr. Weller has pointed out to me that the equivalent in *T* for *apunarbhāvam* should be *srid-pa-gzhan-med*. This is so, but, as his translation, the only possible alternative, requires the reading *ni* for *ma*, *ma* must be a corruption. *A* gives no help in finding the correct reading, as it inserts *avagraha* only occasionally. To Aśvaghoṣa rebirth could hardly be connected with any feeling of joy and he must, therefore, have intended an

avagraha to be read by Buddhists, while leaving it open to Hindus to read it without one as a reminder of the epic tag *punarjātam ivātmānam mene* (e.g. *Rām.* (ed. Gorr.) vi, 44, 12 ; 48, 8 ; 53, 30), used in different circumstances of cheering up after intense dejection.

v, 55d. Subsequent further examination of the old MS. of *S* has satisfied me that the reading in iv, 17, referred to is °*nūpurayoktritābhyām*.

v, 84a. *vikāṭapaṅkajā*°, *T*, *vikajapaṅkajā*°, *A*.

viii, 25. This verse is quoted in Rājaśekhara's *Kāvyamīmāṃsā*, p. 18, with the correct readings *śīthilām-sabāhavaḥ* and *na celur āsur likhītā* but with new corruptions of its own.

viii, 26c. *T* read *prokṣitacandanān stanān* or, less probably, took *proṣita* from *pruṣ*, whose causative is not recorded.

CANTO IX

3a. *nyāyavat tam*, *T*.

4c. For *adhīram* *T* has *nag-por* "black", which is meaningless ; amend perhaps to *bdag-por*, which stands for *adhikṛta* in the precisely similar phrase in x, 1, and may represent *adhītam* here, or else read *brnags-par*, "concerned about."

7c, 8-11. *rājabha* and gap for a letter, *A*, *rājabhaktyā*, *T*.

8a. *mṛjayā*, *A* (Kielhorn, Kern), *T* uncertain. *b*. *vapuṣojjvalantam*, *T*.

10b and d. *T* divides *Śukrāṅgirasau* correctly into *Śukra* and *Āṅgirasa* (i.e. *Bṛhaspati*).

14b. *bhāvinam*, *T* ; cf. ii, 33b.

17c. *kuru mayy apekṣām*, *T* (Böhtlingk), *mapyā* (or *pye*) *pekṣām*, *A*.

19b. °*viṣṭabdhabhujair*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn). d. *mokṣa-mārgaḥ*, *T*.

20d. *A*'s reading is *yāṅgedruma* or *yāṅgi*°, which might be a corruption of *padmidruma*, but this does not take us much nearer a solution.

21d. *vittādhipatyam*, *A*, *T* ; cf. *Jātakamālā*, ii, 3.

24c. *T* divides *nātha hīnam*. *d. nauḥ*, *T* (Kielhorn).

26d. *ka[ruṇam rudantīm]*, *T*; Aśvaghoṣa uses this epic form in the *Saundarananda* also.

28b. *saṁtāpam anta[gatam udvahantam]*, *T* apparently; b4 might be *sa* in *A* as well as *ma*. Read *antargatam*, and cf. *Jātakamālā*, xix, 20.

29c. *tvaddarśanā[ye]cchati*, *T*. *cd. dahyamā[nam antaḥ]-puram*, *T* (Speyer).

31a. *tanaye [pitṛnām]*, *T*, *tanayam*, *A*.

32b, 1-2. *nānte*, *T*, *nāsti*, *A*. *c. bhūto 'pi [ciraṁ vi]yogas*, *T*, *bhūtvā*, *A*.

33b. *bhavān āha na [tat]*, *A*, *T* (Speyer). *d. viprayoge*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

34b. *vici[tram jaga]taḥ pracāram*, *A*, *T*.

35a. *yathādhwagānām iha*, *T*. *d. bandhu[prati]jñātajanair vi]hīnaḥ*, *T*.

36c. *gacchaty*, *T* (Lüders, Leumann).

37ab. *pra[vṛttaḥ sarvāsv avasthā]su vadhāya*, *T*. *c. akālaṁ*, *T* apparently (Cappeller).

38b. *tathaiivārthavidhau praviṣṭaḥ*, *T* (Cappeller). *A* omits b6. *d.* Very difficult. *T* has *dge-legs (śreyasi) nes-par (dhruvam or niḥ) thob-la (prāpte) dus (kālaḥ) yod-ma-yin-no (nāsti)*. Possibly a reading such as *nairvāhake* (? *nairyāṇike* ? *nair-vāṇike* ?) *śreyasi nāsti kālaḥ* is indicated; for the sense cf. the Chinese (Beal, 715).

40d. *parāpacāreṇa*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk, Gawronski).

41. The large gap in Cowell's text is covered by the whole of leaf 38a and the first two lines of 38b in *A*. It runs as follows:—

41c. *grāhākulaṁ cāmbv iva sāravindam*
rājyam hi ramyam vyasanāśrayam ca ||

42. *itthaṁ ca rājyam na sukhaṁ na dharmam*
pūrve yathā jātaghrṇā narendrāḥ |
vayaḥprakarṣe 'parihāryaduḥkhe
rājyāni muktvā vanam eva jagmuḥ ||

43. *varam hi bhuktāni tṛṇāny aranye*
tosam param ratnam ivopaguhya |
sahoṣitam śrīsulabhair na caiva
doṣair adṛśyair iva kṛṣṇasarpaiḥ ||
44. *ślāghyam hi rājyāni vihāya rājñām*
dharmābhilāṣeṇa vanam praveṣṭum |
bhagnapratijñasya nanūpapannaṁ
vanam parityajya grhaṁ praveṣṭum ||
45. *jātaḥ kule ko hi naraḥ sasattvo*
dharmābhilāṣeṇa vanam praviṣṭaḥ |
kāṣāyam utsrjya vimuktalajjah
Purandarasyāpi puram śrayeta ||
46. *lobhād dhi mohād athavā bhayena*
yo vāntam annam punar ādadīta |
lobhāt sa mohād athavā bhayena
saṁtyajya kāmān punar ādadīta ||
47. *yaś ca pradīptāc charaṇāt kathamcin*
niṣkramya bhūyaḥ praviśet tad eva |
gārhasṭhyam utsrjya sa dṛṣṭadoṣo
mohena bhūyo 'bhilaṣed grahītum ||
48. *yā ca śrutir mokṣam avāptavanto*
nṛpā gṛhasṭhā iti naitad asti |
śamapradhānaḥ kva ca mokṣadharmo
daṇḍapradhānaḥ kva ca rājadharmah ||
49. *śame ratiś cec chithilaṁ ca rājyam*
rājye matiś cec chamaviplavaś ca |
samaś ca taikṣṇyam ca hi nopapannaṁ
śītoṣṇayor aikyam ivodakāgnyoḥ ||
50. *tanniścayād vā vasudhādhipās te*
rājyāni muktā śamam āptavantaḥ |
rājyāṅgitā vā nibhṛtendriyatvād
anaīṣṭhike mokṣakṛtābhimānāḥ ||

51. *teṣāṃ ca rājye 'stu śamo yathāvat*
prāpto vanam nāham anīśayaṇa |
chittvā hi pāśam gr̥habandhusamjñam
muktaḥ punar na pravivikṣur asmi ||

A puts in between verses 47 and 48 and *T* between verses 49 and 50 the following verse, which is not in Beal and is plainly spurious:—

vahneś ca toyasya ca nāsti saṃdhiḥ
śaṭhasya satyasya ca nāsti saṃdhiḥ |
āryasya pāpasya ca nāsti saṃdhiḥ
śamasya daṇḍasya ca nāsti saṃdhiḥ ||

The following points in the above passage are worth noting :

41c. I follow *T*; *A* has *ca sthīrasā* (or less probably *mā*) *ravindam*.

42b. *tathā*, *A*, *yathā*, *T*.

43. In *A* b3 was originally apparently *ka*, written over to make *va*, *dha* or *ga*; b4 is *rau*. Query *girau*? I follow *T*.

44c. *na tūpapaṇṇam*, *T* probably.

46a. *A* might and *T* does read *lobhād vimohād*.

50c. Text uncertain. *A* has *rājyād mitā vā*, but *ṅga* and *dma* are almost identical in it. For the reading of the text cf. the common epithet, *niraṅgana*, "unblemished." *T* has literally *rājyāny āśṛitya* or *rājyāśrayād*. Query *rājyānvitā*?
d. So *T*; °*kṛtābhīdhānāḥ*, *A*.

I renumber the following verses.

53 (43) *a*. *dharmavidhau tavāyaṃ*, *T* (the Peking edition has *cho-gar*), *mantradharo*, *A* (evidently from the previous line). *c*. *śokāya dattvā*, *A*, *T*.

60 (50) *d*. *gatvā*, *T* apparently (Gawronski).

61 (51) *a*. °*mūrdhnām*, *T*, keeping *kyi* instead of Weller's amendment, *kyi's* (Kern).

62 (52). This verse is quoted *Saddarśanasamuccaya* (Ed. Suali), p. 13.

68 (58) *a*. *tava doṣa*°, *T* (Kern).

70 (60) *a. drumākhyo, T*; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 757).
b. nagaram viveśa, A apparently (b6-8 much rubbed) and
T. The reference is probably to Dyumatsena king of the
 Śālvas and the story of Sāvitrī. Query therefore *dyumākhyo*?
 The *Romantic Legend* (p. 167) translates this verse and gives
 the name as Druma, king of Vaiśālī!

71 (61) *a. dharmayaśahpraviṣṭā, T* apparently. *c. pra-*
yātum, A, T.

72 (62) *b. cakruṣaḥ, T*, agreeing with *mantriṇaḥ* and
 governing the rest of the *pāda*.

73 (63) *c. śamena ca, T*.

74 (64) *a. samśayajam, T, saśataṃ, A*, a syllable short.
b. avyaktaparamparāhatam, T. c. budhaḥ, T (Gawroński).
d. °deśikaḥ, A, T (Böhtlingk).

81 (71) *c. durdarśam, T*.

CANTO X

4b. *yas tatra, T. c. sa jagāma dhīram, A* (7-9 much rubbed)
 and *T* (Gawroński).

6c. *sammikarṣe, A, T* (Böhtlingk).

7d. *na [ta]tarpa dṛṣṭiḥ, A, T*; d9 in *A* could also be read as
rmya or *rmpa*. *Tutoṣa* was never a possible conjecture, as
 Aśvaghoṣa uses the root *tuṣ* only in the sense of "be pleased",
 and never in the sense of "have enough of", to express
 which it must be compounded with *saṃ*. The phrase as
 amended is a regular cliché.

8a. *īkṣaṇe, A, T. d. tasyātha babandha, A*; *T* has neither
atha nor *anu*.

9a. *dṛṣṭvā sorna°, T, dṛṣṭā svarṇa°, A*. Read either
dṛṣṭvā ca sorna° or *dṛṣṭvātha*. Weller (p. 92, n. 11) suggests
T read *sabhrūrṇabhruvam* (for *śubhornabhruvam*), but in fact
 it has *bhrū* once only, not twice.

12a. *manasāgatāsthō, T*.

15a. *tasmin girau, T* (Gawroński), *tasmin vanau, A*.

18a, 1-3. *tanasma, A* apparently, *tataḥ* only *T*. Read

tataḥ sma, as other verbs in the passage are in the perfect.
d. ivābhrakuñjāt, A.

20a. *nyāyavidāṃ variṣṭhaṃ, A, T.*

22c, 6-8. *T*'s *svavayo* is a reference to the legend that the Buddha and Bimbisāra were born on the same day.

26b. *A* has *śāśrayā śrīḥ* with *ma* added subsequently above *śa*. *T* is uncertain but in any case did not read *sama*; the Peking edition reads *gaṇ bśdags*.

27c. *vyūdhāny anīkāni, T.*

28d. *ca bhraṃsam, A, ca bhramśam, T* (Speyer).

29c. *copaśamena, T* apparently. *d. kāṅkṣito 'rthaḥ, A, T* (Böhtlingk). Read *don-bya* (*tyājya*) for *don-byas* in *T*.

35d. *pathā hriyante, T* (Gawronski). The form *hphrogs-par-byed* should normally indicate in this translation either the causative or the passive of *hr* and the latter alone suits here.

41a. *magadhapatir [vaco] babhāṣe, T.*

CANTO XI

2a. *bhavato vidhānaṃ, T.* *De* stands for *etad*, as often, not for *sa* as Weller suggests (p. 99, n. 2).

3a. *svakulānuvṛttā, T* apparently, "traditional in his family."

6b. *T* is equal to *eṣa yo mām prati niścayas te*; add *khale* at the beginning to complete. For *b7 A*, which otherwise is the same as Cowell's MSS., has *ti*, not *vi*.

8d, 10-11. *eva, A, T* (Speyer).

13b. *samagrāmś caturo, A, T.*

17c. *yair nānyakāryā, T*, corresponding to the "seeking nothing" of the Chinese (Beal, 849); for compounds with *na* cf., e.g., *Kirātārjunīya*, i, 19 and iii, 8.

18. Weller, p. 101, n. 11. *A* has *bhīsmāt* in *b*, evidently for *Bhīsmāt*; cf. *S*, vii, 44, where Ugrāyudha is called Janamejaya, both being Pañcāla names in the *MBh*.

19b. *saṃyojana* has the Buddhist sense of "fetter" here.
d. ādadīta, A, T (Böhtlingk, Cappeller).

25. Weller, p. 103, n. 4. Read *khyi*, "dog," for *kyi* instead of amending to *kyis*.

27a. *T* translates *abhito* "quickly", a meaning given in the *Amarakoṣa*. c. Weller, p. 103, n. 6. Read *ñe-bar-mtshuñs* (= *upama*) for *mtshuñs-ñe-bar*.

28b. *T* seems to support Cappeller's *yān*.

29 and 30. *A*, *T* and the Chinese (Beal, 867-8) agree that Cowell's verse 30 should come before his verse 29.

29 (30) a. *ūvraiḥ*, *T* (Lüders), *ūvvaiḥ*, *A*.

31c. *sūnāsikāṣṭha°*, *A*, which Dr. Weller has kindly informed me is also the reading of the Chinese. This recalls *asisūnā* found in the corresponding passage in *Ang. Nik.*, iii, 97. *T*'s "corpse-burning wood" has a parallel in *S*, ix, 20, where the Kurus are spoken of as reduced to ashes, and may indicate a reading *sūnāsikāṣṭha°* with *sūna* equal to *śava*. Curiously enough, there is a similar confusion in an exactly analogous passage in the *Lalitavistara*, where Lefmann (ch. xv, p. 207, l. 9-10) reads *iha te bālā parikrūḍyante sūnā-kāṣṭheṣu ivorabhrāḥ*; *parikrūḍyante* here is presumably a misprint for *parikūḍyante*, but according to Foucaux's translation the Tibetan read *parikuṭyante*. R. L. Mitra's text of the passage is different and corrupt, making no sense.

33a. 1-7 is taken in *A* by mistake from 34a, 1-7; a8 is *pā*. Dr. Weller's reconstruction of the Sanskrit seems to me sound. b. *kravyatsu cātmānam*, *A*, *T*.

34d. *kāmārtham ajñāḥ*, *A*, *T*. d. *mṛtyu[m]* *śramam cārcchati jīvalokaḥ*, *A*, *T*.

36a. *mataḥ*, *A*, *matih*, *T* apparently. b. *bhogā*, *A*, *T*. It looks as if *T* read *bhogā tu kecit parivartyamānāḥ* ("falsely represented as"); query *parikalpyamānāḥ*?

39b. *bhogāḥ*, *A*, *T*. c. *annāni bhogā iti*, *T* apparently (Gawronski).

44a. *drṣṭvā vimiśrām*, *T*.

45a. *yat syān*, *A* for *yasmān*, meaning "should it be argued that"; *T* seems to read *'bhyadhikāsti yasmān*, which is not so good.

48a. *rājño 'pi vāso yugam*, *T*, evidently for *vāsoyugam* (Böhtlingk).

50a. *tan nāsmi*, *A*, *T* (Lüders, Cappeller). *b. ksema[m]*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk). *d. pālayeti*, *A* (corrected from *pālayanti*), *T* (Speyer).

53b. *cādhyah*, *A*, *T*.

54a. *bhaiṣopabhogīti ca*, *T*, *bhaiṣopabhogīti ca* (or *ra*), *A*.

55d. *duḥkhañ*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk, Windisch).

57a. *T*'s *samsāraśareṇa* is confirmed by the *gāthā*, *Romantic Legend*, p. 183. *b. śāntim*, *A* (Speyer).

58c. *ity eva mamārtha°*, *A*, *ity evaṃ mamātra*, *T*. Read *ity eva mamātra*.

59a. 11-12, *rur*, *A* omitting a syllable, *na bhīr na ruñ*, *T*. *b. cādhyah*, *A*.

61a. *yadāntako*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn). *b. sarveṣu avaśam*, *T*, *sarveṣu vasaṃ* (for *vaśam*, Kielhorn), *A*.

64a. *cādīptaphalāṃ*, *A*, *vāpīṣṭaphalāṃ*, *T*. Read *cāpīṣṭa°*.

65d. *kimu yat kṣayātmakam*, *A* (Windisch), *kimu yat kṛpātmakam*, *T*.

69d. *kṣamethā mama tattva°*, *A*, *T* (Speyer).

71a. *°sambhavāntare*, *A*, *T*. *c. himāriśatrukṣayaśatru-ghātināḥ*, *A*, *°ghātane*, *T* apparently. *d. vimokṣayan*, *T* probably (Cappeller).

In *a* the enemy of cold is fire, the sign of fire is smoke, from smoke are produced clouds and from clouds rain. As none of the ordinary meanings of *dviḥ* make sense, I conjecture it means "fire", a reference to the Vedic epithet *dviḥ* of Agni. As *c* must be a single word in the locative case to correspond to *a*, I accept *T*'s reading. The enemy of cold is the sun, the enemy of the sun is *tamas*, which is then used as a moral quality. I take the verse to mean, therefore, "Just as fire obtains liberation for its body (i.e. is extinguished) by means of rain, so do you similarly obtain liberation for your mind by means of overcoming whatever is opposed to the destruction of *tamas*."

72b. *āpnotu*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk). *c.* The last word in *T*

according to both the India Office and the Peking editions is *ḥdir*, not *ḥdod*, i.e. *iha* (? or *ito*) for *imām*.

73c. *tam udīkṣya*, *T. d. nṛpo 'pi vavrā[ja] purim girivra-jam*, *A, T.*

CANTO XII

4a. Weller, p. 112, n. 5. As *bzhugs* = *āsina* in xiii, 50, I do not see why it should not do so here.

9c. *jñānaplavam*, *A, T* (Kielhorn).

10b. *varṇyate*, *A, vartate, T.*

11b. *naraṣabhaḥ*, *A, naraṣiḥ* (a syllable short), *T.*

13c. *tvaddarśana[m a]ham*, *A, T* (Gawronski).

16d. *yathaiva ca nivartate*, *T* apparently.

19a. *iti budhyasva*, *A, T.*

21c. *pratibuddhas tu*, *A, °buddhaś ca*, *T* apparently.

23c. *tritaye jantus*, *T, yantus*, *A* apparently but much rubbed. *d. nātivartate*, *A, T* (Böhtlingk).

27a. *bhāvān asaṁdigdhān*, *T, bhāvan asaṁ°, A.*

28c. *yaś caiveśaganaḥ*, *A* (for *yaś caivaiṣa* ?).

31b. *manovāgbuddhikarmabhīḥ*, *A, T.*

33ab. Text uncertain. *A* has *vidvān sa pañcaparvān* and *T viduṣaḥ, viduṣā*, or *vidvān* (omitting the *sa*) and possibly *pratiyate* for the verb. Taking *pratiyate* as 3rd pl. *A.*, I would read *ity avidyām hi vidvāmsaḥ pañcaparvām pratiyate*. Vācaspati Miśra on *Sāṁkhyakārikā*, 47, attributes this saying to Vārsaganya, who is dated much later in R. Garbe, *Die Sāṁkhya-Philosophie* (2nd ed.), p. 73 ff.

34d. *ity eva gamyatām*, *A.*

37d. *abhinipātyate*, *T* probably; this is a sound restoration of *A*'s *abhinīṣicyate* palaeographically.

39b. *janmasrotaḥ*, *T, jamasrotaḥ, A*, which both here and in xiii, 7 (see below) combines *n* and *ja* into a single letter resembling *kta*.

51d. *paritoṣeṇa vāsitaḥ*, *T* apparently.

53d. *ābhāsvareṣu saḥ*, *A, T.*

Cowell's verse 55 comes after his verse 57 in *A* and *T*. It is probably an interpolation.

56 (57) *b. yo na rajyaty upekṣate, A, yo na rajyaty upekṣaḥ, T* probably. For *upekṣaka* cf. *S*, xvii, 50, and *Lalitavistara*, ch. xi, p. 129, l. 6 ff.

58c. *A's bṛhatphalam* is unmetrical and *T's bṛhatkāle*, which is vouched for by the Chinese (Beal, 971), should be accepted.

62a. *ākāśagataṃ, T* and probably *A. c. tad evā°, A, T* (Cappeller).

63a. *°kuśalas tv anyo, T* apparently, *°kuśala sv* corrected to *°kuśala tv, A*.

67a. *Jaigīṣavyo 'tha, A* apparently.

68d. *uvāca ha, A* and probably *T* (Gawronski).

71. Cowell's MSS. omitted four lines here owing to two lines ending in *kalpyate*. Verses 71–3 run as follows, the subsequent verses being renumbered :—

71. *viśuddho yadyapi hy ātmā nirmukta iti kalpyate |*
bhūyaḥ pratyayasadbhāvād amuktaḥ sa bhaviṣyati ||

72. *ṛtubhūmyambuviharād yathā bījaṃ na rohati |*
rohati pratyayais tais tais tadvat so 'pi mato mama ||

73. *yat karmājñānatṣṇānām tyāgān mokṣaś ca kalpyate |*
atyantas tatparityāgaḥ saty ātmani na vidyate ||

In 73a *A* has *ṣatkarmā°, I* follow *T*.

79 (77) *c. tasmād, A, T* (Böhtlingk).

87 (85) *c. sūkṣmā paṭvī, T, sūkṣmā 'padvī, A*. Read *sūkṣmāpaṭvī*; cf. *Atthasālinī*, pp. 207–9.

90 (88) *d. vihārābhīratir, A, T*.

T and the Chinese show that *A* and Cowell's edition omit a verse after 90 (88); *pādas b, c* and *d* ran probably as follows :—

. . . *pañcendriyavaśoddhatān |*
tapahprasaktān vratino bhikṣūn pañca niraiḥṣata ||

In *c T* reads *tamaḥ*, and I have corrected it from the Chinese (Beal, 1000–1). The first *pāda* is uncertain, but might run *āśritān atha tatpūrvam*. I renumber the following verses accordingly.

92 (89) *a. te copa°*, *T.*

95 (92) *c. T's karmaprepsur* is unmetrical; the obvious emendation of *A's kamaprepsur* is *śamaprepsur*.

96 (93) *c. anantapāra°*, *T* apparently.

98 (95) *b. 'nyacakṣuṣām*, *A, T* (Böhtlingk).

107 (104) *c. āhāraḥ*, *T* (Böhtlingk) and *A* originally (altered apparently to *āsura°*).

113 (110) *a. °mūrtiś ca*, *A, T* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk).

117 (114) *d. padam eva bhakṣyase*, *T.*

121 (118) *d. niścītātmani*, *A, T.*

CANTO XIII

1*a.* 1-6, *tasmāya, A, tasmin vimokṣāya, T.*

3*d.* *vaco 'bhyuvāca, T, vaco bhyuthāṣa, A* (possibly meant to be *°vāca*).

5*d.* The reference surely is to *Karālanaka*; cf. iv, 80, and *Kauṭ. Arthaśāstra*, i, 6.

6*d.* *ivātivṛddhaḥ, A, T.*

7*b.* *śarāṇ jaganmohakarāmś ca, A* (v. note on xii, 39 above); *T* uncertain.

8*a.* *ātmasaṁstham, A, āsanastham, T.*

9*b.* *cara svadharmaṁ, A* (Lüders). c4-6. Hiatus in *A, yajñaiś ca, T.*

11*a.* *niścītātman, A* and probably *T.* Weller, p. 127, n. 11, the Peking edition reads correctly *mi-ldaṇ*, not *med ldaṇ* (*ldan* in Weller's text is a misprint for *ldaṇ*). *d. sūrbake, T*; the correct form seems to be *Śūrpaka* which occurs in *Padyacūḍāmaṇi* (Government Press, Madras, 1921), vi, 23, and is quoted by the *PW.* from *Halāyudha* and *Hemacandra*.

13*c.* *priyāvidheyaṣu, A* (Gawronski).

17*c.* *bhūtagaṇair asaumyaiḥ, T* and apparently *A* (whose reading might also be the nonsensical *asyaimyaiḥ*).

18*b.* *vighnaṁ same* (for *śame* ?), *A, T. d. valadruma°, A, śala° or śūla°, T.*

19*d.* *prthūdarāś ca, T* apparently, or else *cāpy akṣōdarāś ca.*

20*a.* *ajānusakthā, A, ājānusakthā, T.* Read *ajānusakthā* (Lüders, Kern).

21a. *bhasmāruṇā*, *T*; cf. the Chinese (Beal, 1066-7).

Verses 21, 22 and 24 contain a malicious description of Māra's host in the guise of Hindu ascetics. Verse 23, which the Chinese omits, does not fit in here and is most probably spurious.

24a. *śikhino 'tha muṇḍā*, *T* apparently; v. under *byi* in S. C. Das.

26c. *nanarda*, *A*, *T* (Gawronski).

27d. *pratipālayantah*, *T* apparently.

30a. *dharmadharās ca*, *T*.

33a. *upaplavaṃ dharmavi[dhe]s tu*, *A*, *T*.

34a. *T*'s *draṇ-po* corresponding to *udīrṇām* is surely a mistake for *drag-po*.

35b. *tikṣṇāgradamṣtrā*, *T*.

36d. *krīḍatsu*°, *A* and probably *T* (Böhtlingk).

40c. *tan mukta*°, *T*. d. *paphāla*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

44a. *viṇagarur*, *T*, for *nirṇagarur* (Böhtlingk) or *vyujja-garur*? d. *notsasrpur*, *T* (Kern).

46c. *dhūyamāno*, *A* and apparently *T* (Böhtlingk).

47b. *viyaty* (Lüders, Speyer) or *nabhasy* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk) *T*.

50c. *nāsīnam ṛṣim*, *A*, *T* (Kielhorn, Böhtlingk, Finot).

55d. *śāsāra*, *T* probably (Kern).

56b. *viśiṣṭabhūtam*, *A*, *T*.

58c. Weller, p. 134, n. 4; both the India Office and the Peking editions have *bsgrub-pa-ḥi* which is evidently correct and corresponds to the Sanskrit.

60c. *kimcana nāsty asādhyam*, *T* and possibly *A* (Speyer).

63a. *mahāndhakāre*, *A*, *T* (Böhtlingk).

68d. *vegāṃ samādher viṣaheta yo 'sya*, *T*. *A* reads *veśam* and omitting d8-9 has *yo sya* followed by a gap for two letters.

71d. For *hatāśrayā* *T* has *gtso-bo bsad-pa*, "when its leader is slain." This is certainly the correct sense (cf. Beal, 1108), and the idea is a common one, e.g. *Jātakamālā*, p. 133, l. 13, *hatapravīrā iva sainikā*; in preference to amending to, say, *hatāgriyā*, I would take *āśraya* in the sense of "leader" here, a not impossible extension of meaning.

CANTO XIV

7c. *lebhe param caksuḥ, A.*

16b. *baddhabāhavaḥ, A, T.* c. *A* has *duḥkhe nipipa*, then a tear of the size of two letters; originally one syllable short, it is now three. *duḥkhe 'pi na vipacyante, T*, reading *smiṇ* with the Peking edition.

23c. *A* omits *c6* and leaves a gap; *krpaṇam, T* apparently.

27d. *prāpya caivetaṇṇataraṇiḥ, T* apparently, *prāpya revaṇṇataraṇiḥ, A.*

A and *T*, like Cowell, have verses 30 and 31 in the wrong order as the sense and the Chinese (Beal, 1131-3) show.

30 (31) a. *samatikrāntā, A, T.*

32a. *narakap[r]akhye, A, T.*

October, 1928.

P.S.—I should like to add the following notes, repairing omissions :—

ii, 36a. *bhaṃ bhāsuram, A*, which according to *T*'s *skar-ma-rgyal* seems to refer to the asterism Puṣya (v. S. C. Das s. *rgyal* I), but Weller's Bṛhaspati agrees better with the following *āṅgirasādhidevam*.

ix, 10. In view of a remark on p. 352 of the *Journal* for April last, I should explain that in the *MBh.* and works on *nīti* Śukra and Bṛhaspati are regularly joined as a pair in their characters of the two divine gurus and of being the supposed authors of the two original rājaśāstras.

xi, 70. *Ava* should have nine different meanings in this verse. Following the indications in *Dhātupāṭha*, i, 631, and Böhtlingk and Schmidt's dictionaries, I suggest very tentatively the following translation :—"Be happy, O king, like Indra in heaven, shine ever with your virtues like the sun, understand the highest good, be satisfied in this world, rule the earth, make your life flourish by association with the noble, favour the sons of the good, obtain sovereign powers, observe your dharma."

May, 1929.

The Return of Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR.

PROFESSOR LANGDON has pointed out to me that the Assyrian text published in Ebeling, *KAR.*, No. 360, bears a close resemblance, alike in diction and in subject-matter, to Lehmann, *Šamaššumukin*, Taff. xxxvii f., edited in Streck, *Assurbanipal*, ii, 264-8, and it is almost certain that we have here two different but related accounts of the return of the god Marduk to Babylon with Shamashshumukin, in 668 B.C. In the following interpretation of *KAR.* 360, I am again very greatly indebted to Professor Langdon.

KAR. 360 (VAT. 10060)

1.

2. *amālu zammērē ina iqu (?) Z[AG (?) - SAL ina (?) bīt (?)*
*riḏū-ti bēlam . .]*¹

The singers on the harp (?) in the "house of succession"
(glorify (?)) the lord.

3. *irāti² ṭābāti uš-tam-li(?) - lá³*

Sweet "songs of the breast" they play

4. *amēlu kalē ina iqu ūu Zi-i⁴ i(?) - ḥal-la-[lu]⁵*

The psalmists dance to the instrument of the Zu-bird

5. *ḡar-ra-du-ti-šu uš-ta-na-ṣu-ú⁶*

His valour they extol.

6. *ḡarrāna rikis mātāti aṣar mar-kās kib-ra-[a-ti]*

The road, the bond of the lands, where is the uniting
principle of the regions,

7. *ṣa-būt-ma ki-šad^{nir} Pu-ra-na-ti ḡi-i-ša*

he has taken; on the shore of the Euphrates a ḡišu-boat

8. *ir-kab-ma^{nir} Mā-bān-da-ḡe-ḏú⁷ ru-ku-ub-šu el-lu ṣa*
ki-i ṣu-me-šū as-mu

he has mounted. On the river of the Little Boat of the *hedu*, his holy vehicle, which like his name is seemly,

9. *ú-še-li it-ti-šu* ^{iat}*bēlēti ni-ba-a-ti ša pal-ḫiś za-'i-na lit-bu-śá <śá>-ru-ri.*⁸

he causes to sail upstream with himself. The goddesses, radiant, fearfully adorned (and) clothed in brightness,

10. *na-bi* ^{iu}*Šam-ši ša ḫi-it-bu-ṣu* ^{iu}*Nannaru ša šur-ba-ta ilu-ú-su*

glorious Shamash who rejoices, Nannar whose divinity is extolled,

11. *ša* ^{nr}*A-ra-aḫ-ti be-rat nuḫši i-ta-ti-śá* ⁹*gu-um-mur-ma*
which ¹⁰ puts to the test the Arahtu-canal, the luxury of whose surroundings is complete,

12. *i-śad-di-ḫa a-na ma-ḫi-ir-ti*
(all these) go in procession to meet (him).

13. *i-te-ḫa-a a-na ka-ri a-ri bāb sa(mē)-me ina abulli ilu Ū-ra-aś iś-ta-kān-nu šub (?) -tam*

They approach the quay, Ari of the Red Gate; in the gate Urash ¹¹ they take up their place.

14. *li-i pu-ul-lu-ku az-li tu-ub-bu-ḫu ar-ma-nu (?)*

Oxen are slain, lambs are butchered, sacred pomegranate-wood

15. *ḫud-du-šu šur-ru-uk-ḫu ki-suk-ki*
is scattered about; the *kisukku*

16. *ma-lu-ú kut-rin-ni i-riś za-'a ta-a-bi*
full of incense, emitting a sweet fragrance,

17. *ki-ma im-ba-ri kab-ti sa-ḫi-ip śá-ma-mu*
like a great storm overwhelms the skies.

18. *šuk-ḫu-ú . . . a(?) -na išten-bēri-TA-AM*

(Beacons (?)) are raised aloft (?), at each double-hour's march ¹²

19. *śá(?) -ka- [na-mir-tū] śak-na-at* ¹³
. brightness is created.

20. *ka(?) -ma -kap śá ap-si-i*
. of the deep (?)

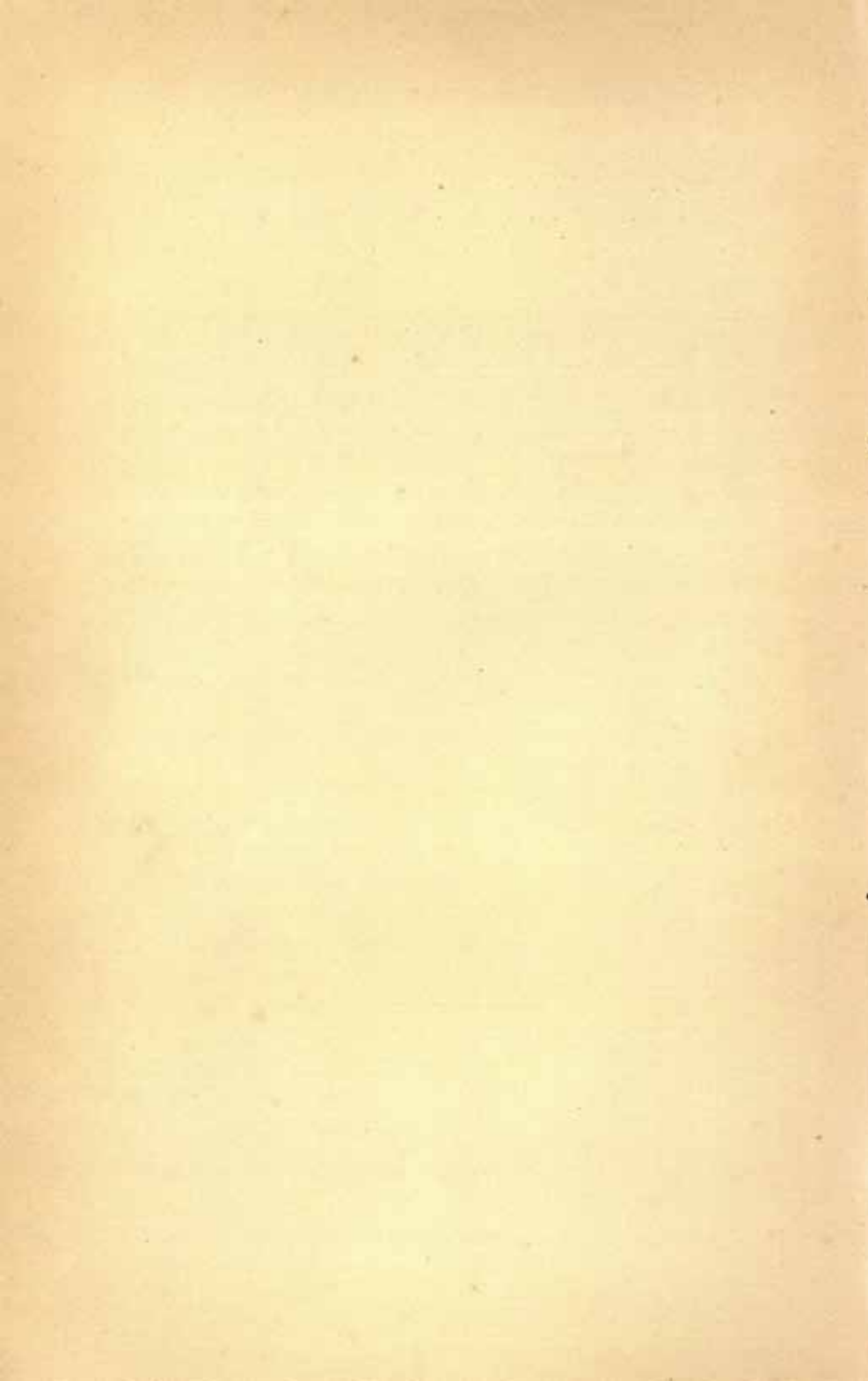
21. *up-pu-šù-un*

.

22. . . . *šá a* *ú (?) -šá-nu-nu kaḳ-ka-ru*

. the earth.

¹ Restored from Streck, 264, 4, but the reading there is uncertain. Lehmann's text has *u^uZAG-[SAL]* (*SAI.* 4670) for which the Accadian equivalent is still unknown. *ZAG.SAL* (*SAI.* 4669) = *tanittu* "praise", cf. Langdon, *PBS.* x, pp. 103 ff. In I Raw. 45, Col. I, 52, the *am^uzammērē* are associated with the *u^uZAG.SAL*, as here. For the explanation of *bīt ridāti*, see Streck, *Assurbanipal*, iii, 568 f. ² *irāti* is the title of a kind of song, cf. Langdon, *JRAS.* 1921, 183, note 1. ³ For *uštamlilu*? The reading is very doubtful. ⁴ This instrument is unknown. Perhaps we should read it as Sumerian, *u^uAN-ZI-I*. ⁵ Cf. *ASKT.* 122, 11, *i-ḫal-lu-lum*. *ḫalālu* means (a) "dance" and (b) "sing". ⁶ The verb is evidently (*w*)*ašū*, III, 3. Cf. *tēšitu* (Sumer. *A-DA-MAN*) "lamentation". ⁷ Marduk's boat is called the *u^uelip nārḡe-dū*, cf. *VAB.* iv, 128, 71, etc. [*ḡe-dū* is probably a title of Nebo here; see V Raw. 43 B 13; 46 B 56; *CT.* 25, 35 A 29. See the var. *PBS.* xv, 79, II, 27, *u^uelip nārḡe-dū e-lip u^uNabū*. S. L.] ⁸ So we must surely read. *šá-ru-ri* occurs also in Streck, 266, l. 17. ⁹ For examples of *ittu* in the sense "surroundings", see *VAB.* iv, 322. ¹⁰ Referring to *ilu-ú-su*. ¹¹ The Urash-gate lay on the bank of the Arahtu-canal, cf. *VAB.* iv, 180, 19 ff. ¹² Cf. Streck, 264, 10 and 266, note 1. ¹³ Restored from Streck, 266, 10.



The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing

A Study in Attitudes

By L. C. HOPKINS

(PLATE IX.)

PORTRAITURE, as we now know, was a very early member of the nascent arts of primitive man.

Palæolithic men were of necessity hunters. What they hunted on the plains and among the hills for food and covering, that they painted or carved on the walls and roofs of their cave dwellings and cliff shelters. The reindeer, the bison, the horse, the elephant were favourite objects of their vivid and impressionistic genius. What they lacked of imagination they made up for by exact memories and singularly skilful technique. Less frequent were their delineations of humanity, and as concerns the female part of it, most unflattering, being affected by a kind of exasperated candour.¹ The Age of Chivalry was far distant indeed!

But the particular feature in primitive drawing of the human figure that I wish to call attention to is its marked linearity.

This feature recurs in the art of the Bushman; among the Eskimos; among the Red Indian tribes; among the Chuk-chi of North-East Siberia,² and doubtless among other existing primitive peoples, though in none of them is the linear mannerism the sole method of portraiture adopted. Moreover, it is a very ancient mannerism, being conspicuous in some of the scenes recorded by Palæolithic artists in Spain. Obermaier distinguishes such figures as Nematomorphic. Let us thank the Spanish archæologist for "nematomorphic". It is a good word and an elongated, and shares

¹ See, e.g. Miss Helen Tongue's *Bushman Paintings*, pl. xxviii, where the steatopygy of the female figures must be seen to be believed. Or again, the Willendorf woman carved in oolite. Spearing's *Childhood of Art*, fig. 22, p. 40.

² The relative references appear at the end of the present Article.

with the figures it describes the common property of "length without breadth".

This linearity, this enforced reduction of the human frame, is strikingly manifest in archaic Chinese script. We shall find it in the different forms of man, whether seen frontally or in profile, alike in action and at rest.

In this Paper, owing to the abundance of material deserving attention, it is proposed to restrict our study to those typical characters that represent man as seen in profile, and, normally, facing to the left. And first of all, to that of the most ancient character for *jên*, man, now written in three ways, 人 as an independent word, and 亻 and 亼, when in combination. And we may note in passing that the first of these combining forms comes closer to the archaic shape than does 人 *jên*, the orthodox scription of the character when standing alone.

TYPE 1

Figures 1 to 4 on Plate IX represent variants of the earliest type that we can assign *with certainty* to the word *jên*, man, though it is possible that another rather fuller design may in the future prove its claim to represent the same word. We shall come to it later.

For instance, Chalmers, usually so careful, says of it, "the prevailing characteristic is the two lines for the legs."¹ And Wieger, while actually citing the *Shuo Wen*'s reputative statement, writes, "*Jên*,² a man represented by his legs."² Yet the *Shuo Wen*'s words are 象臂脛之形, that is, "depicts the arm and the leg." And there can be no doubt that the *Shuo Wen* was right in this, and that the left-hand stroke is the extended arm. And here may I point out a peculiarity or mannerism of the artists who designed the prehistoric pictography of the Chinese (if Chinese they were), in that in drawing profile figures, whether human or animal, they seldom represented more than half the real number of

¹ *Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 9.

² *Chinese Characters* (Eng. edition), p. 71.

limbs, one arm and one leg for man, one fore and one hind leg for beasts.

So much then, for the oldest examples of *jên*, man, *qua* character, worn down and worn out by hard and ceaseless use to a headless, handless and footless trunk. But we are about to examine forms, some found on archaic Bronzes, and more on the Honan Bone relics, that offer what must have been, typologically, a more ancient, and artistically a more veritable portrait of Man seen in profile. Some of these forms we cannot yet attach to any known Chinese word, being ignorant as to what later characters correspond to, and have replaced them. Some occur so far only in composition. But all are visibly human figures at rest or in action.

TYPE 2

Proceeding from the simple to the more complex forms, let us begin with one that has already been illustrated and partly discussed in a previous number of this *Journal*.¹ For convenience sake the two variants are now repeated as Figs. 5 and 6. It is not generally the aim of this Paper to debate questions of the correct equation of archaic forms with modern characters, so that we need not here try to decide whether Figs. 5 and 6 are primitive drawings standing for 人 *jên*, man, or for 元 *yüan*, prime, or for 子 *tzü*, son. What is clear is that they depict a man with a head on his shoulders, but otherwise the same as Figs. 1 to 4.

We find this same type in groups of two, three, and even four, in certain unknown compound characters on very early Bronzes. Thus Fig. 7 is from Yuan Yuan's collection of inscriptions, *Chi Ku Chai*, etc., *chüan* 1, p. 29. I call special attention to Fig. 8, which is clearly a variation of Fig. 7. I copied it some twenty-one years ago from a Bronze lance-head inscribed on one side, and forming part of the Wang Collection of Antiquities in the Museum of the Anglo-

¹ *JRAS.*, July, 1926, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part VII, pp. 464-5, and Plate VI, Figs. 1 and 2.

Chinese College, Tientsin. This exhibition was derived from the valuable collection of a well-known antiquarian, Wang I-jung, a Grand Secretary, living in Peking at the time of the Boxer movement. "On the entry of the Foreign Contingents into Peking, whence nearly all the official class had fled, the Grand Secretary, solitary and helpless, following the precedents of the antiquity he knew so well, 'faced the north,' made the due obeisance for the last time, and then with his wife and widowed daughter-in-law, threw himself into a well and perished."

The "strange Pictogram" (Fig. 8, similar ones are found elsewhere) "seems to represent four human figures under what may possibly be a standard." So far as I know, this figure has never been published before.

TYPE 3

Another simple type to be noted is that of the crouching or kneeling man. From it are derived the Lesser Seal and modern characters 𠂔, and 𠂔 or 𠂔, found only in composition.

The two varying scriptions of *jên*, viz. 𠂔 and 𠂔, are separated in the *Shuo Wen* for reasons of expediency in classifying the large number of compounds of each, for some follow one form and some the other.

But in the earliest times the two types were derived from the same model of humanity, which was, as it were, sawn asunder, the upper half ultimately becoming 𠂔, and the lower, 𠂔, each semi-human relic claiming to be *jên*, man.

Even in the most archaic inscriptions the kneeling type is very rarely found as an independent character, but in compound formations it abounds. Figs. 9, 10, and 11, however, may be cited as standing by themselves. Figs. 12 to 15 show differences in detail, and are combining-forms, as appears from the compound characters on the Plate.

It is not the aim of this Paper to equate all the ancient types reviewed with their corresponding modern equivalents,

unless for one reason or another this is helpful to its main purpose. But it seems appropriate to quote a short passage in which Lo Chên-yü gives his considered opinion on the nature of the figures we are examining. He says,¹ "The *Shuo Wen* explains 令 *ling* as, to issue a command; composed with 人 *tsi*, and 卩 *tsieh*, joint or tally." Lo, however, has a different opinion; "It appears" he says, "that in the ancient writing 令 *ling* was composed with 人 and 人 *jên*, man, q.d. to assemble a number of men and give them authoritative commands. Hence in ancient times 令 *ling* and 命 *ming* were one character and had one meaning, 故古令與命爲一字一誼. When Hsü in his Work (the *Shuo Wen*) explains 𠂔 (*tsieh*, in Hsü's eyes) as an auspicious token, he did not know that the ancient form 𠂔 depicted a man kneeling, and was the character 人 *jên*, man, 象人踞形卽人字也. All the characters ranged under 𠂔 (The *Shuo Wen*'s 338th Radical) are wrongly analyzed."

My only hesitation in accepting this valuable dictum of Lo's is confined to a doubt whether the crouching or kneeling figure was actually employed to write the word *jên*, or was possibly the written form of some other syllable. But in any case, when this type is not at the bottom but at the side of a modern character, it is miswritten, and believed to be 卩 *tsieh*, joint.

TYPE 4

Mounting one rung of the scale of complexity we reach a form, marked by a certain picturesque naïveté, but tempting the investigator to advance over some ice that is exceedingly thin. Figs. 16 and 17 (also found reversed, 18) appear to be merely more finished variants of the last type, and indeed they must really be so, for they occur sometimes on the Honan Bones in place of the more usual Fig. 19, as "supporters" in the compound character 鄉 *hsiang*. The uppermost element, which in certain other characters is

¹ Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i K'ao Shih, p. 51, s.v. 令 *Ling*.

found similarly placed, seems a mere convention for a head and face seen in profile. Strictly regarded however, it is in form an *ad hoc* application of the ordinary character for 口 *k'ou*, mouth, rotated to the right or left through a quadrant of a circle, and serving at once as a significant gesture, and as an enforced aberrancy from the normal position of the *mouth* character in order to avoid identity with the archaic script of 兄 *hsiung*, elder brother. However this may be, Fig. 16, and its reverse, separated by an element expressing food on a dish are seen facing each other in Fig. 20, representing the modern 鄉 *hsiang*, village, in form, but 饗 *hsiang*, to offer food, in meaning.¹

Now Lo Chên-yü surmises² very acutely that the *Shuo Wen's* Lesser Seal form Fig. 21 (its 341st Radical and now written 𠂔), represents the Honan Bone form, Fig. 19; that the latter is identical with a more naturalistic and ampler sign, Fig. 22, found very rarely on those relics; that this latter portrays two men facing each other; that it is the true script of the later character 嚮 *hsiang*, towards, just as Figs. 23 or 24 (modern 北 *pei*, North, but also, to turn the back on), depicts two men back to back. I infer then, for Lo does not explicitly say this, that he regards each half of Fig. 22 as a fully finished variant of the character 人 *jên*.

TYPE 5

Analogous to the last type, and formed of the same components, but having the *upper* element only reversed, is Fig. 25 (and reversed, Fig. 26).

This quaint formation represents the modern 𠂔 *chi*, and so far as I know, at no phase of its career occurs as an independent character, but is fairly common in compounds. It is said by the *Shuo Wen* to mean "to choke". But it is well to proceed very cautiously with regard to it.

¹ See this fully discussed in *JRAS.* for 1917, "Pictographic Reconnaissances," Part I, pp. 805-7, and especially the Plate, Figs. 120-5.

² *Y.H.S.K.K.S.*, p. 51 rect.

First of all, it is a fact that the modern scripion of *chi* descends not, as usual, from the Lesser Seal version, 𠂔, but from the real archaic construction shown above, Fig. 26, for the upper element in the Lesser Seal is modern 气 *ch'i*, vapour, but in the archaic and the modern forms alike, it is a deflexion of 口 *k'ou*, mouth.

Next, we find that the *Shuo Wen* states that the character 𠂔 *chi* is 欠 *ch'ien*, reversed (從反欠), and so, in the Lesser Seal it is, where 𠂔 is the Lesser Seal scripion of 欠 *ch'ien*, but it is not so in the archaic or modern shapes. But the statement that 欠 *ch'ien* and 𠂔 *chi* were thus correlated forms is interesting and important. Lastly, the *Shuo Wen* gives us a *Ku wen* or ancient form of 𠂔 *chi*, and, if the shape is as Hsü originally wrote it, this was Fig. 27. But both the Honan relics and the old Bronzes prove that this is erroneously written as regards the lower element, and that the *Ku wen* should be Fig. 28, even when negligently finished off. Now such a form corresponds strictly to the archaic Fig. 26.

What then is the significance of this character, in which the mouth (or the head and mouth) faces in the contrary direction to that of the body? Such a posture seems to require some correlated sign wherein the mouth and head have a more normal relation to the rest of the human body. And this normal relation is seen at once in Type 4, where both body and head face in the same forward direction.

If therefore Type 5 (Figs. 25 or 26) shows us the archaic design of 𠂔 *chi*, to choke, and if the *Shuo Wen* is right in describing this *chi* as the reverse of *ch'ien* to gape, then Type 4, e.g. Fig. 18, must be that reverse, and consequently stand for *ch'ien*. Now, it is true, we might have expected that in a character picturing a gaping mouth the upper element would have been left open, that is, without the short downstroke, thus 𠂔 not 𠂔. And as to that we should note Tuan Yü-ts'ai's statement that in Hsü Ch'ieh's Edition of the *Shuo Wen* the character 欠 *ch'ien* is written as Fig. 29, that is with an obviously open mouth. Nevertheless, on the Honan Bones,

no example known to me appears with the mouth thus left open. But, on the other hand, Takada in the *Ku Chou P'ien*,¹ gives several examples (all in compound characters) of 欠 *ch'ien*, written with the mouth widely opened as shown by Figs. 30 and 31, the last from the Stone Drums, the others from ancient Bronzes.

Loth as I always am to differ from the excellent judgment of Lo Chên-yü, the facts and considerations set out above seem more consistent with an identification of the headed and kneeling figures in Fig. 22, with the open-mouthed forms shown in Figs. 30 and 31, and of all four with 欠 *ch'ien*, than with the simple character 人 *jen*, as Lo thinks.

TYPE 6

Proceeding now from head to foot, we reach a simple design where the head is ignored and the foot emphasized by exaggeration. This design is found, but very rarely, as an independent character, on the Honan Bones; and in composition, both there and on ancient Bronzes. Figs. 32 and 33 (they appear to be variants) occur on the Bones, and Fig. 34 on Bronze, in the character now generally written 致 *chih*, to bring about, an effect, but also in the early scription of 寒 *han*, cold, and of 蠻 *p'o*, an indigenous race in Ssuchuan Province.

Lo Chên-yü identifies this formation, and very justly it would seem, with the modern 企 *ch'i*, to stand on tiptoe, but not so Takada² who sees in it 攷 *ch'ui* or *sui*, Kanghsi's 35th Radical.

An attractive example of this type (not otherwise known to me) is cited by Takada, *Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 54, p. 18, whence I have copied Fig. 34a. He considers it "without doubt the most archaic form of 據 *chü*, to hold on to", and rightly says the human figure and the staff make a picture of someone supported by a staff, 杖持象形 *chang ch'ih hsiang hsing*, and 杖持 *chang ch'ih* is the definition of the *Shuo Wen* for

¹ *K.C.P.*, chüan 37, pp. 7, 8; chüan 35, p. 9.

² *K.C.P.*, ch. 63, p. 26.

the character 據 *chü*, while Takada treats the remaining element (又 *yu*, the right hand) as equivalent to the 才 *shou* in the character 據 *chü*. This is very ingenious and may well be the true explanation. It would, therefore, seem reasonable to conclude that without the hand element, the figure with the staff stands for the most primitive script of 杖 *chang*, a staff, or to use a staff. But Takada cannot insert any example taken from original documents of either 丈 or 杖, but only his own "reconstructions" of them, from their component elements (集形 *tsi hsing*).

TYPE 7

So far we have considered the human form in various attitudes. But in Type 7 we are to deal with a figure that up to quite recent years was believed to stand for a demonic or spectral being, as well as for that part of the disembodied spirit of man that returns to the Earth after the vital spark has been quenched. In the popular mind it is applied to evil spirits incarnate in various monstrous, horrific, or loathly shapes, such, for example, as Europeans. These shapes are often partially anthropomorphic as appears in the written character 鬼 *kuei*, devil, which includes the form for kneeling man (Type 3), while the upper part is thought to have once depicted the head and features of some frightful fiend, Figs. 35 and 36.

This may be the true account, but on the whole I incline to agree with Takada's view that the character portrays a man kneeling and wearing some ceremonial headgear while he renders their due rights to the spirits of the dead. His actual words are 象戴冠弁 *hsiang tai kuan pien*, "depicts the wearing of a ceremonial cap." Such an interpretation of the whole character is consonant (not to put it higher) with the *Shuo Wen's* ancient form Fig. 37, which, strangely enough, is confirmed by a Honan bone example, Fig. 38, the left-hand element in both cases being 𠄎 *shih*, to indicate, a sign, (the regular Determinative for characters relating to worship and spiritual beings).

It is curious that whereas the Lesser Seal shape of the upper element in 鬼 *kuei*, is, according to the *Shuo Wen*, 𤝵, and explained as "a spectre's head", the two examples given above, Figs. 35 and 36 (one from the well-known Mao Kung Caldron, the other from the Honan relics), are simply, as there written, 田 *t'ien*, fields. But of course they are merely stylized reductions of some earlier and more complex figure. And the crux of decipherment is to discover how this earlier figure was designed, and what it was meant to represent.

The solution now to be proposed, while based in the main on Takada's and my own reading of the type shown in Figs. 35 and 36, goes further, and presents a novel decipherment of a very strange but little known figure forming part of the complex in Figs. 39 and 40.¹ I should say at once that Takada, who has much to say on the matter, holds a very different view from mine.

Shortly then, the complex in question is found within what I have elsewhere called "a cartouche", it is a characteristic framework considered to be the old and true form of the modern character 亞 *ya*, and to stand for the ground-plan of an ancestral hall. In a rather wide range of variation of detail it occurs on a number of the most archaic Bronzes, Takada citing (*chüan* 36, p. 32) no less than twenty-nine examples. He now believes the enclosed group to be a very ancient scription of the word 招 *chao*, to beckon, invite, and identifies the right-hand element with the later character written 𠂔,² in composition, but not now found alone. I am not here concerned to discuss the whole complex. But I do not accept his equation of the right-hand part, and in place of it, I suggest that we see in it a very archaic form of 鬼 *kuei*.

Like Takada, I suppose the curious upper part to represent the head and elaborate headgear. Like him too, I see in the

¹ Figs. 39 and 40 are copied by me from the facsimiles in the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien*, vol. xii (殷文存, 下, p. 35, and vol. viii, *ibid.*, 上, p. 3).

² It forms the right-hand part of 執 *chih*, to grasp, as now written.

linear lower part the body with one arm extended, raising apparently a wine jar from a holder or chafing dish, and, as Takada says, clothed in full dress (of ceremonial worship, as I suppose). And I further see in the unusual spiral termination below, (not, we may note, in the Bone or usual Bronze examples), the probable origin of the little element 厶 present in both the Lesser Seal and modern forms, displaced first, and then misunderstood by the Han and later scholars. I should add that such a novel decipherment would not necessarily militate against the Japanese epigraphist's solution of the whole complex as 招 *chao*, to beckon.

And there I leave the character *kuei*, whether as pious worshipper, or grisly spectre, for the future to decide, but in any case gratified that Mr. Takada and myself concur in believing that the quaint figure in Figs. 39 and 40 represents the human form viewed in profile.

TYPE 8

Few looking at the modern version of this obscure, insignificant, and mostly miswritten character 𠂔 and discovering that it means a hatpin or hairpin (for which, however, the much larger 簪 *tsan* is now substituted), would expect to find it included in a study of types of the human figure. Nor would they probably be helped by certain of the much stylized old forms that are recorded, e.g. Fig. 41, the parent of the Lesser Seal scription.

But the uncertainty is illuminated when we see a very archaic and picturesque drawing, Fig. 42, cited by Takada (*Ku Chou P'ien*, ch. 35, p. 17). Here the man's outline is plain enough, and the only question is what does the projecting object above his head stand for? It looks more like a large comb than a hat-pin, although again, it might be a decorative feather. One thing is certain. It is some sort of fastening or ornament worn by a man, perhaps characteristic of some non-Chinese race.

TYPE 9

It seems perhaps a questionable arrangement that classifies the two Figs. 42 and 43 under one head. But the action indicated by each being as I think, apparently closely related, they are both treated conveniently together. For here, surely, we are privileged to witness the domesticities of the bathtub and the wash-basin, as practised in the most ancient China.

The pictogram exhibited in Fig. 42 is extant in two examples only, and those of Shang or Yin dynasty date. Facsimile reproductions appear in vol. x, p. 28, of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* Review, in the series entitled *Yin wên ts'un*, or "Extant writing of the Yin dynasty". Until Mr. Takada's *Ku Chou P'ien* was published, the Figure had never to my knowledge been identified with any modern character, nor commented on at all. Takada's ingenious equation of it with the modern character 擘 *lan*, to grasp, is thus defended. He says (*chüan* 54, p. 19), "The sound and meaning cannot be actually proved, but a scrutiny of the figure shows that it consists of 皿 *min*, a vessel or dish, and of a man grasping an object and gazing into it" (Query, the object or the vessel?). And a little later he adds, "advancing his head and looking downwards into the vessel" (人類而下視器皿之中也), while "the element 攴 shows the idea of grasping" (又攴即執持之意).

I confess I do not quite grasp the Japanese scholar's idea. Why should a man looking down into a vessel close below him want to grasp any object, in fact, with what object does he look downward? To my mind there is a far more easily explained interpretation, and this is it. We have a linear sketch of a man stooping over a basin. From his crudely drawn head a rope of hair hangs down which he grasps, perhaps about to dip it into the basin, perhaps wringing it out to dry. There seems a certain grotesque truthfulness in the drawing of the attitude. I do not desire to equate it with any existing Chinese character, beyond suggesting that it might be a variant of Fig. 43, now to be considered.

According to Lo Chên-yü, this is the early way of writing the character 沫 *hui*, explained by the *Shuo Wen* as "to wash the face". And Lo describes the old figure as depicting a man with dishevelled hair close to a basin washing his face (象人散髮就皿洒面之狀).

It is quite possible to reconstruct Lo's archaic group in modern script, when it would appear as 頤, if it were in Kanghsi's Dictionary, which it is not. The primitive artist was in trouble with the upper right hand and arm, and just did the best he could.

These two figures admirably illustrate a signal difficulty that meets the inquirer into the history of Chinese writing, and one that Mr. Takada again and again points out in his *Ku Chou P'ien*, namely the constant abandonment of an original pictogram in favour of some more easily written phonetic compound, or less often, of one constructed on the *hui i* or suggestive combination principle. When this change has taken place, the investigating sleuth-hound finds that the scent is absolutely lost. And more than that, it cannot but leave a large margin of doubt on every conjectural equation with a modern form, however plausible and ingenious.

TYPE 10

The type now about to engage our attention is larger, more expressive, and of greater interest because of the important compounds of which it forms part, than those we have hitherto passed in review.

Yet this form has not existed as an independent character since, probably, the Shang dynasty, say, the close of the second millennium B.C., for it has been found in its archaic aspect on the Honan relics.

Kanghsi prints its modern form as 𢶏, and the *Shuo Wen* gives the Lesser Seal shape as 𢶏, and adds that "it is read like 戟 *chi*". The same authority explains its meaning as 持也 *ch'ih yeh*, to grasp, and basing himself on the construction of the Lesser Seal, states that the figure depicts the hand

having something in its grasp. From which it is clear that Hsü Shên had not seen the true archaic script, reproduced in Figs. 44 to 48.

These designs, it should be remarked, are exceptional in that they do not conform to the practice noticed earlier in this paper of representing only two of the four limbs of man and quadrupeds seen in profile. Here we see both arms extended. The type is mostly found in composition, but Figs. 44 and 45 stand alone. In the first two the attitude suggests prayer, supplication, or high respect. In the third, Fig. 46, the relation of the two hands seems to indicate that some object is being carefully held, though none is actually shown in this instance, as though an offering of sacrifice was about to be made, an interpretation that is confirmed by the presence of a variant of the character 𠄎 *shih*, the Determinative of spiritual beings and ceremonies. Figs. 47 and 48 are clearly identical with 46, though the artist's want of skill appears to make both hands spring from one arm. Wu Ta-ch'êng cites Fig. 47 from a bronze under the entry 祀 *ssü*, to sacrifice, but Takada also citing the same bronze, treats it as a 古逸字 *ku i tzü*, i.e. an archaic and obsolete character, which he reconstructs in what he holds would be its modern aspect, as 祝. Whether Wu or Takada is right, or whether neither is, it is very interesting to meet the exact double of Fig. 47 on a cowrie in my collection, H. 318, Fig. 48, for it is unique among those relics, and unknown to the Chinese and Japanese scholars, from the various other collections.

* * * *

Among the compound formations in which this type takes part is the archaic prototype of the character 揚 *yang*, to lift up, exalt, mount, expand. This is remarkable for the large range of variation presented by the very numerous instances occurring in the oldest bronze and bone inscriptions recorded and now accessible. And it is a long-pondered consideration of these variants that has led me slowly to a new, heterodox, and perhaps startling deduction of the origin and true

significance of the included element 易 *yang*. This is variously rendered by various writers as "the opening up of the daylight" (Chalmers), "to expand, glorious" (Wieger), "Male. Ciel: firmament. Clair" (Callery). These authors all follow the *Shuo Wen* in its analysis of the character 易 as being composed of 日 *jih*, sun, and 勿 *wu*, a flag (now written 旃), which certain personages of rank were entitled to fly; and they equally accept its explanation of the meaning, as 開 *k'ai*, to open.

Our first concern, however, is with the compound character 揚 *yang*, and in the course of examining its archaic predecessors I shall have to maintain that the composition and significance of its main element 易 *yang*, has been totally misunderstood, and in consequence wrongly analysed, by the school to which Hsü Shên, the author of the *Shuo Wen*, belonged, and whose teaching he accepted and transmitted. And this, owing to ignorance of the vast store of Shang and Chou documents in bronze and bone that have since been exhumed and studied.

In order that the argument may be more conveniently followed, I have selected nine examples of the archaic variants of 揚 *yang*, arranging them in a series from the most to the least complex groups, Figs. 49 to 57. All of these except the last comprise some variant of 𠂔 *chi*, to hold or grasp, Type 10, corresponding in function though not in form to the Determinative 扌 *shou*, hand, of the Lesser Seal and modern versions of 揚 *yang*. The first three, Figs. 49 to 51, have apparently three other elements; the next two have two out of those three, Figs. 52 and 53; Figs. 54 and 55 have only one; and the last two again, have two.

It is impossible with our present knowledge to ascertain which of all these variations represents the most primitive model. All we can do is to attempt to reconstruct the pictorial ideal in the mind of the ancient artist, and that, as I hope to show, has not yet been done in full for the most complex, nor even for some of the simpler versions. The author of the *Shuo Wen* had not seen such combinations as Figs. 49 to 57,

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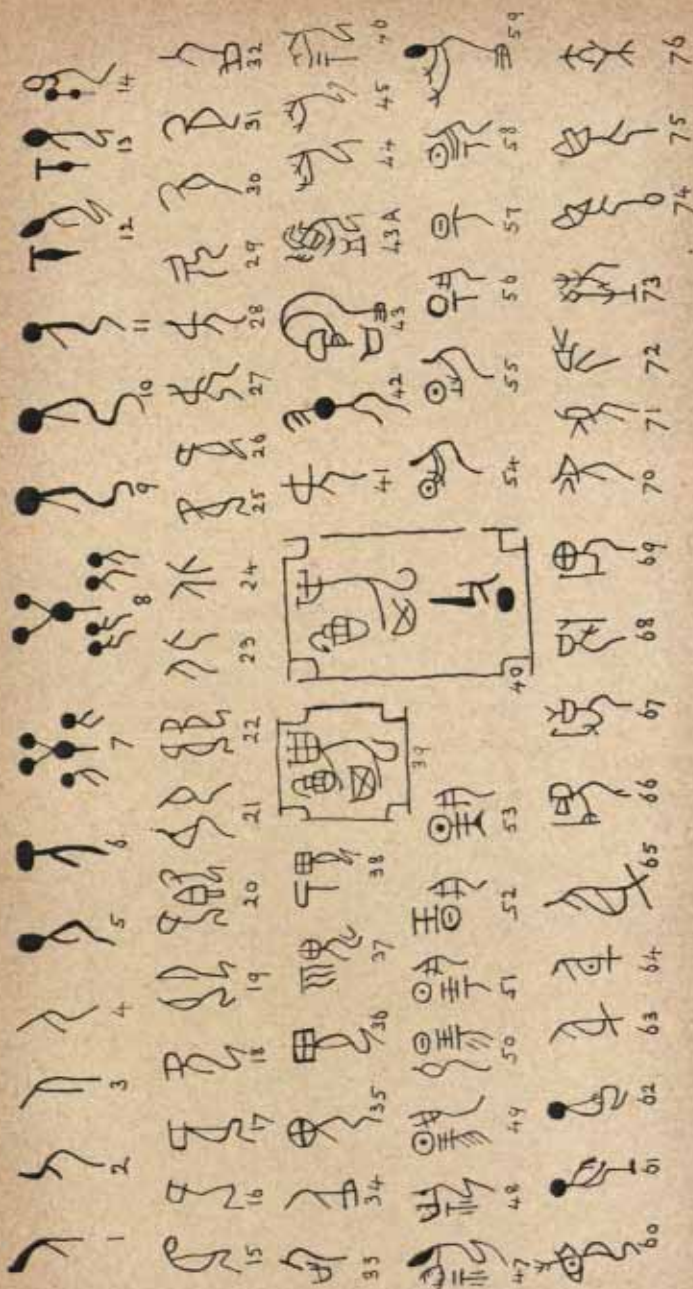
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so that his analysis of the Lesser Seal character is inevitably inadequate to explain them.

The clue, however, has now been found. Whoever will look at Figs. 54 and 55 will discover more quickly where the solution lies when he realizes what the circle with its central dot was intended to represent.

It does not, and it never did, represent 日 *jih*, the sun, as Hsü Shên believed. On the contrary, it depicts the 璧 *pi*, or large disk of jade, with its central circular aperture. Splendid specimens of these jades are in Mr. George Eumorfopoulos' cabinets. Such tokens of authority and symbols of rank were held in the hands (as these figures show) at audiences of the monarch, and expressed homage or ceremonious thanks. Besides these, in many cases, we find the character for jade, 玉 *yü*, added sometimes above, oftener beneath, the *pi* or disk, perhaps partly to avoid that very confusion with 日 *jih*, the sun, that nevertheless ensued later. But there remains, as the lowest part of the larger variants, an element which provides the only point of uncertainty in the composition. It seems to take two forms. One, less usually seen in the archaic character, certainly appears to be, as the *Shuo Wen* says, the character 勿 *wu*. The second, a frequent alternative to 勿 *wu*, is a simple T-shaped form whose stem generally curves either to the right or the left. It is the first of these two varieties that reappears in the Lesser Seal and modern scriptions of 易 *yang*. The second, or T-shaped sign, as it seems to me, may reasonably be held to form part of the first. But whether it is the parent shape, or a residual contraction, I am not able to say. I may, however, observe that it is found again in the bone version of the character there written 𠄎 and 𠄏 (now 寧 *ning*), where above it is 皿 *min*, dish, and where it seems natural to regard the lower element as indicating some sort of stand or support. I am accordingly inclined to regard the small diagonal strokes in the alleged 勿 *wu* element as unessential, and perhaps = 𠄎 *shan*. And support is precisely



The Human Figure in Archaic Chinese Writing.

what I suppose 𠂇 to stand for in the variants of 揚 *yang* where it appears. That is to say, that it represents some kind of pedestal or footed base from which the jade disk was raised at the proper moment, as seems to be displayed in a crudely drawn example of the character illustrated in the Chin Ts'un Section, additional chüan 2, 1st plate, in vol. xxi of the *I Shu Ts'ung Pien* (see Fig. 58 on Plate).¹

It must not be forgotten that no explanation of 揚 *yang* or of its component 易 *yang*, will be sufficient that does not account for the whole complex of the more elaborate and archaic versions of the character in question.

To sum up the significance of the primitive pictogram later replaced by 揚 *yang*.

To suggest and exemplify the physical action of raising, and the figurative sense of exalting, both embodied in the word *yang*, we have a human figure with extended arms raising in both hands a circular disk of jade from what appears to be an honorific support and stand.

It would follow from such a view that the simple character 易 *yang* (without any Determinative) cannot in the earliest ages have existed, except as a conscious contraction of the more explicit 揚 or similar composite form.

TYPE 11

This need not detain us long, having been discussed in the *Journal* for 1927 in "Pictographic Reconnaissances", part viii, pp. 771-7, and illustrated on Plate VII, Figs. 8-10. In that paper I described the figure as a "crudely drawn and linearized profile of a man grasping some object", and I need add nothing here to that description.

Fig. 59 is a reconstructed character, a "composite" integration of the two Figures 8 and 9 (omitting the object held) on Plate VII of "Pict. Reconn.", part viii. Of these, Fig. 8 omits the foot, and Fig. 9 discards the head, but retains the foot. We are entitled, therefore, to infer an original form

¹ Cited also by Takada in *K.C.P.*, ch. 55, p. 3.

as shown in Fig. 59. As will be seen, this differs only from Type 10 by the presence of the foot, the explicit restoration of which is probably here and elsewhere meant to show that the man is moving.

TYPE 12

This appears to be the last figure amplified by a fully developed head with hair. It has become the 181st "Radical" of Kanghsi, and is there said to be pronounced *hsieh*, but in modern use has lost the rough breathing and is sounded *yeh*. The *Shuo Wen* defines the word as "head", and as a Determinative of many characters, it agrees with that meaning.

Kanghsi is very curt in its treatment of this character, for after citing the alleged pronunciation according to three earlier dictionaries, and the *Shuo Wen's* entry, the Editors confine themselves to adding from the *Liu Shu Ku* ("Six Scripts") that the character is 首 *shou* and ought not to be pronounced *hsieh*, and that the *Shuo Wen* was wrong in making it a separate Radical with a different sound.

The normal type is well and clearly shown in the inscription on the four-handled *tui* (or *chiu* as Mr. Yetts suggests it should be read) of the Eumorfopoulos collection, where in combination it appears twice (see Fig. 60 on Plate). This is an already much stylized rendering of Type 3 (modern 几) surmounted by a variant of the human head and hair, disproportionately drawn for the sake of emphasis, but intended to give a profile view.

We may remark two things of this type, first that so far in archaic Chinese it never occurs as an independent character; and second that it differs only from the archaic forms of 見 *chien*, to perceive, by having 首 *shou*, head, where *chien* has 目 *mu*, eye.

TYPE 13

Under one group are here brought together outlines of the human figure in profile, whether standing or kneeling, but all having the head, one or both arms, with hands or a hand,

and the foot also indicated. What word may be meant seems uncertain, but the native scholars, judging by the general nature of the brief inscriptions containing them, usually treat them as being *ad hoc* varieties of the character for son, viz. 子 *tsǔ*. Perhaps in most cases they are right, for it is hard to find a more likely solution.

A curious chance has brought on to the same page of Wu Ta-ch'êng's *K'o Chai Chi Ku Lu*,¹ the two examples numbered Figs. 61 and 62 on the Plate.

I should mention as regards Fig. 61 that in his Supplement, the *Ku Chou P'ien Pu I*, *chüan* 3, p. 15, Takada cites the form, but shows close to the head and partly above it, a crudely drawn 戈 *ko* or halberd, and treats the two as forming one group, adding, "a man beneath a halberd and with hands hanging down,—this is 戍 *shu*, frontier guard, not 伐 *fa*, to attack." He may perhaps be right.

TYPE 14

No one, probably, looking at the modern shape of the character 身 *shên*, body, nor perhaps at the Lesser Seal version, 𠂔, would detect a human model. Yet it is there, and not so far to seek, in many of the archaic designs, such for instance as are seen in Figs. 63 to 65.

All except the *Shuo Wen* agree that in one way or another these old forms represent the human figure with the belly emphasized, while there is incomplete agreement as to the lower diagonal, or short cross stroke. Fig. 65 seems very convincing that Takada has rightly interpreted the forms as intended to represent a pregnant woman, the contained dot or line suggesting the foetus, and corresponding with the expression in the spoken language 有身 *yu shên* "having body", that is, being pregnant. But the lower cross or diagonal stroke has caused more doubt. I do not see how it can be phonetic as the *Shuo Wen* supposes, nor does it seem happily described, as it is by Wieger, as "a leg moving forward to

¹ *Ts'ê* 23, p. 17.

keep the equilibrium". My own explanation is quite different. I believe it to be a conventional device, or written gesture, "stop here," as it were, meant to direct the attention to what is immediately above, viz. the pregnant body, as being the key to the significance of the character, and the sense of the word.

TYPE 15

The discovery of this type is due to the Honan Relics, and unless I am deceived, the discovery also provides the earlier form, and the explanation, of the character 兌 *tui*, now used for "exchange", but interchanged with 悅 *yüeh*, joy, gladness, and some other of its compounds, in the older literature.

The four Figs. 66 to 69, all from the Honan bones, are, I believe, variants of this type. They represent a human figure, with a head variously modified and abridged, holding in one hand what seems to be either a rod, or more probably some form of weapon. Fig. 66 occurs on the remarkable Deershorn "sceptre" now in the British Museum. It should be compared with Fig. 67, where the upper part or head of the figure is essentially the same, but the axis is directed upwards instead of to the left. Fig. 68 is again an abridgment of an abridgment, so that the head is reduced to the mouth. Fig. 69 has the head of a devil (see under Type 7), and is conceivably not a variant of this type, but a separate character, perhaps 畏 *wei*.

Now what is the significance of Figs. 66 and 67, and especially, what is the uppermost part intended to signify? I interpret the latter as a head, contracted, as often, to a mouth, from which issues, in a kind of megaphonic outline, a symbol of the human voice. The two together represent, it is reasonable to suppose, an effort to express the human voice uttering sounds of gladness and loud noise (which are deemed by many to be the same thing). If this be granted, we have, almost exactly in Fig. 67, the prototype of the later 兌 *tui*, in its sense of gladness, the only objection that might

be urged being that the two small upper strokes—the sides of the megaphone—should, in the later developments of the character, have sloped outwards, thus \vee not \wedge . But this is not a very serious difficulty. Moreover, certain further archaic characters, also occurring on the Honan bones, and published in Lo Chên-yü's work, *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i*, seem clearly to be rather ampler variants of the main or right-hand half of the figures discussed above, and therefore, as I submit, to be early forms of 兌 *tui*. Not that Lo himself took that view of them, for he includes them (on p. 2) in his collection of characters awaiting investigation.¹ Nor can I claim the concurrence of the Japanese scholar, Takada Tadasuke, who surmises that they represent the modern character 吹 *ch'ui*, to blow or breathe out.

But however it may be regarding the equation of these figures with modern characters, what appears certain is the identity of type, despite the variations of detail, of Figs. 70 to 72, with the main part of the four discussed above, Figs. 66 to 69. Here are the same merging of the whole head into a mouth, the same childlike symbol of a something issuing from the mouth, noise, words, mere breath, whatever it may be, the same linear abridgment of body, arm, and leg, that we saw before. The only difference is that in the absence of any object to be grasped, the forearm and hand are economized and omitted.

TYPE 16

The identification of this archaic form as the true original of the element 耂 in the Lesser Seal, and 耂 in modern writing, which constitutes the main body of the characters 老 *lao*, old and 考 *k'ao*, aged, we owe to the insight of Mr. Takada. He detected it in the form Fig. 73, equivalent to the rare modern character 耄 *tieh*, very old.

The *Shuo Wen*, analysing the Lesser Seal version, treats the upper part as 毛 *mao*, hair, as indeed it seems to be,

¹ See his 殷虛書契待問編 *Yin Hsü Shu Ch'i Tai Wên Pien*.

though why hair, or long hair, should be deemed characteristic of old age is not clear, unless the long eyebrows of old age are suggested. Notice again that the arm, normally even in the archaic script left without a hand, here terminates in that organ, seemingly due to the presence of another element to the left.

It will not seem perhaps clear to ordinary readers why there should be cause for the special congratulations now offered by a fellow-student to the devoted Japanese epigraphist to whose acumen the above discovery is due.

TYPE 17

The character 望 or 𠄎 *wang*, to face, to look towards, does not appear likely to furnish a member of the series of types with which this paper is concerned. Yet, in fact, it does so. Kanghsi, quoting from the *Yü P'ien Dictionary*, gives a form 𠄎, and calls it the "ancient character" for 望 *wang*. But both Chalmers and Wieger insert the form as = 臣 *ch'ên*.¹

But the *Shuo Wen* gives (under its radical 壬 *t'ing*) a Lesser Seal form consisting similarly of 臣 *ch'ên* over 壬 *t'ing*, but asserts it to be an "ancient form of 望 *wang*, contracted".

The Honan bones, again, supply us with the archaic parent of Kanghsi's "ancient form", and of the *Shuo Wen*'s ancient form also, in the guise of Fig. 74, where the lower half is a primitive scripion of 壬 *t'ing* (itself an integrated compound of *man* standing erect on *ground*, 土 *t'u*). But these same relics also display, and in the same contexts, a still simpler form, Fig. 75, where *man* alone remains and the *ground* is absent; and consequently, no longer earth-bound, he claims his due place in this paper,—for *sic itur ad astra*.

Now it might not unreasonably be objected that these two supposed variants may be two quite separate characters. Indeed, I harboured this doubt myself until I found that both occur in the same locution, shown in Fig. 76. The second

¹ *Structure of Chinese Characters*, p. 72 and p. 136. *Chinese Characters* (Eng. edition), p. 208.

character of this is peculiar to the Honan relics. It is a strange formation. Takada, perhaps following Wang Kuo-wei, decides that it stands for 乘 *ch'êng*, to mount. But I am convinced that the true equation was discovered by the late Mr. Frank Chalfant, who saw in it the original of the modern character 幸 *hsing*, fortunate chance, stroke of good luck. And a strong and indeed convincing argument in favour of Chalfant's view is that while 望 乘 *wang ch'êng* is hard to make sense of, 望 幸 *wang hsing* is a known phrase meaning to expect or hope for the arrival of the imperial chariot.¹

But to return to Fig. 75. As we have seen, the lower part is 人 *jên*, man, surmounted by 臣 *ch'ên*, minister, which, according to the *Shuo Wen*, "depicts bowing in compliance," 象 屈 服 之 形 *hsiang ch'ü fu chih hsing*. I have disbelieved this for many years, and Fig. 75 seems to justify this scepticism, and to show that we have in 臣 *ch'ên* a stylized and abridged human head in profile. Thus the whole composite exhibited in Fig. 75 would be strictly analogous with 見 *ch'ien*, to perceive—man surmounted by *eye*—and would represent a man looking towards some personage or object. Such a design would be natural and appropriate for a word with the sense of looking towards, whether with or without the addition of the ground element.

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¹ See, e.g., the *Tz'ü Yüan*, s.v. 望 *wang*.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

NOTE ON THE TRIBAL NAME *BĀRĀ Fⁱ-SĀ*

The latter part of this name (*fⁱ-sā*), which has usually been thought to contain in its first syllable *fⁱ* the causative prefix *f^a-*, *fⁱ-* of Bodo, and to be translatable consequently as something like "a made person"¹ as well as simply "sons"² or "children",³ more probably has its affinities, as far as its prefix is concerned, in another direction.

In *Dīmā-sā* the corresponding form is *ba-sā* "male child", *bū-sū* "female child" (Hojai dialect of Nowgong *pa-sā* and *pu-su* (*pū-sū*?) respectively), and the causative prefix of this language is *pā-*, *pū-*, a different element. Similarly Mech of Jalpaiguri *bī-sā*, Gārō (Standard) *bi-sā* (Rugā dialect of the Hills *pī-sā*), Tipurā of Dacca *b^a-sā*, *b-sā*, all meaning "child", and Chutiyā *pi-sā* "son", contain no prefixes which appear elsewhere in their respective languages as causative formatives, these languages either possessing different elements for that purpose or else lacking any prefixed causative at all.

In related groups the same is true. Thus, for instance, although possessing a causative prefix *pe-*, *pī-*, *pā-*, Mikir does not use it with this word, which is there *ā-sō* or *ē-sō*.

From this it begins to appear that the coincidence in form of the prefix in the Bodo word *fⁱ-sā* with the causative element may be due to phonetic convergence and not to original identity. It is hardly in keeping with the usual procedure of the Tibeto-Burman languages of this area to allow a causative formation to play the part of a substantive of this nature, these latter with much the greatest frequency being provided

¹ Grierson, *LSI*. i, 1, p. 63. Cf. Sten Konow, *ZDMG.*, Bd. 56 (1902), p. 496.

² *LSI*. iii, 1, p. 5.

³ Endle, *Outline Grammar of the Kachari (Bārā) Language*, p. vi (Preface).

with pronominal prefixes, though this does not seem to be the case here.

The second member of all these forms is, of course, related to Tibetan *tsa*(-bo, -mo)¹ "offspring" in general, with which it is particularly significant that Tibetan *bu* "child", "son", appears in combination in *bu-tsa*, *bu-tsa* "children's children" > West. T. "boy", Purig *bū-tsa*² "son".

Here the writer believes we may have the explanation of the Bodo prefix *f^h-*. The vowel interchange between *i* and *u* is frequent in the Bodo languages,³ and also occurs in Tibetan,⁴ though it is perhaps legitimate to inquire whether the initial of the Bodo prefix does not rather verge towards a sonant (v), this especially in view of our, as yet, almost total lack of scientifically accurate phonetic transcriptions in this region.

The varying forms of *Dimā-sā ba-sā* "male child", *bū-sū* "female child", probably arise from some such single original as **bū-sā*, the second member of which in the feminine has absorbed some vocalic gender suffix in *u*, the influence of which the prefix has also felt, prefixes nearly always in this language showing a strong tendency towards vowel harmony with the following root.

The weakness of the proposed equation, it must be frankly confessed, lies in the fact that the equivalence of initial *f* in Bodo with Tibetan initial *b* has yet to be given corroboration. Until, however, the possibility of such an

¹ This form and its immediate Tibetan cognates the writer has considered on a previous occasion. See *Language: Journal of the Linguistic Society of America*, vol. iv (1928), p. 279.

² Bailey's *būtsha*; *Linguistic Studies from the Himalayas*, Asiatic Society Monographs, xviii (1920), p. 42.

³ As, for instance, between the dialects of *Dimā-sā* in the Hills and in the Plains. See Dundas, *Outline Grammar and Dictionary of the Kachari (Dimasā) Language*, Vocabulary passim.

⁴ In *hbig(s)-pa*, perf. *ḡigs*, fut. *dbig*, imp. *ḡig(s)* and *hbug(s)-pa*, perf. *ḡug*, fut. *dbug*, imp. *ḡug* "to sting, to pierce, to bore"; *ḡib-pa* and *ḡub-pa*, perf. and imp. *ḡubs* "to whisper"; *hḡib(s)-pa* and *hḡub(s)-pa*, perf. and imp. *ḡub(s)*, fut. *dbub* "to put on a roof"; *dbyg-pa* and *dbyg-pa* "stick"; and others.

equation has been more thoroughly investigated than is at the present moment possible, the suggested basic identity of Bodo *fⁱ-sā* and Tibetan *bu-tsa*, *bu-tsa*, will perhaps not be too definitely countered, for, at least, it is strongly supported by the various forms of the Bodo Group in initial *b* given above.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

TA'RIKH-I FAKHRU'D-DIN MUBĀRAKSHĀH

In the introduction to his edition of *Ta'rikh-i Fakhru'd-Din Mubārakshāh* (James G. Forlong Fund series) and in his article on "The Genealogies of Fakhr-ud-Din", contributed to the *'Ajab Nāmāh* (pp. 392-413), Sir E. Denison Ross has endeavoured to give an account of the life and works of Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr b. Sa'id b. Abu'l-Faraj, the author of the above *Ta'rikh*, but it appears that he was not aware of the existence of another work by the same author, styled *Ādābu'l-Mulūk wa Kifāyatu'l-Mamlūk* in Ethé's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the India Office Library* (column 1493), and named *Ādābu'l-Harb wa'sh-Shujā'a* in Rieu's *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum* (vol. ii, p. 487). This work was composed about A.H. 607 (A.D. 1210-11) and dedicated to the reigning Sultān Shamsu'd-Dunyā wa'd-Dīn Abu'l-Muẓaffar Īltutmish (f. 4a),¹ who ruled at Delhi from A.H. 607 to 633 (A.D. 1210-35).

The author makes frequent references to himself and his family in the body of this work. He traces his genealogy to Abū Bakr Ṣiddīq on his father's side, and to Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna through his great-grandmother, who was a princess of the Ghaznawid house (f. 75a). On f. 28b he says that his great-grandfather, Abu'l-Faraj, was a friend and wazīr of the Ghaznawid Sultān Abu'l-Muẓaffar Ibrāhīm (A.H. 451-92, A.D. 1059-98), that he had been brought up with him, and that he had accompanied the Sultān to the fort of Nā'i, probably during the period of his confinement in that fort prior to his accession to the throne.

¹ All references are to the India Office M.S. of *Ādābu 'l-Mulūk*.

The brief note about the life of this author given by Rieu (vol. ii, p. 488) is incorrect and misleading. The date of his death is not known with certainty. Sir E. Denison Ross gives A.H. 602 (A.D. 1205) on the authority of Ibnu'l-Athīr (see *'Ajab Nāmah*, p. 393), but this is incorrect in view of the fact that the *Ādāb* was dedicated to Sulṭān Īltutmish, who came to the throne in A.H. 607. As the author was an old man when he composed this work, he must have died some time about this date. A careful study of *Ādābu'l-Mulūk*, I am sure, will reveal some more facts about the life of the author.

M. NAZIM.

SOME NOTES ON OSTRAKON A

In the January number of this *Journal* (pp. 107-12) Dr. Cowley published two Aramaic Ostraka with translation and notes. Although the article is short, it shows the masterly hand of the editor of the Assuan Papyri.

The first ostrakon (A.) is very interesting, although the meaning of the contents is not quite clear. Of special interest, it seems to me, is the name of the lady to whom the letter is addressed: קויליה. The first five words read אל אמי קויליה ברכנה שלחת לני. Dr. Cowley translates: "To my mother Koveliah: a blessing I send to you." On p. 109 Cowley says: "The name seems to be new. It is no doubt Jewish." But "Koveliah" gives no meaning. I suggest that קויליה is to be read קַוִּילְיָה, and means "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God). Cf. Psalm xxvii, v. 14: קַוֶּה אֶל יְהוָה (twice), and Psalm xxxvii, v. 34: קַוֶּה אֶל יְהוָה; Proverbs, ch. xx, v. 22: קַוֶּה לַיהוָה. See also Isaiah, ch. xxv, v. 9: קָיוֹנוּ לִי (twice), ch. xxxiii v. 2: קָיוֹנוּ לִי; also Isaiah viii, 17; Jeremiah xiv, 22; Hosea xii, 7. In the ostrakon the feminine form is used, קַיִי, because the bearer of the name is a woman. "Kavvi-l' Yah," "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah" (God) is a beautiful name. The father, at the birth of the child, exclaims (addressing the

child): "Trust in Yah." One of the ladies frequently mentioned in the Assuan Papyri was called מבתחיה (daughter of מחיה). It seems to me that the name קוליה which occurs in Jeremiah, xxix, 21, and Nehemiah xi, 7, and which is usually read קוליה, should be read קליה. In the masculine form the ה can be omitted; cf. גלד, גל. The meaning would also be: "Trust in Yah." In Nehemiah xi, 7, the name of the son of קוליה is פדיה, and the name of his father is מעשיה. In Jeremiah xxix, 21, the name of the father of צדקיהו is מעשיה. A similar name is חבליה (the name of the father of Nehemiah, Neh. i, 1, and x, 1), which is to be read חבליה and also means, "Wait for Yah," "Trust in Yah."

בעל טבתכם, in lines 3-4, it seems to me, is not "a friend of you", but "your benefactor", "one who has done you good (a good deed, good deeds)". In late Hebrew (up to the present day) בעל טובה means "a man who does good deeds", "one ready to help other people", "a benefactor". I think that "your benefactor" ("a friend who has helped you, or helps you") would give a better sense than "a friend of you". It may, indeed, be that בעל טבתכם refers to סחמרי and not to נפנא (see p. 109).

גזר, in l. 9, probably means "he said emphatically". Cf. Rabbinic גזר "to decide", "to make a decree", "to command" (see Levy, *NHWB.*, part i, pp. 319 and 320).

The meaning of lines 9-15 is perhaps this: The writer of the letter desires that his mother should tell נפנא that the people of his household did not act in accordance with his promise (or his instructions).

Interesting are the pure Hebrew words לַחֵם (l. 1), בִּרְכָה (l. 1), and קִמָּה (l. 13).

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23rd April, 1929.

THE PHILOSOPHICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF RGVEDA
X, 129, 5, AND VERSES OF AN ALLIED NATURE¹

It appears that a complete and convincing interpretation of *Rgveda*, x, 129, 5, has not been found so far. The verse has been either regarded as absurd and obscure, and, consequently, given up as an insoluble puzzle, or it has been simply translated with a meagre explanation, of the correctness of which, in most cases, the commentators themselves have not been sure at all. Whitney, in his comments on *Rgveda*, x, 129, while referring to this verse, says: "But the next verse is still more unintelligible, no one has ever succeeded in putting any sense into it, and it seems so unconnected with the rest of the hymn that its absence is heartily to be wished."² Bloomfield, after having translated the first four verses of the hymn, observes: "The hymn continues with a mystical fifth stanza, which is obscure, and in any case unimportant."³ More recently Professor Keith, after having explained the significance of the first four verses, calls the fifth "a puzzle".⁴ Deussen, Scherman, Ludwig, Oldenberg, Geldner, Hillebrandt, Grassmann, and Bergaigne have translated the verse and offered an explanation, which I shall consider presently.

The verse in question is as follows :—

*Tiraścīno vitāto raśmir ēṣām adhaḥ svid āsīd³ uparī svid
āsīd²,
Retodhā āsan mahimānā āsant svadhā avastūt prayātīḥ
parastāt.*

Before I offer any translation of the above verse, it will be proper to discuss the meaning of such important words in it

¹ I want to acknowledge my thanks to Dr. E. J. Thomas, of the University Library, Cambridge, and Professor F. W. Thomas, of the Oxford University, for having given me an opportunity to discuss the contents of this article with them before it is published in its present form. I am also very much obliged to Dr. E. J. Thomas for his valuable assistance in referring to the German and the French authors during the preparation of this paper.

² *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xi (1911), cix.

³ *Religion of the Veda*, p. 238.

⁴ *Religion and Phil. of the Veda*, ii, p. 436.

as *raśmih*, *eṣām*, *retodhāh*, *mahimānaḥ*, *svadhā*, and *prayatiḥ*. It is only by a consistent interpretation of all these terms that a correct rendering of the whole verse can be found. That the language of the verse is metaphorical has been admitted by all the scholars. The question is: "What is the exact metaphor?" Various suggestions have been offered. According to Geldner, who follows Sāyaṇa's commentary on a parallel passage in the Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa, *raśmih* signifies "the inner eye of the highest Ātman", which, like the rays of the sun, spread over the universe.¹ Deussen,² and Scherman³ take the word to mean "the inner eye of the sages", and so, according to them, the verse refers to an effort on the part of the sages to understand the universe. According to Oldenberg and Bergaigne, the word means "the reins of a chariot", and therefore the verse contains the metaphor of a car. Hillebrandt has suggested that *raśmih* signifies an architect's cord, and hence the metaphor employed is that of a building. Ludwig simply translates the word as "cord". Now, while the word *raśmih* has been thus translated variously by the scholars, unfortunately none of them has shown in detail how the metaphors suggested by them are justifiable consistently with the use of such other important words in the verse as *retodhāh*, *mahimānaḥ*, *svadhā*, and *prayatiḥ*, and with the general import of the cosmogonic hymn to which it belongs.

After a very careful comparative study of all the words used in the verse, I venture to suggest that it may be best interpreted in accordance with the many verses in the *R̥gveda*, which describe the universe as a sacrifice, or as warp and woof, or, again, as both.⁴ A study of such verses will show that in some of them there is to be found a double metaphor, that is to say, while the universe is described as a sacrifice, the

¹ *Der R̥gveda in Auswahl*, ii, p. 213.

² *Gesch. der Phil.*, i, 124, 125.

³ *Phil. Hymnen*, 10.

⁴ E.g. *R̥gveda*, i, 164, 5, 50; x, 90, especially 15 and 16; x, 114, 6-8; x, 130, 1 and 2; also *Atharva*, 1, 5; x, 8, 37 and 38; xiii, 6 and 7.

sacrifice, in its turn, is described as warp and woof. Consequently, the language of these verses is ambiguous, and contains what in logic would be called analogous terms—words with different and yet similar meanings, so as to be applicable to the various conceptions contained in the metaphors. Illustrations of these will be given presently, but, in order to understand the metaphorical language completely, it is necessary first to see the details of the imagery implied in the metaphors. Let us consider how a sacrificial performance begins and then how it is carried on. It will appear that the first cause of a sacrifice is a desire—*kāma*—on the part of the sacrificer to achieve, by its means, some object, and that this is usually the obtaining of progeny—*prajā*.¹ The next step is to employ the services of competent priests, who prepare the sacrificial altar in accordance with the prescribed measurements and collect the requisite materials. All the arrangements being complete, the performance of the sacrifice begins, and the following items constitute the whole function: (i) the sacrificial altar, and the area around it; (ii) the sacrificers; (iii) the oblation, the articles to be offered; (iv) the fathers, or manes, and gods, who are supposed to be present as recipients of the oblations; (v) the act of offering, which consists of the movements of the hand in picking up the oblations and throwing them into fire by stretching it forward, and also the chanting of the Vedic hymns accompanied with the movements of the hand indicative of the accents in recitation. Now while the metaphor of sacrifice is used to describe the creation and the working of the universe, as we shall see presently, the metaphor of a loom is sometimes employed to describe both the sacrifice and the universe. This metaphor is applicable to sacrifice because of the common idea of preparing a ground for work, outlines, both of the sacrificial area and the warp and woof, formed by the stretching of a

Cf. Bhagavadgītā, iii, 10 :—

*Sahayajñāḥ prajāḥ sṛjtvā purovāca prajāpatiḥ,
Anena prasaviṣyadhvam eṣa vo 'stviṣṭakāmadhuk*

cord or thread, which are to be filled up as the work progresses, and also because of the similar physical movements, forward and backward, both in the performance of a sacrifice and the working of a loom. Those who have performed a sacrifice, or have seen it performed in the traditional manner, know how the hand of the sacrificer moves forward and backward both in throwing oblation into the fire and in chanting the Vedic hymns. That is why the *Rg.* and the *Sāma* verses have sometimes been spoken of as shuttles. For example, in *Rgveda*, x, 130, 1, we find the description of a sacrifice prepared by the spreading of threads by a hundred divine priests: *Yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tata ekaśatam devakarmebhir āyataḥ*, and in it the fathers are said to weave forward and backward: *ime vayanāni pitaro ya āyayuh pra vayāpavayetyāsate tate*. Further, in the second verse of the same hymn it is said that the *Sāma* hymns were made the shuttles for the purpose of weaving cloth in the form of a sacrifice: *sāmāni cakrus tasarāni otave*, on which Sāyaṇa comments: *otave vayanāya yajñākhyam vastram otum tasarāni tiryak sarāni tiraścīna-sūtrāni cakruḥ*.¹ This favourite metaphor of warp and woof, as found in such cosmogonic hymns of the Vedas, has found its way right through the Upaniṣads² into the semi-philosophical literature of Indian vernaculars, into popular ballads sung by itinerant Indian mendicants, and by women at work in fields or at the grinding stones.

Now when the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is employed to describe the creation and the working of the universe, the real explanation of the verses containing such an imagery lies in exactly determining the various factors involved in the cosmic sacrifice, or the cosmic loom. The words themselves, for example, even in the verse under discussion, are familiar enough; it is their significance which presents a difficulty. The questions to be answered are: Who are *kavayah*, who are described as stretching a cord or

¹ Sāyaṇa, in his commentary, accepts the other meaning of shuttles also.

² *Bṛh.* iii, 8; iv, 2, 4; *Chānd.* vii, 25; *Mund.* ii, 2, 11.

threads? What is a cord, or threads, which is said to be stretched or spread out; and what do these threads represent when they are mentioned as seven in number? What is the oblation, and what is the act of offering?

While keeping the above questions in view, I would now take up *Rgveda*, x, 129, 5, and i, 164, 5, and show that it is the above-mentioned metaphors which they contain. With regard to the first of these, it is to be noted that it is a verse which belongs to a distinctly cosmogonic hymn. The fact that in the first four verses of the hymn there is no apparent indication of the metaphor of sacrifice, or of warp and woof, is probably the reason why the presence of it in this verse has not been suspected by the commentators. However, it will appear that this metaphorical conception, which is so intimately and frequently associated with the cosmogonic ideas in the Vedas, has not been absent from the mind of the author of this verse, and it is in this fifth verse that it actually finds an expression. In the first place, the name of the seer, which very often forms an index to the theme of a hymn, is significant. It is Prajāpati Parameṣṭhin, the Great Sacrificer, the Lord of Creatures. The idea of sacrifice, and with it the idea of creation, is present in the very name of the seer of the hymn. Further, every single important word of the verse, which fortunately has its parallel in other hymns, clearly shows that this verse is not one all by itself, but that it is akin in meaning to other verses, which distinctly contain the metaphor of a sacrifice, or of warp and woof. In the preceding verse we find a mention of desire—*kāma*—as the first creative impulse,¹ and in the present one the actual creation of the universe, as the result of that *kāma*, is described. The pronoun *eṣām* in the verse naturally refers to *kavayah* in the preceding one, and means sages or priests. The word *kavi* has been often used in similar hymns for those who stretch a cord or thread. For example, in *Rgveda*, i, 164, 5, it is said that the *kavis* spread out seven threads for warp and woof—*sapta tantūn vitannire*

¹ *kāmas tad agre samavartata adhi manaso retah prathamam yad ūsī.*

kavayo otavā ū. In *Rġveda*, x, 114, 6, we again find the kavis as having prepared (measured) the sacrifice: *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā*. Similarly, in the verse under consideration we have *tiraścīno vitata raśmir eṣām*, and, the word *kavayaḥ* having been used in the preceding verse, there is not the slightest doubt that the pronoun *eṣām* refers to the priests, who are mentioned here in connection with the preparation of sacrifice, just as they are in the texts quoted above. Now the fact that their cord is said to be stretched crosswise both below and above shows that the reference is to the measuring and the making of the outlines of the sacrificial area, just as the stretching of a cord or threads does in some other verses, for example, in x, 130, 1: *yo yajño viśvatas tantubhis tataḥ*, and in *Atharva*, xiii, 6: *tatra tantum parameṣṭhī tatān*. The other alternative meanings of *raśmiḥ*, for instance, "the ray of the inner eye," as Geldner, Deussen, and Scherman have suggested; or, again, as "the reins of a chariot", as Oldenberg and Bergaigne have interpreted, do not evidently suit the context, for the other words in the verse, as we shall see presently, conclusively show that it is the metaphor of a sacrifice that has been employed here. The fact that the *raśmiḥ* is said to be stretched crosswise, and that the verse contains a reference to above and below, renders it impossible that the ray of the eye is meant, for a ray of the eye cast crosswise would not see the contrast of above and below. Similarly, there is not the slightest trace in the verse of the idea of a chariot, which is usually mentioned when it is meant. The idea of an architect's cord, as Hillebrandt has suggested, would not be out of place in this particular verse, but it is to be remembered that the metaphor employed is that of the preparation of a sacrificial altar, and not that of a building, and that the outlines marked by the stretching of the cord present the appearance of warp and woof, and thus the metaphor of a loom is also implied. What sense would *retodhāḥ*, *mahimānaḥ*, *svadhā*, and *prayatiḥ* make if the metaphor of a building is supposed to be present here?

On the other hand, it will be presently seen that these terms admit of quite a consistent interpretation in accordance with the metaphor of a sacrifice. Having said in the first line of the verse that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord for marking the outlines, it is stated in the next line that fathers (*retodhāḥ*) and gods (*mahimānaḥ*) were present there, as they are believed to be at a sacrifice. That *retodhāḥ* means "impregnators" or "fathers" no one would question. The word *mahimānaḥ* has been used in several other verses of the *Rġveda*,¹ and it either means "mighty forces" in the abstract, or "gods" in the concrete. However, its use in *Rġveda*, x, 114, 7, distinctly in connection with the idea of sacrifice, is significant for our purpose. The text is: *caturdaśa anye mahimāno 'sya tam dhīrāḥ vācā prañayanti sapta*, which is thus interpreted by Sāyaṇa: *asya yajñarūpasya paramātmāno 'nye caturdaśa saṃkhyākāḥ mahimāno vibhūṭayaḥ bhavanti*, etc. That *asya* here refers to sacrifice is beyond doubt, for we have the very word *yajña* in the immediately preceding verse: *yajñam vimāya kavayo manīṣā* (x, 114, 7, 6), where the other words also are equally interesting and suggestive for their parallelism in language and meaning. In *Rġveda*, i, 164, 50, we find *mahimānaḥ*, evidently in the sense of gods: *te ha nākam mahimānaḥ sacanta*, and this has been repeated in *Rġveda*, x, 90, 16, where, again, the metaphor of a sacrifice is distinctly present. So these references establish beyond doubt that the word *mahimānaḥ* has significance in connection with the idea of a sacrifice, and that it means gods; for even when it has an abstract meaning the large number, which is mentioned in connection with it, strongly suggests that it is the gods that are meant. A mention of the presence of fathers and gods is the most natural thing in the description of a sacrifice, and the same we find here. Next follows *svadhā avastāt, prayatīḥ parastāt*, which phrases have presented the greatest difficulty to the commentators, and it is only vague

¹ For example, i, 164, 50; x, 90, 16; x, 114, 7 and 8.

translations of the words that have been given, the greatest pity being that even Sāyaṇa, who has rightly interpreted the words in connection with sacrificial conceptions elsewhere, has missed the exact metaphor here, although he sees the sense of passivity in *svadhā*, and that of "activity" in *prayatiḥ*, when he interprets them as "the objects to be enjoyed" (*bhogyāḥ*) and "the enjoyers" (*bhoktārah*) respectively. Now *svadhā*, which has been used elsewhere also, and is quite a familiar word in connection with a sacrifice, usually means either oblation, especially that of Soma, or the utterance at a sacrifice called *svadhākāra*. In *Rġveda*, ix, 113, 10, we have *svadhā ca yatra triptiṣca*, where Sāyaṇa translates *svadhā* as *annam*, *svadhākāreṇa vā dattam annam*. So there is no difficulty in interpreting the word, in the present verse also, in the sense of oblation. The other word is *prayatiḥ*, which is used in two other verses of the *Rġveda*, i, 109, 2, and i, 126, 5, and means "offering", which word I choose for translating it in order to express the sense of activity or action implied in it, and to distinguish it from *svadhā*, which has the sense of passivity. Thus, while *svadhā* would mean "the objects offered", or "to be offered", *prayatiḥ* would signify "the act of offering". In *Rġveda*, i, 109, 2, we have *athā somasya prayatī yuvabhyām indrāgnī stomam janayāmi navyam*, where *prayatiḥ* is used in the dual number, and has been translated by Sāyaṇa as "the act of offering", *somasya prayatī abhiṣutasya somasya pradānena*. This use of *prayatiḥ* in the two verses would lend support to the view that the word, as used in the verse under consideration, is derived from the root *yat* and not from *yam* as Oldenberg would have it. Thus the fourth part of the verse means that the oblation was below, that is to say, it was placed upon the ground, and the act of offering was above, that is to say, it was carried on above (the sacrificial ground). This also explains the meaning of "stretching forth" or "effort" implied in the word *prayatiḥ*, which has been noticed by some scholars¹ but has remained

¹ Cf. Whitney, *JAOS.* xi (1911), cix.

unexplained so far. With regard to the meaning of *avastāt* and *parastāt* there cannot be any difference of opinion, and so they need not be discussed here.

The meaning of the verse as a whole, in its metaphorical sense, would thus be that the priests prepared the sacrificial altar by stretching their cord crosswise, both below and above ; that fathers and gods were present there ; and that while the oblation was placed on the sacrificial ground, the act of offering was carried on above.¹ This, it will be found, makes a complete description of a sacrificial performance.

The next thing to be considered is the cosmogonic significance of the metaphor. Who are the *kavis* in the cosmic sacrifice ? What does the stretching of the cord stand for ? What are *svadhā* and *prayatiḥ* with reference to the universe ?

The first point is about the identity of the *kavis*, who, here, and in *Rgveda*, i, 164, 5, are said to spread a cord and threads, respectively. In this particular verse we find a mention of above and below in connection with the stretching of the cord, and in the other seven threads are said to have been stretched by the *kavis* for warp and woof. The number of *kavis* is not mentioned here. Now, by a very careful and comparative study of these and the other verses, where there is a reference to *kavis*, I have come to the conclusion that the word, as used in these verses, denotes the *Rbhus*. I do not know of any other alternative interpretation, and so I shall simply give reasons in support of my own. *Firstly*, the *Rbhus* have been distinctly referred to as *kavis* in *Atharva*, vi, 47, 6: *idam tṛtīyam savanam kavīnām ṛtena ye camasam airayanta*, where *Sāyaṇa* rightly comments: *tṛtīyam savanākhyam karma kavīnam krāntadarśanānām ṛbhūnām svabhūtam ta eva indrādibhiḥ sahītās tasya savanasya adhidevatāḥ*. In *Rgveda*, iv, 35, 4, their work is referred to as that of *kavis*: *kim mayāḥ sviccamaśa eṣa āśa yam kāvyena caturo vicakra*. The fact that

¹ The prose order of the verse will be as follows: *Eṣām tiraścīno vitato raśmiḥ adhaḥ svid āśid, upari svid āśid ; retodhaḥ āśan, mahimānaḥ āśan ; svadhā avastāt, prayatiḥ parastāt*.

the R̥bhus are regarded as skilful workmen rightly entitles them to the title of *kavi*, and we find that it has actually been used for them in the above verses. *Secondly*, in *R̥gveda*, iv, 34, 9, the R̥bhus are described as dividing the universe into the heaven and the earth: *ye ṛdhag rodasī*, which, according to Sāyaṇa, means *ye ca rodasī dyāvāpr̥thivyāvṛdhak pr̥thak cakruḥ*, "those who separated the heaven and the earth," and this conception accords so well with the description of the above and below in the verse under consideration. Evidently the reference to above and below signifies the division of the world into the heaven and the earth. *Thirdly*, the R̥bhus have also been called the fashioners of a sacrifice in *R̥gveda*, iii, 54, 12, *adhvaram ataṣṭha*, which, according to Sāyaṇa, means *ṛtvijaḥ imam asmadv̐yam adhvaram ataṣṭha akurvan*, and thus it will appear that the name *kavayaḥ*, as applied to the R̥bhus, would be suitable both with reference to the preparing of a sacrifice and the dividing of the earth and the heaven.

The next question is the cosmological significance of the stretching of a cord or threads, *raśmiḥ* or *tantuḥ*, the *tantus* being sometimes mentioned as seven in number, as in *R̥gveda*, i, 164, 5. It is clear that in the metaphors both of sacrifice and warp and woof the idea meant to be expressed by the stretching of a cord and threads is the preparation of outlines, which are to be filled up as the work progresses. The question is: What do these outlines mean with reference to the universe? The explanation of this metaphor occurred to me as I was reading that little dialogue between Gārgī and Yājñavalkya in the Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad, in which she asks him a question in words, which forthwith remind one of such hymns of the *R̥gveda* as we have been considering here. She asks: *yad ūrdhvam Yājñavalkya divo yadavāk pr̥thivyā yadantarā dyāvā pr̥thivī ime yad bhūtam ca bhavacca bhavis-yaccetyācakṣate kasmīns tadotam ca protam ceti*, "O, Yājñavalkya, that which is above the sky, that which is beneath the earth, that which is between the two, the sky and the earth, these which the people call the past, the present,

and the future, across what is that woven warp and woof ? ” Yājñavalkya says in answer that it is space across which all this is woven warp and woof ; and on being asked further as to across what space is woven, in its turn, he says that it is woven across the Imperishable—*akṣara*. Now these questions and answers clearly show that it is the divisions of time and space that form the warp and woof of the world, and these ultimately depend upon the self, which is the uniting factor. The seven threads which are mentioned as stretched for warp and woof, would thus appear to signify these same distinctions, viz. the three divisions of place : above, middle, and below ; and the three divisions of time : past, present and future ; and space ; the distinctions of time being also evidently conceived in terms of spatial imagery. This very conception is to be found distinctly also in *Atharva*, x, 8, 37 and 38, the language of which is so suggestive and parallel to the texts of the verses that we have been considering, and to that of the dialogue, that I would be justified in quoting them here *in toto*. The verses are as follows :—

*Yo vidyāt sūtram vitatam yasminn otāḥ prajā imāḥ,
Sūtram sūtrasya yo vidyāt sa vidyāt Brāhmaṇam mahat.
Vedāham sūtram vitatam yasminn otāḥ prajā imāḥ,
Sūtram sūtrasyāham veda atho yad Brāhmaṇam mahat.*

Translation :—

“ One who would know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven ; one who would know the thread of this thread, it is he who would know the great Brāhmaṇa.”

“ I know the stretched thread across which these creatures are woven, I know the thread of this thread, hence (I know) that which is great Brāhmaṇa.”

Thus it will be seen that the stretching of the thread represents the warp and woof of the universe, and this, in its turn, signifies the divisions of time and space, in which all the beings live, move, and have their being. In *Rigveda*, i, 164, 5, the seven threads of warp and woof refer to all these

distinctions, and in *Rġveda*, x, 129, 5, the stretching of the cord evidently refers to the divisions of space, the metaphor being employed only partially in order to suit the other metaphor of sacrifice, where only the dimensions of space are relevant.

The first line of the verse will therefore mean that space was divided into the upper and the lower regions—the heaven and the earth.¹

The words *retodhāh* and *mahimānaḥ*, as has been shown, mean fathers and gods respectively; and this meaning will hold good with reference to both a sacrifice and the universe. It may be noted, however, that the word *retodhāh* has been several times used in the *Rġveda* in the sense of rain, *parjanyaḥ*,² which has been compared for its productive energy to a bull. The meaning, however, of a generating agency remains unchanged. So it is said in the verse that there were fathers and gods.

Lastly, there is said to be *svadhā* below and *prayatiḥ* above. In the cosmological sense, *svadhā* would stand for the products of nature, especially water and other juices corresponding to the Soma drink in a sacrifice, which the word usually signifies; and *prayatiḥ* for the atmospheric activity of the heavenly bodies. In *Rġveda*, iii, 22, 3, and iii, 55, 6, *Agni* has been addressed as the sun in the upper regions (*parastāt*), and the same conception is repeated in *Śatapatha*, vii, 1, 23, where it is said: *agne yat te divi varca iti, ādityo vā śya divi varcaḥ*, "O, Agni, what splendour is thine in the heaven—his splendour in the heaven doubtless is the sun." In *Śatapatha*, vii, 1, 22, we have the following significant passage: "This is the Agni wherein Indra taketh the Soma juice, for the Gārhapatya hearth is this (terrestrial) world, and the Soma juice is the waters: Indra thus took up the waters in this world;—into his belly, craving it,—for the belly is the

¹ Cf. Keith, *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, p. 436.

² E.g. v, 69, 2, and vii, 103, 6.

centre.”¹ In *Śatapatha*, vii, 1, 24, also we find a mention of the waters approaching the fire. The idea in all such passages seems to be that like the Soma juice drunk up by Indra, the waters and juices on the earth are absorbed up by the heat of the sun. The return of the same to the earth in the form of rain would complete the act of cosmic sacrifice, but I have not been able to trace definitely an expression of this last conception in any of the hymns, although we know that the sending down of waters is not outside the sphere of Indra’s activities. In this connection the text of the *Śatapatha* quoted above is very suggestive, for it says that the Gārhapatya hearth is this terrestrial world, and the Soma juice is the waters, and that Indra took up the waters in this world.

The cosmological meaning of the whole verse will, therefore, be that the world was divided into the heaven and the earth; there were fathers and gods; the nature was below, and the atmospheric forces were above.

As regards Deussen’s suggestion that, in the first line of the verse, a mention of the stretching of the cord indicates a perception by the seers of the division of reality into the phenomenal (which is above), and the real (which is below)—a distinction so well-known in the philosophy of the German philosopher Kant—I would say that it is extremely improbable that this notion was present in the mind of the author of the verse, for it is neither consistent with the context of the next line of the verse, nor with that of this particular hymn, nor, again, with the usual conceptions of cosmogony as found in the other hymns of the Vedas.

Sāyaṇa’s explanation is no more convincing. He takes *raśmih* to mean the created universe, *kāryavargah*, and says that it was spread out so quickly like the rays of the rising sun that it could not be determined which portion of the universe was created first, and hence the query: “Was it

¹ Eggeling’s translation (*SBE.*).

in the middle, below, or above?"¹ *Eṣām* he explains as *avidyā-kāma-karmaṇām*, "of those whose action was prompted by ignorance and desire." Further, according to him, *retodhāḥ* means "souls, the enjoyers", and *mahimānaḥ* the "objects to be enjoyed". *Svadhā*, according to him, signifies eatable things, *annam*, it being symbolic of the objects to be enjoyed; and these are called inferior (*avastāt*), as distinguished from the enjoyers, *prayatiḥ*, who are superior (*parastāt*). Now, on reading Sāyaṇa's commentary, one cannot help wondering how he could possibly translate the above-mentioned words in the way he has done. It is evident that while commenting upon this verse he has not taken into consideration the parallel use of the various words in the other verses, and has been carried away by the conceptions of the enjoyer and the enjoyed as they are to be prominently found in the later philosophical literature. The translation of *avastāt* as "inferior" and of *parastāt* as "superior" will be seen to be altogether out of place here, as certainly there is no indication in the verse, or in the hymn, that the notion of such a contrast could have been present in the mind of its author.

JWALA PRASAD.

VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS

"He who knows something ought to reveal it. Knowledge kept out of sight is of no value."—VIRGILIUS CORDUBENSIS.

Virgilius Cordubensis is the name of a philosopher and necromancer of Cordova, whose work, *Philosophia*, is claimed to have been translated from Arabic into Latin at Toledo in the year 1290.² Nothing is known of this author outside the above work, and very little attention has been accorded

¹ It might be noted here that the word *avid* used by itself does not always imply a query. It also means "verily" or "indeed".

² The text of the *Philosophia* reads: "Istum librum composuit Virgilius Philosophus Cordubensis in Arabico, et fuit translatus de Arabico in Latinum in civitate Toletana, A.D. 1290."

it. In the eighteenth century Feijoo,¹ Sarmiento,² and Andrés³ were interested in the *Philosophia*, but it was not until the text was edited by Gotthold Heine in 1848⁴ that serious notice was paid to it. Valentine Rose,⁵ Comparetti,⁶ and Bonilla⁷ have dealt with the work since then, and the two latter have challenged its authenticity. It is in view of their criticism that the present writer ventures to take the advice of Virgilius Cordubensis himself by testing the validity of their strictures.

The earliest codex of the *Philosophia* is in the library of the Cathedral at Toledo, and dates from the second half of the fourteenth century. Taking the work at its face value, that it was translated into Latin in the year 1290 at Toledo, it would appear that the original Arabic work must have been written prior to the capture of Toledo by the Christians in 1085, seeing that the treatise refers to students from Morocco (*Marochitani*) studying there,⁸ and also because quite half of the names of the *magistri* in astrology, necromancy, and similar arts, are of Arabian origin.

Comparetti urges that the translator could not have been a Moor, and that he certainly did not know much about Arabic or he would not have called his Arab author Virgilius and made him a contemporary of Seneca, Avicenna, Averroës, and Al-Ghazālī.⁹ He suggests that the author was a charlatan

¹ *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, lvi, 379-81.

² *Memorias para la Historia de la Poesía castellana*, i, 252.

³ *Dell' origine e progressi e dello stato attuale d'ogni letteratura*.

⁴ *Bibliotheca anecdotorum*, Leipzig, 1848.

⁵ *Hermes*, viii, 327.

⁶ *Virgilio nel medio evo* (1872).

⁷ *Historia de la Filosofía Española* (1908).

⁸ The *Marochitani* are usually mentioned with those from "beyond the seas" (*ultramarini*), and they are distinct from the *Saraceni*, who appear to be the Arab philosophers from the East, as again distinct from those of Al-Andalus proper (*Andalici*).

⁹ Virgilius says: "Isti erant philosophi et magistri Hispaniae . . . Chartaginenses erant septem, Cordubenses erant quinque, scilicet nos Virgilius et Seneca et Avicenna et Aben Royz et Algacel. . . Omnes isti philosophi erant tempore nostro conjuncti in studio Cordubensi et aliqui legebant de suis scientiis et aliqui non." Heine, 241.

who took the name of Virgilius and simulated Arabian learning in order to be looked upon as an authority. Comparetti even takes Amador de los Rios to task for accepting what he calls the "fabulous notices" of Virgilius concerning the professors of the *ars notaria*, necromancy, etc. Further, he gives the opinion of the Orientalist, Moritz Steinschneider, communicated to him privately, that he had doubts whether the work was earlier than Raimond de Pennafort (fl. 1232).¹

Bonilla, who gives extracts from Virgilius, suggests that the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic who was influenced by the writings of Michael Scot (d. c. 1232), and indicates a similar type of literature in such works as *Sendebär*, *Flores de Philosophia*, and *Libro de los Doze Sabios*.²

These objections to the authenticity of the *Philosophia* of Virgilius Cordubensis cannot be passed over lightly, although care has to be exercised in not taking too much for granted. First of all, it must be remembered that Comparetti is dealing with the legendary material which became attached to the name of Publius Virgilius Maro, the poet (d. 19 B.C.), and he looks upon the *Philosophia* of the later Virgilius Cordubensis as an outcome of that legend. On the other hand, is it not equally probable that the *Philosophia*, instead of being the production of a charlatan trading on the name of the legendary necromantic Virgilius Maro, and the obsession for Arabian "learning", is rather a work of independent origin which simply contributed to give further vitality to the legend? Do we not see a similar sort of thing in the case of Bishop Virgilius of Salzburg (d. 784), whose somewhat extraordinary opinions also appear to have become attached to the name of Virgilius Maro, and also contributed to the legend?

Comparetti's criticism that the translator was not a Moor does not touch the question at all. Nearly all the translators

¹ Comparetti, ii, 95-6.

² Bonilla y San Martín, i, 309.

from Arabic into Latin were Europeans racially.¹ That the translator should call the author Virgilius, a purely Latin name, does not, in itself, allow us to question his knowledge of Arabic. To do this we require to know what the original name was in Arabic, how the original translator rendered it, and what are the copyists' variations. There is no reason for supposing that an Arabic original is unlikely, seeing that we have the example of Ḥunain ibn Ishāq being Latinized as *Æneas*, to say nothing of Faraj ibn Sālim appearing as Faragut, with Farachi, Fararius, Ferrarius, and Franchinus as variations.

The arguments based on the so-called "contemporaries" of Virgilius Cordubensis are more cogent. Only Seneca (d. 65) and Averroës (d. 1198) were Cordobans, whilst neither Avicenna (d. 1037) nor Al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) ever saw Spain. Needless to say, an Arab author could not have penned these lines about his "contemporaries", and similarly, if the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, as Bonilla suggests, what about the inclusion of Seneca? Is not the passage a mere gloss that has crept into the text?² If the author was a Toletan ecclesiastic, he certainly managed to keep his religion out of the *Philosophia* with an astuteness that does not comport with his inept inclusion of Seneca.

Certainly no Arabic original of the *Philosophia* is known to us, but the same objection could be urged against dozens of Latin works translated from the Arabic. Toledo was long famous as the seat of Arabian science, undoubtedly from the time of the Amīr Yaḥyā al-Ma'mūn (d. 1074), through the period of Archbishop Raymund (fl. 1125-51), to Alphonso X (1252-84), and even later. Would it have been possible to

¹ The one outstanding name to the contrary is that of the Jew, Faraj ibn Sālim.

² An ignorant Latin glossator and a later scribe might very well have been jointly responsible for the "contemporaries". Batman (*Batman uppon Bartholome*, London, 1582) says that Avicenna lived in Spain, and that he belonged to the twelfth century! Latin authors also considered Al-Rāzī (Rhazes) to be a Roman!

have palmed off a spurious work with learned Arabs and Jews on the spot only too eager to detect the fraud? At any rate, whether the *Philosophia* is genuine or not, the criticisms of Comparetti and Bonilla do not shake its authenticity to any extent. Certainly the philosophy of Virgilius Cordubensis comes from Arabic and Rabbinic sources, and his work can scarcely be classed in the same category as those indicated by Bonilla.

H. G. FARMER.

ET DE QUIBUSDAM ALIIS

(1) Hindi, Urdu *bhāī* and *bhāī*, Pj. *vāī* or *v,āī* and *p,āī* or *pr,āī*. The words *bhāī* and *vāī* differ widely from *bhāī* and *pr,āī*, but I do not think the difference has ever been pointed out. *bhāī* and *pr,āī* mean brother or cousin, and include, of course, brother in trade, nation, or religion. *bhāī* and *vāī*, on the other hand have nothing to do with brother; they are not even confined to males. The two Pj. words do not resemble each other in sound. *bhāī* and *vāī* mean my good fellow, my good woman, my good man. They are constantly used by husband to wife, by master or mistress to servant, by parents to children, by friend to friend. They imply familiarity, and suggest that the person spoken to is inferior, or at least not superior, in rank. A servant would not use it to a master or a wife to a husband.

bhāī and *vāī* do not take the stress though they can begin a sentence. Of particular interest is the difference of initial letter in Pj. *p,āī* or *pr,āī* and *vāī* or *v,āī*. In Pj. it is generally enclitic, and therefore the initial Sk. *bh* becomes not *p,* as for *bh-*, but *v,* or *v*. The change of *v,* to *v* is due to absence of stress.

(2) Platt's Dictionary gives the word *hīlnā* two meanings, "shake" and "become familiar". I would make the suggestion that they should be given as separate words.

hīl- "shake" used to be *hal*-. Thus Mīr Asar, writing in 1740, makes *halnā* rhyme with *calnā*. In Dakani Urdu to-day the word is *halnā*, and in Pj. it is *hallāṇā*, or *allāṇā*. The other word always has *i*, and in Pj. has a cerebral *l*, *īlṇā* "become accustomed" or "familiar."

(3) Pj. *all* and *aḷ*. Unfortunately both the large Pj. dictionaries fail to distinguish *l* from *ḷ*; they thus obscure many interesting differences. Thus *all* "a plough", plur. *allā* (Sk. *halya*), is fem. and has alveolar *l*: *aḷ* "a yoke" (of ploughing oxen) (Sk. *hala*-), is masc. and has cerebral *ḷ*.

dū' aḷā dā khū' is a well with enough land for two pairs of oxen to plough. The word for ploughman (Sk. *hālīka*-) is like this second word. It is *ālī*, not *ālī* or *ālī*. The verb to plough is *aḷ vā'ṇā*, not *all vā'ṇā*.

(4) PHONETICS

(a) The word "Ṣīṇā"

I have always written the word in this way, feeling that the pronunciation *shīnā'* was the best approximation for a European. It is perhaps advisable, in the interests of accuracy, to indicate the exact pronunciation. The chief thing to avoid is *sheena* (*shīnā*). The *i* is a retracted variety of the *ī* heard in long syllables in Urdu, Pj., and Ṣīṇā. It is almost the Russian [i̯] in [bī̯t] "to be"; more advanced than the normal Russian sound, and is quite short.

ṣ is a retracted *sh*, slightly further back than the *sh* element in English "try". *ṇ* is an ordinary cerebral *ṇ* with strike point behind the teeth ridge.

(b) The Prefixes pre- and post- in Phonetics

These prefixes are common in words like prepalatal, postalveolar, and would be useful if there were agreement about their meaning. Unfortunately they are used in two mutually contradictory senses, and every writer assumes that his own meaning is attached to them by others. The

question is whether, e.g., prepalatal is a subdivision of palatal or not. I use prepalatal to mean "in front of the palate", not "on the anterior part of the palate"; and postalveolar to mean "behind the alveolar position", not "on the posterior part" of it. This seems to me to correspond with the medical use of pre- and post-, and to be correct. So "prechristian" means not in the early part of the Christian era, but *before* the Christian era. One or two authors, however, employ the prefixes in the contrary sense. My object in writing this note is not to insist on my opinion, but to mention the two meanings and to point out that owing to the confusion, unless we define our terms, we shall not be understood.

(c) *Comparison of Sounds in Different Languages*

In describing an unwritten language we often have to compare its sounds with those of a written one, but we must avoid comparing things which are on different planes. If I compare Urdu or Panjabi words and sounds with those of, say, Lahndī or Ṣiṇā, I must not compare written words with unwritten sounds unless I am quite certain of the pronunciation represented by the former.

The writing of Indian languages, whether in their own character or in Roman letters, is not phonetic. Thus we are told that in Urdu *ā* is pronounced like *u* in "but". Actually that is one out of seven pronunciations, all perfectly common, viz. approximately the vowel sounds in (1) far, (2) bang, (3) attempt (first vowel), (4) gone, (5) men, (6) but, and (7) complete omission. The same speaker will habitually employ the whole seven. Yet people talk of *the* sound of *ā*.

Again, Urdu speakers will say *vo hātī mere sāt sāt āēā* "that elephant came with me", but the omission of an aspirate in an unwritten language is treated as something remarkable.

When we say, as I have done myself, that the vowels of certain unwritten languages vary a great deal, we must not suggest that the fact is unusual, or forget how much variation (concealed by fixed spelling) there is in the

pronunciation of vowels in the literary languages of India; and if we compare them we must compare actual sounds in both cases. There is a surprising amount of confusion about the sounds of well-known languages, and the pronunciation of many words is very different from what is supposed.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

MIDDLE INDIAN -ḍ- > -ṛ- IN VILLAGE KĀSMĪRĪ

When thirty years ago, in the summer of 1898, I began to study Kāsmīrī in a lovely village 20 miles from Srinagar, my teacher being a city Muḥammadan, I noticed that in certain words he used *r*, while the villagers regularly said *ṛ*, as *gur*, *guṛ* "horse"; *yūr*, *yūṛ* "hither"; while in others both alike said *r*, as *karun* "do"; *vāra vāra* "carefully". There was no variation in this usage; a villager never by accident put *r* into a word with *ṛ*. Subsequent visits to Kāsmīr confirmed not only the fact of diversity between city and village, but also the regularity of it.

In the *Festgabe Hermann Jacobi*, 1925, Professor R. L. Turner, following up some statements of mine in *Bull. S.O.S.*, iii, 2, 382, suggests that MI -ḍ- > -ṛ- in village Kāsmīrī. In support of this opinion, with which I entirely agree, I submit a list of words taken from the village language. In only two of them do we find an unexpected *r*; both these are connected with cooking, doubtless loanwords from Brahmans: *krāy* "cauldron", Pj. *kaṛā'v*: *krūtsh* "spoon", Pj. *kaṛchā*.

Noteworthy is *karun* "eject", in which we have a cerebral as we expect, but, contrary to rule, it is *r* instead of *ḍ*.

In *khūrā* "heel" we expect *r*, for we have it Pj., Lahndī, and Ṣinā, but we might easily have got *ṛ* from the other root. In view of the *r* in *harun* "fall", we must either reconsider the tentative equation of *harun* with H. *saṛnā*, or conclude that it is a loanword.

For "myrrh" the *Kāśmīrī Dictionary*, edited by Sir George Grierson, gives (but with a question mark) the strange word *mur*—strange because the Paṇḍits cannot say *r*; moreover, villagers say *mūr*. As the word is Hebrew, *r* is natural.

The subjoined list is a good example of the distinction between loanwords and words regularly developed. It is a mere matter of majority. Here we have over forty words in which an anticipated *r* is found, and only two with an unexpected *r*. The necessary conclusion is that the forty represent the rule, and that the two are loanwords.

In order that this list should not depend on my assertion alone I sent most of it to Professor Siddheśvar Varma, asking him to check it with village Muḥammadan Kāśmīrīs. This he has been so kind as to do.

All these words have a special interest; they illustrate well what I said about *r* in this dialect, and incidentally help us with etymologies, as in the case of *harun* "fall".

The four adverbs of place deserve attention. The -*r*- which appears in all of them may not be Sk., but it has several parallels.

	where ?	where	here	there	yonder
Kś	<i>kōr</i>		<i>yūr</i>	<i>tōr</i>	<i>ōr</i>
Sāsī	<i>kaṛe</i>	<i>jaṛe</i>	<i>ēṭhī</i>	<i>ōṭhī</i>	
Bhadravāhī	<i>kōrī</i>	<i>zārī</i>			
Bhaḷesī	<i>kōṛe</i>	<i>dzēṛe</i>			
Pāḍarī	<i>kōr</i>	<i>zār</i>			
Curāhī	<i>kōṛe</i>	<i>jēṛe</i>			
Pj.				<i>tōr</i> "up to there",	"up to the end".

The *Dictionary* gives some *ḍ* forms, generally as village alternatives. I have put them in brackets with the initial D. Villagers do not use *ḍ* in these words, but Paṇḍits often think they do. It would be useful to make an exhaustive list of village -*r*- words. It is important to realize that they mark a definite dialectic variation, and are perfectly regular.

Village Kaśmīrī	Panjabi	Village Kaśmīrī	Panjabi
<i>bigarun</i> , be spoilt	<i>vigarnā</i>	<i>kūr^u</i> , girl	<i>kurī</i>
<i>bigārun</i> , spoil	<i>vagārnā</i>	<i>lar</i> , thread	<i>lar</i>
<i>bīr</i> , crowd	<i>pīr</i>	<i>larun</i> , fight	<i>larṇā</i>
<i>brōr^u</i> , cat	<i>billā</i>	<i>larōy^t</i> , fight	<i>larāi</i>
<i>byōr^u</i> , cat		(D. <i>ladōy^t</i>)	
<i>chērun</i> , annoy	<i>chernā</i>	<i>lārun</i> , run	
<i>chirkāvun</i> , sprinkle	<i>chiraknā</i>	<i>lārun</i> , stain	
<i>chōrun</i> , leave	H. <i>chorṇā</i>	<i>lūr^u</i> , club	<i>laurā</i>
<i>dōr^u</i> , beard	<i>dār^ti</i>	<i>mīr^u</i> , dovecot	H. <i>maṭh</i>
<i>dor^u</i> , firm		<i>mūr</i> , foolish	H. <i>mūrḥ</i>
<i>garun</i> , fashion	<i>kārṇā</i>	<i>mor^u</i> , body	
(D. <i>gaḍun</i>)		(D. <i>moḍ^u</i>)	
<i>gōr</i> , sugar	<i>gur</i>	<i>mūrun</i> , husk	
<i>gūr</i> , pakkā		<i>ōr</i> , thither	
<i>gur^u</i> , horse	<i>kōrā</i>	<i>parun</i> , read	<i>parṇā</i>
<i>gur^u</i> , mare	<i>kōrī</i>	<i>śur</i> , boy	
(D. <i>guḍ^u</i>)		<i>thūr^u</i> , back	
<i>gūr^u</i> , clock	<i>kārī</i>	<i>tōr</i> , thither	<i>tōr</i>
<i>gūr</i> , kaccā		<i>tshārun</i> , seek	
<i>gagrā</i> , thunder		(D. <i>tshāḍun</i>)	
<i>hagoṛ^u</i> , cart	<i>chakrā</i>	<i>tsūr^u</i> , bird	<i>ciṛī</i>
<i>hār</i> , June-July	<i>ār^t</i>	<i>yūr</i> , hither	
<i>ora</i> , pair, etc.	<i>jorā</i>		
<i>jūr^t</i> , do	<i>jorī</i>		
<i>kapur</i> , cloth	<i>kaprā</i>		
<i>karun</i> , eject	<i>kaḍḍ^tnā</i>		
<i>kārun</i> , boil	<i>kār^tnā</i>		
<i>kōkur</i> , cock	<i>kukkar</i>		
<i>koṛ^u</i> , bracelet	<i>karā</i>		
<i>kōr</i> , whither			

LOANWORDS

<i>krāy</i> , cauldron	<i>karā^ti</i>
<i>krūtsh</i> , ladle	<i>karḥā</i>

Other words with *r* (not *ṛ*)

<i>khūr^u</i> , heel	<i>khur</i>
<i>harun</i> , fall	
<i>mūr</i> , myrrh	<i>mur</i>

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

ERRATA, p. 608

for *miṛ*^u, dovecot, read *mōṛ*^u.

delete *dor*^ū, firm; *mūṛun*, husk. I am not certain of them.—T. G. B.

[To face p. 608.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

SADDANĪTĪ. La Grammaire Palie d'Aggavaṃsa. Texte établi par HELMER SMITH. I. Padamālā (Pariccheda i-xiv). pp. viii + 314. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup, 1928. (= Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis, xii, 1.)

Dr. Helmer Smith, through his editions of Pali canonical texts and commentaries and through his co-editorship—with Professor D. Andersen—of the *Critical Pali Dictionary*, has made himself known as one of the very foremost Pali scholars of the present time. It has been known for some time that he was preparing a critical edition of the *Saddanīti*, an extensive and important Pali grammar of the twelfth century of which formerly very little was known. The few contributions—chiefly by Childers and Franke—towards our knowledge of the *Saddanīti* “laissaient entrevoir”, to quote the *propria verba* of the learned editor, “les traits caractéristiques d'un Cours complet de Pali, plus riche en faits que l'adaptation un peu naïve du Kātantra qui porte le nom de Kaccāyana, plus facile à interpréter et à contrôler que l'élégant *śāstra*, à l'instar du Candravyākaraṇa, où Moggallāna a consigné les résultats philologiques de son siècle.” Such, then, were the expectations evoked even by fairly scanty notices concerning this admirable work; and they have been abundantly fulfilled by the issue of Dr. Smith's first volume of the *Saddanīti*.

Of the editor's critical faculties, of his immense patience and carefulness nothing need be said here. They, as well as his astounding learning and wonderful mastership of Pali, Sanskrit, and other languages with which he has busied himself, are too well known to be commented upon in this connection. It has been suggested quite recently, in a review of this very book, that we have here before us perhaps the best edition of a Pali work hitherto issued. Superlatives

may at times be somewhat invidious ; and, besides, the present writer feels in no way competent to pass a general judgment upon a work like this which is partly beyond his own sphere. But this he would still venture to say : if Dr. Smith's edition of the *Saddanīti* cannot be proclaimed the very foremost of Pali texts hitherto issued—and this simply because all human judgment is relative and not absolute—he feels fully convinced that no other similar edition can claim a higher rank in comparison with it. Critical editorship here has certainly reached its acme, and the learned editor may with every right say : *ultra non possumus*. For, after all, no one could go further.

To this volume Dr. Smith has only added a short preface in which he tells us about the manuscripts and editions adduced for the preparation of his edition as well as about certain technical details. It does not seem quite clear whether he will affix to his third and last volume some more detailed remarks on the *Saddanīti* and its author as well as on native Pali grammar in general. But we still hope that that will be the case, as few scholars will feel quite satisfied with only getting the edition of the text, admirable though it be, from the master hand of Dr. Smith.

The present writer cannot finish this short review without a few words which have perhaps a slightly personal touch, but may be quite pardonable in a scholar who enjoys the favour of being a countryman of Dr. Smith. His admirable editions of different Pali texts have won him well-earned fame ; but critical editions, most excellent though they be by themselves, are still not the highest goal. An extensive and critical Pali grammar in a modern European language is still a desideratum ; and amongst living scholars no one would be better able to give us such a work than Dr. Smith. We should feel happy to think that this modest appeal would not remain altogether unanswered.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

HILFSBUCH DES PEHLEVI. I. Texte und Index der Pehlevi-Wörter. By H. S. NYBERG. pp. 20, 79, 89. Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1928.

Pahlavi studies have for a long time been in a somewhat precarious state in spite of single excellent contributions as, e.g., those by Professor F. W. K. Müller or Dr. Tedesco. Awe-inspiring as Pahlavi seems to be by itself, its evil fame has no doubt been enhanced by the total lack of modern handbooks, with the aid of which the novice might make his first stumbling steps on his way towards the great mystery. At one time we were used to hope for enlightenment here as in other domains of Iranian studies from Professor Andreas. But, unfortunately, our hope proved to be a false one. Light was spread at Goettingen, but only within the narrow circle of the faithful; and the somewhat Pythagorean fashion in which it was communicated to the outer world may have filled many a heart with diffidence or despondency.

However, an old saying may be converted into this: *ex septentrione lux*. Dr. Nyberg, of the University of Upsala, a scholar of most extensive and profound learning in Semitic as well as Iranian languages, in 1927 gave a series of lectures on Pahlavi; finding, however, that he could not coach his pupils without a proper handbook, he heroically resolved to make one himself. All this he tells us in the introduction. And thanks to these happy circumstances those scholars who busy themselves with Pahlavi—or Iranian studies in general—have thus been endowed with the first volume of a most excellent “Hilfsbuch des Pehlevi”. This volume contains an introduction, texts, and an index of Pahlavi words; the second one, which seems to be completed in manuscript, will bring a much needed Pahlavi dictionary giving the meanings and etymological connections of the words contained in it.

No scholar could have been better prepared for such a task than Dr. Nyberg. His profound knowledge of Semitic languages and his previous Iranian researches,

the results of which have only in some small part been published,¹ his patience, carefulness, and strong critical power alike have made him excellently fit for this more than difficult task. And though the present writer be unable to pass a detailed judgment on a handbook of Pahlavi, he is sufficiently well acquainted with Dr. Nyberg's work and methods to know that nothing but a most accomplished work would come from his pen.

In the introduction Dr. Nyberg has dealt shortly with several important problems, one of which may for a moment call for our attention. It is by now well known that Professor Andreas and his disciples take it for proved that in the Iranian languages the Indo-European \check{a} , \check{e} , \check{o} and \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} are all represented by respectively δ and \bar{o} . Outside the circle of the Goettingen School this conclusion has been gravely questioned. And Dr. Nyberg now points to the all-important fact that the innumerable Armenian, Aramaic, and Arabic loan-words from various languages of Iranian stock wholly disprove such a theory.² Let us add that from an historical point of view the theory of Professor Andreas seems alike untenable. Every conclusion based upon the quality of the Old Indian \check{a} (as mentioned in Pāṇini's last *sūtra* and elsewhere) is inadmissible; and in the Old Iranian languages themselves very little if anything seems to admit of such a theory. There is so far nothing material in the way of still accepting the already time-honoured suggestion that Indo-European \bar{a} , \bar{e} , \bar{o} are represented in Indo-Iranian by the single \bar{a} , though, of course, this \bar{a} was subject to local modifications and also to "kombinatorischer Lautwandel".

We conclude with the hope that Dr. Nyberg will soon be able to publish his second volume as well as other important works dealing with Iranian subjects. In that field of research his has certainly a great future. JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Cf. especially *Le Monde Oriental*, xvii, 182 seq.

² Quite recently Professor Pelliot, *T'oung Pao*, has arrived at the same conclusion as Dr. Nyberg by studying Chinese and Tibetan loan-words from Iranian languages.

THE PILGRIMAGE OF BUDDHISM AND A BUDDHIST PILGRIMAGE.

By J. B. PRATT. 9½ × 7, pp. xii + 758. London : Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1928.

Dr. Pratt has written this extensive book with the hope that the reader will get from it "a sense for Buddhism as a whole, for the organic unity of its life and growth, for the organic identity of the Buddhism of contemporary Japan, with that which originated twenty-five hundred years ago in India". He claims to have "a fairly intimate understanding of Buddhism as it is actually lived to-day", but he has not tried to cover the whole of Buddhism, nor to show us all its lights and shadows. In fact, he candidly says "the thing I have tried to do is to make Buddhism *plausible*", and he carries it out, for he tells us that with deliberate intention he has said nothing whatever of the Buddhism of Tibet, Nepal, and Mongolia. As for the rest of Buddhism with which he deals, more than half the chapters are devoted to Chinese and Japanese Buddhism. The book consists of two elements, the first being a vivid and sympathetic description of what he has seen and experienced in his two journeys through Buddhist countries. It is no doubt a good thing for the Buddhists, and the Christians too, to see themselves reflected in the mind of a professor of philosophy. He tells them that it is an unfortunate and misleading question to ask which of these two great religions is true and which false. And he concludes that the desirable solution will be found only when the two religions settle down to live side by side on terms of amity and co-operation and friendly rivalry. This and much of what he says lies outside the province of this *Journal*. The other element in the book is the historical one. Here the author, apart from personal contact with Buddhists, is dependent on translations, and his conclusions are often a balancing of views that he has found in writers like Rhys Davids, Stcherbatsky, McGovern, Keith, or Radhakrishnan. He does not claim a knowledge of the original languages, so that it was really unnecessary to use words that result in

things like *cunya*, *aksagarbha*, *vajrakkhedika*, or to speculate about the meaning of "completely extinct" in the *Lotus*, apparently without being aware that the phrase is merely Kern's arbitrary translation of *parinirvṛta*, which gives a meaning certainly not found in that sūtra. These, however, are questions of philological interest, and do not seriously affect the author's main purpose and achievement.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

THE PĀLI LITERATURE OF CEYLON. By G. P. MALALASEKERA. (Prize Publication, Vol. X.) 9 × 6, pp. 329. London: Printed and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1928.

THE PATH OF PURITY. Being a translation of Buddhaghosa's Visuddhimagga. By PE MAUNG TIN. Part II. (Pali Text Society, Translation Series, No. 17.) 9 × 6, pp. 504. London: Published for the Pali Text Society by the Oxford University Press, n.d.

Dr. Malalasekera's work is much more than a history of the literature, but no apology is needed for having embedded his account in what is largely a history of Ceylon. This means chiefly the story told in the *Mahāvamsa*, and the patriotic enthusiasm of the author has resulted in a very interesting and eloquently written book. But even though we may have got beyond the complete scepticism as to the value of the Chronicles for history, we can scarcely be said to have reached an agreement as to what we are to believe, especially for the thousand years before the *Mahāvamsa* was written. The real subject of the book, however, begins with chapter iv, and gives a valuable account of the real literary activity of Ceylon. In spite of the author having presented us with so much and having described the literature so fully, we should have liked still more. In his account of Kaccāna's grammar, he makes no mention of the fact that it has been published. The *Rasavāhinī* has been printed, at least in part, and is used also

in other than temple schools, but of this we are told nothing in the section devoted to the analysis of the work. It would be too much to expect a full bibliography, but readers will expect to know what edition the author is talking about, and whether an edition is accessible. Two portions of the book have a special interest, the account of the efforts of Western scholars in the last century to get an insight into Pāli and Sinhalese literature, and that of the literary and religious revival in Ceylon in modern times. The author writes with feeling, but with admirable restraint, of the lamentable events in the island which resulted from the conflicting commercial and political interests of foreigners.

The first volume of this translation of the *Visuddhimagga* was issued six years ago. The present volume is a translation of chapters iii-xiii, and covers about half of the whole. It deals with the choice of subjects for meditation, the various mechanical means for inducing jhāna and still higher states, the practice of the brahmavihāras, and various kinds of *iddhi* such as levitation and other miracles. The translation is very ably done, and will doubtless have a great influence in establishing a recognized system of representing Pāli terms. Hence more consistency in some cases would have been advisable. *Paññā* appears as "insight", "wisdom" and "understanding". *Abhiññā* first appears as "intuition" with the footnote "more literally super-knowledge", but in the chapter devoted to the subject as "higher knowledge". *Attā* is "self" and "soul" on the same page.

It is a matter for congratulation that the work is being carried out by one so well-equipped as Professor Pe Maung Tin. With his deep knowledge of the subject matter, his perfectly idiomatic style, and his use of the *ṭīkā*, he has been able to add valuable notes and to improve the state of the text considerably.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

LES CHANTS MYSTIQUES DE KĀṆHA ET DE SARAHA. Les Dohā-koṣa (en apabhraṃśa avec les versions tibétaines) et les Caryā (en vieux-bengali) avec introduction, vocabulaires et notes édités et traduits par M. SHAHIDULLAH. (Textes pour l'étude du bouddhisme tardif.) 10 × 6½, pp. xii + 236. Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1928.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF VAIṢNAVA RELIGION (with special reference to the Kṛṣṇite and Gourāṅgite Cults). By G. N. MALLIK. In 2 vols. Vol. I. 9 × 5½, pp. xxxii + 11 + 381 + 48. The Punjab Oriental (Sanskrit) Series, No. 14. Lahore: The Punjab Sanskrit Book Depot, 1927.

The subject of Dr. Shahidullah's work was first brought to public notice by Professor Bendall in his edition of the *Subhāṣitasamgraha*, in which he discussed a number of the apabhraṃśa verses quoted there. Dr. Shahidullah has now edited and translated the complete texts of two of the authors which were first published by MM. Haraprasād Śāstrī in *Bauddha gān o dohā* in 1916. The author, with his knowledge of Bengali grammar and palæography and with an independent outlook on Bengali religious thought, appears to be an ideal editor. He has made a careful study of the phonology, grammar, vocabulary, and prosody, and with the use of three Tibetan translations of Kāṇha and two of Saraha from the *Tanjur* he has been able to establish a satisfactory text. The result is a highly valuable contribution not only to our knowledge of Buddhist apabhraṃśa, but also to a little known development of doctrine. This is tantrism, not in the loose sense as used by Koeppen, but the system which invests sexual processes with a religious significance. Professor Bendall, in a very natural disgust, did not try to understand it. We may refuse to discuss it, but it is not correct to look upon it as merely licence masquerading as religion, nor is it a sublimation and misunderstanding of physical facts. Doubtless it gave the opportunity for licence,

but however repulsive we may find it, it has to be recognized as one of the forms in which the religious instinct has clothed itself. The term *sahaja* expresses one of its essential doctrines, and there is a still existing Vaishnava sect, the Sahajīyā, which is branded by a serious Vaishnava scholar, Professor Mallik, as debauchery. Dr. Shahidullah treats the matter quite objectively, and says no more about it than is necessary. He gives a valuable discussion on the technical language, in which tantric senses are disguised under apparently innocuous terms.

Not only does the system reject the Vedas and Purāṇas, but also the Āgamas. The important person in all the teaching is the *guru*, and his pupil is the *cellu*. Here we have the modern *chela*, and the author perhaps makes the system look more orthodox than it is by translating the term *śrāmaṇera*. Kāṇha makes no mention of a Buddha, not even in the invocation. He speaks once of a *tathāgata*, but she turns out to be a sort of goddess (*debī*). Saraha uses the word *Buddha* twice, once when he speaks with scorn of the pandit who explains all śāstras, and yet knows not the Buddha that dwells in his body (*dehahi basanta*), and again when he declares that everything without any interstice is the Buddha. No wonder Dr. Shahidullah says that it is difficult to connect such teaching either with the Little or the Great Vehicle.

The whole work is thoroughly scholarly, but the proof-reading might have been more searching, especially in parts where it is important to know what the exact forms of the dialect are. The first *lakṣhāṇī* on p. 79 is translated "sont négligés", but probably *uekkhāṇī* (*upekṣyate*) is intended. *Jima* (= *yathā*) is explained, but not *tima* (*tathā*). *Nitta* (*nitya*) of the text is *nitta* in the vocabulary.

Dr. Shahidullah has also printed and translated the *caryā* in old Bengali, twelve stanzas by Kāṇha and four by Saraha. Perhaps he will one day examine them more fully.

Professor Mallik's book shows what a different system may develop out of principles which at least have something in

common with the teaching of Kāṇha, but the latter is probably due to an alien system which infected both Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism. The term Vaiṣṇavism includes very different forms of worship, and perhaps the severest statement about it is made by Professor Mallik himself: "Most of the present followers of the very sublime religion of the Baiṣṇavas have undergone such a degree of degeneration that the religion itself has now become the butt-end of ridicule and caviling."

In the system as Professor Mallik expounds it there is no tantrism. His book is in the first place concerned with establishing the philosophical basis. Three sources of knowledge are recognized—perception, inference, and śabda or revelation, but the only reliable source of right knowledge is śabda, i.e. the Vedas. But even the sages have understood one and the same Veda in different lights, and to make the true import of the Vedas clear the Purāṇas appeared. Even then the comparative excellence of the Purāṇas has to be determined. Vyāsa, having revealed all the other Purāṇas, composed the Brahman Sūtras, but their meaning was so ambiguous that he revealed the Bhāgavata Purāṇa as his commentary on his own sūtras. This is the authority *par excellence*. It is thus clear why the Vaiṣṇava system is called a religion, but the question of evidence being settled, the author gives a clear and able discussion of the more purely metaphysical principles. It is directed chiefly against the teaching of Śaṅkarācārya—his monism, his doctrine of creation, and the illusory nature of the individual.

The religious exposition deals with the principle of Rādhā (who sublimates the lordship of Kṛṣṇa), the cult of Gaurāṅga, who is not a mere incarnation or partial aspect, but "The Absolute Being Bhagavān himself", and lastly the doctrine of bhakti.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

DIE NYĀYASUTRA'S. Text, Übersetzung, Erläuterung und Glossar von W. RUBEN. (Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, xviii, 2.) 9 × 6, pp. xviii + 270. Leipzig: Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft, 1928.

A SUPPLEMENTARY CATALOGUE OF THE SANSKRIT, PALI, AND PRAKRIT BOOKS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE BRITISH MUSEUM ACQUIRED DURING THE YEARS 1906-1928. Compiled by L. D. Barnett. 11 × 9, pp. 4, columns 1,694. London: Sold at the British Museum and by B. Quaritch, the Oxford University Press, and Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1928.

In the Nyāya sūtras, says the author, we find apparently for the first time in India a philosophy portrayed as a rounded system—theory of knowledge, metaphysics of the microcosm and macrocosm, and doctrine of salvation. It may be presumed that in Kauṭalya's time there was as yet no Nyāya system, and it must be later than the Vaiśeṣika, for it presupposes the Vaiśeṣika metaphysics. All these are statements that have been disputed, and they cannot be said to be settled yet, as the author in order to economize space has omitted any polemic against modern interpreters. He has, however, made an invaluable contribution to the elucidation of the system, and has focussed the problems that still await solution.

The introduction gives an account of the Indian commentators, and throughout the work the modern literature is referred to. The main part consists of the transliterated text of the sūtras, a translation and commentary following each sūtra and critical notes, each portion being printed in clearly contrasted type, which makes the whole a pleasure to read. A quarter of the book consists of notes. There are two Sanskrit indexes, which should make it easy to find any technical term, but it is curious that *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* (i, 1, 5) is not among them. This is the third of the three kinds of inference, and Garbe once translated it "induktiv", but Jacobi pointed out that it might equally well be translated "deduktiv",

and that according to the Indian view every *Schluss* is deductive. Thereupon Garbe in his *Sāṃkhya und Yoga* adopted Jacobi's view without giving any indication that he had thought the matter out for himself. The author ignores all this, and takes the term to mean "durch Analogie", yet he knows that the meaning was so unsettled among the commentators that one of them, at least, read *adr̥ṣṭam* for *dr̥ṣṭam*, and that in the Nyāya sūtra itself *upamāna* is usually translated "analogy". These remarks are not meant in any way to disparage this admirable work, but they perhaps suggest that the Nyāya has not yet been finally presented "in seiner Klarheit, Übersichtlichkeit und Durchdachtheit".

In 1908 the second Supplementary Catalogue of the printed books in Sanskrit, Pāli, and Prākṛit in the British Museum was brought out by Dr. Barnett. Now another supplement follows, but the title gives no idea of the importance of the work. The last twenty years have been very fruitful in the publication of Sanskrit works and in the initiation of important series, like the Gaekwad's Oriental Series, and the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, mostly executed by Indian scholars. The present work contains more than twice as many items as the previous supplement, and the indexes alone are more extensive than the whole original catalogue of Haas. It only remains to express the admiration and thanks of all Sanskrit scholars for the way in which it has been executed by Dr. Barnett.

EDWARD J. THOMAS.

Indica by L. D. Barnett

1. THE NIGHAṆṬU AND THE NIRUKTA. The oldest Indian treatise on etymology, philology, and semantics. Critically edited . . . and translated for the first time into English, with introduction, exegetical and critical notes, three indexes, and eight appendices, by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon) . . . Sanskrit text, etc. $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xxxix + 292. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1927.

2. FRAGMENTS OF THE COMMENTARIES OF SKANDASVĀMIN AND MAHEŚVARA ON THE NIRUKTA. Edited . . . with an Introduction and Critical Notes by LAKSHMAN SARUP, M.A. (Panj.), D.Phil. (Oxon). 10 × 7, pp. 15 + i + 139. Lahore (University of the Panjab), 1928.

Professor Lakshman Sarup is to be congratulated on having brought to a successful conclusion his long and arduous labours. Seven years have passed since he issued his annotated translation of the Nirukta; and now we are indebted to him for the text of both Nighaṇṭu and Nirukta, critically edited and excellently printed (though, it must be confessed, with a large crop of printer's errors, which he frankly acknowledges, and has for the most part corrected in a *śuddhi-patra* at the end of the book), together with an introduction in which he discusses the character of the MS. material used by him and the MSS. and dates of the commentaries of Dēvarāja, Durga, and others, and an appendix showing the passages of the Nirukta which are connected with the Saṃhitās (other than the Rk), Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Sarvānukramaṇī, Bṛhat-sarv°, Bṛhad-dēvatā, Prātiśākhya, Aṣṭādhyāyī, Mahābhāṣya, Pūrva-mīmāṃsā, Kauṭaliya, and Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha.

One valuable result of Mr. Lakshman Sarup's scholarly studies has been to ascertain that there are two recensions of the Nirukta, a longer (A) and a shorter (B), of which B represents a purer and A a more interpolated tradition, and his text is accordingly based upon B. One is tempted, however, to suggest that logically he might go further. He tells us that Durga in his commentary, which repeats every word of the Nirukta, "took pains to ascertain the correct readings and has handed down a sort of critical edition of the *Nirukta* as it existed in his time," which was probably the early fourteenth century, and therefore previous to B. Now B gives some passages unknown to Durga, which seem to be spurious additions, and yet these are printed by

Mr. Lakshman Sarup as if authentic. Would it not have been better to omit them, and to base the text primarily upon Durga's recension?

As a supplement to his edition of the Nirukta Mr. Lakshman Sarup has published the available fragments of the commentaries of Skandasvāmin and Mahēśvara. As to the authorship of the first text here printed, the *Nirukta-bhāṣya-tīkā*, there is some mystery, for the MSS. ascribe some chapters of it to Skandasvāmin and others to Mahēśvara; and Mr. Lakshman Sarup suggests the probable solution that, as its name implies, it is really a gloss (*tīkā*) by Mahēśvara on a commentary (*bhāṣya*) by Skandasvāmin, in which some morsels of the latter work are imbedded. The portion here printed deals only with the first *adhyāya* of the Nirukta, but it occupies with footnotes 121 pages. To this is added a collection of the fragments of Skandasvāmin's commentary on Nirukta gleaned from Dēvarāja's exposition of the Nighaṇṭu.

3. ASOKA: Gaekwad Lectures. By RADHAKUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., Ph.D. 8 $\frac{1}{4}$ × 6, pp. xii + i + 273, 15 plates, 1 map. London: Macmillan & Co., 1928.

Professor Mookerji's book comprises six chapters on the early life and family of his hero, his history, administration, religion, and monuments, and the social conditions of his age, followed by an annotated translation of the Inscriptions and the text of them (in the best preserved specimens where several recensions exist), together with appendices on the chronology of Aśōka and the Edicts and their language and script. It is designed as "a convenient text-book" for University students, and disclaims any pretensions to originality, except for some points of chronology and interpretation and certain appraisements of Aśōka's career.

In his main design Professor Mookerji has succeeded. The work is painstaking and generally careful, while the materials collected, especially in the notes to the translation, will be very helpful to students. We must, however, confess to some doubt as to whether the Professor's contributions have fixed the floating islands of Aśōkan chronology, for his arguments seem very deficient in cogency; and the suggestions on p. 68 regarding Aśōka's attitude towards dissent in the Saṅgha and the Second Council are unconvincing. The remarks on kingship in ancient India on p. 47 f. ignore the fact that in course of time the king came to exercise important legislative functions. Aśōka did so, and his activity, viewed from the standpoint of Indian constitutional doctrine, was almost revolutionary. The explanation of a notorious crux offered on p. 113, n. 7, is wholly unsatisfactory, and the statement on p. 116, n. 6, that "the rule of conduct herein preached is taken by Aśōka from a well-known passage in the *Taittirīya Upaniṣad*" is, to say the least, uncritical. The philological work on the whole is careful; but, as the Professor is not a professional philologist, it is somewhat deficient in exactness and sureness of touch. A trait to which the reader may fairly take exception is the Professor's habit of mixing up Prakrit, Pali, and Sanskrit forms of words in a manner that must prove most confusing to the untrained reader: thus on p. 27 we have the Pali "Sāriputta" immediately followed by "Maudgalāyana" (*sic!*), and on p. 32 in a list of names from Pali sources several are quite irrationally given in Sanskrit translation.¹ It is to be hoped that these and other lapses will be corrected in the next edition.

¹ We would also respectfully call attention to the false idiom in the words "calls Asoka as a *Maurya*" on p. 12, n. 3 (cf. p. 140, n. 6), the unlawful compound "co-terminous" on p. 15 (some of us will remember the ridicule cast by Bentley upon this type of word), and the incorrect "Selukos" (p. 13, n. 1, and p. 15) and "*hiraṇyārthiviṣ*" (p. 25), among other slips.

4. *L'Āśvamedha*. Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d'après les textes du Yajurveda blanc . . . Par P. E. DUMONT. (Société Belge d'Études Orientales.) 10 × 6½, pp. xxxvi + 413 + ii. Paris, Louvain printed : P. Geuthner, 1927.

The *Āśva-mēdha* as prescribed for successful monarchs is not so much a religious ceremony as a series of diverse rites of sympathetic magic, for the most part exceedingly primitive in character, and concerned originally with Varuṇa, Indra, and other ancient gods, which have been adapted and redacted by Brahman ritualists so as to form a gigantic combination to glorify their favourite deity Prajāpati. The filthy obscenity of word and act which mark some of its ceremonies is characteristic of early Brahmanism in its nastiest forms : one marvels whether Samudragupta and his polished court carried out all its loathsome rules, and if so, what their feelings were. But just because of its barbarous crudity the *Āśva-mēdha* is most instructive, and M. Dumont has done good service to science by his unflinching analysis.

The main part of his work consists of a careful description of the *Āśva-mēdha* in its details, arranged in 691 paragraphs, as prescribed for the schools of the White Yajur-vēda in Kātyāyana's Śrāuta-sūtra, the Vājasaneyi-saṃhitā, and the Śata-patha Brāhmaṇa, with occasional excerpts from the last-named work interpreting the significance of the rites according to Brahmanic theory. To this are added four appendices in which are translated Āpastamba's Śrāuta-sūtra xx, Bāudhāyana's Śr.-s. xv, and some portions of the Vādhūla Śr.-s., which represent the *Āśva-mēdha* ritual of the Black Yajur-vēda, and a series of extracts from the *Āśvamēdhika-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata* describing the horse-sacrifice performed by Yudhiṣṭhira after his victory. Indices and an introduction summarily describing the ceremony and indicating its religious character fitly complete this careful and useful monograph.

5. THE VEDĀNTA AND MODERN THOUGHT. By W. S. URQUHART, M.A., D.Litt. (The Religious Quest of India.) $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xiv + ii + 256. H. Milford: Oxford (University Press), 1928.
6. COMPARATIVE STUDIES IN VEDĀNTISM. By MAHENDRANATH SIRCAR, M.A., Ph.D. $8\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xii + i + 314. H. Milford: Madras (Diocesan Press), 1927.

Professor Urquhart's study of the Vēdānta in its evolution from the early intuitions of the Vēda to the full maturity of Śāṅkara's system (the doctrine of Rāmānuja receives less attention from him than it deserves, and the other schools are ignored) is, although thus limited in scope, a remarkably fine and penetrating work. It is marked throughout by scholarly accuracy of knowledge, clarity of thought, and fairness even to the degree of sympathetic generosity, for Dr. Urquhart believes that much of Indian philosophy "is unconsciously anticipative of Christian thought", and he earnestly endeavours to trace such a connection in the Vēdānta, without minimising the points of difference. Possibly, indeed, he goes a little further in this direction than is strictly warranted by the facts: at any rate he seems to us to have somewhat over-estimated the religious element in Śāṅkara's thought, which is dominantly, perhaps almost entirely, intellectualistic, and has little if any trace of the theistic emotion which stirs in the intuition of some of the Upaniṣads, in Rāmānuja, and in Christian writers. Perhaps also he is too generous in his suggestion that Śāṅkara aimed at a "realistic rehabilitation of the world" and failed to accomplish it: one rather suspects that on principle Śāṅkara would have stoutly repudiated such an ideal, though in practice he sometimes drifted unconsciously in that direction. But while our opinions on these and a few other minor points do not wholly tally with those of the Professor, we must pay a tribute of cordial admiration to the singular merit of his book as a whole.

While Dr. Urquhart narrows his survey to Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja, Dr. Sircar on the contrary includes in his review of the main doctrines of the Vēdānta nearly all the schools which claim to represent it—Advāita, Viśiṣṭādvāita, Pāñcarātra, Dvāita, Bhēdābhēda, Gāuḍīya Vāiṣṇavas, and Puṣṭimārgīyas. The author follows the comparative method, impartially stating the theories of the several schools upon the topics under review. The work shows much philosophic acumen and learning, and will be very useful to the specialist, although in respect of lucidity of expression and orderliness of exposition it seems to us to leave something to be desired.

7. PALLAVA ARCHITECTURE. Part II (Intermediate or Māmalla Period). By A. H. LONGHURST. (Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 33.) 13 × 10½, pp. i + ii + 50 + v, 35 plates. Calcutta: Government of India Central Publication Branch, 1928.

Mr. Longhurst has already investigated the earliest period of Pallava architecture, which is associated with the name of Mahēndravarman I, and he accordingly devotes the present monograph to a study of the monuments of the middle period, which belong approximately to the reign (about A.D. 640-74) of Narasimhavarman I, surnamed Mahāmalla or Māmalla, whose name is preserved in that of the port founded by him, Māmallapuram, later miscalled Mahābali-puram, and by early British sailors styled "Seven Pagodas". Here there has been preserved a group of *rathas* and other rock-cut monuments which rank among the most attractive works of Pallava art and which furnish ample material for the study of the period. Mr. Longhurst therefore gives to them the larger share of his attention and examines them in detail, showing with the aid of excellent plates the development of technique beginning from that of the earliest monuments, particularly the Dharmarāja and Kōṭikal *mandapas*, which in workmanship are hardly distinguishable from some

of the temples of the preceding period, and culminating in the matured perfection which characterises the end of the third quarter of the seventh century. Of special interest is the description of the magnificent "Arjuna's Penance", which, as is now generally recognised, has nothing to do with Arjuna, and really depicts a gathering of gods and ascetics on the two banks of a river, "a symbolical representation of the Ganges flowing from the Himalayas," in which the plastic genius of Hindu sculpture attains its highest perfection. The monograph is a thoroughly competent and much needed treatment of an exceedingly important and fascinating phase of Indian art.

8. REPORT OF THE ARCHÆOLOGICAL DEPARTMENT OF HIS EXALTED HIGHNESS THE NIZAM'S DOMINIONS. 1335 F. 1925-26 A.C. 14 × 10½, pp. x + 54, 18 plates. Hyderabad, Calcutta printed : Baptist Mission Press, 1928.

In addition to useful conservation work on the Ellora Caves, Ajanta, the Forts of Warangal and Bhongir, the tomb of Qāsim Barīd at Bidar, the Haft Gumbaz at Gulbarga, and other monuments. Mr. Yazdani and his staff during the year under review have accomplished an important task in surveying the tombs of Gulbarga ascribed to the Bahmanīs 'Alā ud-Dīn Ḥasan and Muḥammad Shāh I and II, the great mosques in the Shāh-bazār and the Fort, and the seven tombs outside Gulbarga commonly known as the Haft Gumbaz, with other local structures. A very interesting light is thus thrown upon the evolution of Muslim architecture in the Dekhan, as the older buildings and the Haft Gumbaz are in the Tughluq style, while the later ones—notably the Fort mosque, constructed by a Persian architect from Qazwin—bear evidence to an influx of Persian influences, to which were gradually added those of India, strikingly evidenced in the beautiful Masjid of Afzal Khān. Another interesting section is the account of the Forts at Bhongir and Warangal. Two appendices are added, one by Mr. L. Munn on human

artefacts and fossilized bones found in the Godavari valley, and the other by Mr. T. Streenivas on coins of the Western Cālukyas. Altogether the Hyderabad Government has very good reason for recording "their appreciation of the excellent work of Mr. Yazdani".

9. **MANDŪ, THE CITY OF JOY.** By G. YAZDANI, M.A., Director of Archæology in H.E.H. The Nizam's Dominions and Epigraphist to the Government of India for Moslem Inscriptions. Printed for the Dhār State. $7\frac{3}{4} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xii + 131, 30 plates. Oxford: University Press, 1929.

Scattered over the rich and beautiful plateau which on three sides sinks abruptly through a wild gorge into the plains of Malwa, the ruins of Malwa bear silent and sorrowful witness to the past glories of what was once fittingly named Shādīābād, the Abode of Joy. We may be sure that princes ruled here from times of immemorial antiquity; but no record of it appears in history until the days of the Pratihāras and, after them, of the Paramāras, and it first emerges into prominence in the reign of Dilāwar Khān Ghōrī, at first the viceroy and then from 1401 to 1405 the ruler of Malwa, who laid the foundations of the great fortress of Mandu. His son Hoshang Shāh, who established his capital here, not only completed his father's design, but crowned Mandu with many stately and beautiful buildings. Their family continued to reign in the city until the days of Bāz Bahādur—famous in legend for his romantic love for the Hindu songstress Rūpmatī—who was forced to surrender his kingdom to Akbar; and after some vicissitudes of fortune Mandu in 1734 was incorporated in the dominions of the Puār Maharajas of Dhar, a branch of the same Paramāras who had governed it many centuries previously.

To narrate the story of this city and to describe the monuments of its whilom splendours, the Government of the Dhar State has enlisted the services of Mr. Yazdani. It is

a happy choice, for Mr. Yazdani unites historical and antiquarian learning with sound taste and lucidity of style, which enable him to do full justice to his fascinating theme. He has given us a book of which the text is a pleasure to read and the illustrations are a delight to the eye, and to him and to the Government of Dhar lovers of knowledge and beauty owe an abundant measure of gratitude.

10. NACHTRÄGE ZUM SANSKRIT-WÖRTERBUCH IN KÜRZERER FASSUNG VON OTTO BÖHTLINGK, bearbeitet von RICHARD SCHMIDT. 14 × 10½, pp. viii + 398. Hannover and Leipzig, 1924-8.

Professor Schmidt has now completed his laborious but exceedingly useful task of supplementing the "Baby Böhlingk" by a volume containing some 12,000 new articles together with Böhlingk's own addenda, which number about 14,450. The bulk of the new material is drawn from drama, poetry, poetical prose (especially the *Yāsaś-tilaka*), rhetoric, and erotic literature, while religious works, medicine (*Caraka*), Śaiva philosophy, the *Kāuṭaliya*, and the *Vāijayanti* have also contributed their quotas. As Dr. Schmidt admits, his collections are by no means final gleanings in the fields of Sanskrit literature: circumstances have unfortunately compelled him to leave out much valuable Vedic and cognate materials, and we observe, also with regret, that he has not drawn upon the rich store of poetry contained in the inscriptions. On the other hand, it may be questioned whether some of the entries, such as *a-kapila*, *a-karada*, *a-pratta*, where the *a-* merely gives a negative sense to the following adjective or participle, are worth collecting and printing: counsels of perfection plead for them, while practical considerations urge their omission. But however this may be, the work as a whole deserves to be welcomed as a product of sound and industrious scholarship, and no oriental library can dispense with it.

11. ŚRĪ-KṚṢṆĀVATĀRA-LĪLĀ. Composed in Kāshmīrī by DĪNANĀTHA. Text edited, translated, and transcribed in the roman character by Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Ph.D., LL.D., F.B.A. (Bibliotheca Indica.) 10 × 6½, pp. 12 + i + 251. Calcutta: Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1928.

In his autobiography Charles Philip Brown claimed, doubtless with justice, to have rekindled the dying fires of Telugu literature; Sir George Grierson, if he were less modest than he is, might boast of having accomplished no less for several literatures of Northern India, and to have done it in an immeasurably more scientific and critical manner. And of all the tongues to which he has devoted his loving studies, Kashmiri owes to the great Bhāṣā-vācaspati a peculiar debt of gratitude, which is crowned by the present work.

Though Hinduism claims the spiritual allegiance of only a minority of the population, it dominates the literature of Kashmir, and one of its most important cults is well represented in the Kṛṣṇāvatāra-līlā. The poem is comparatively modern, for the author, whose identity is very dubious, Dīna-nātha being only a pen-name, seems to have died in the last century. But he has done his business efficiently, paraphrasing the story of the Bhāgavata in a sequence of 1178 fluent verses with a pleasant refrain—the long-drawn Golden Legend which Hindu audiences love to hear. It can scarcely be described as “linked sweetness long drawn out”, for Kashmiri is a crabbed tongue; but Dīna-nātha knows how to speak to the heart of his people in the language which they understand, and he does so. The text is given by Sir George Grierson in roman transliteration (no easy task in itself) with an accurate translation on the opposite page, a performance which would suffice to make the literary fortune of any other scholar, but is to him merely a parergon.

INTRODUCTION TO INDIAN PHILOSOPHY. By JWALA PRASAD.

5½ × 8½, viii + viii + 196 pp. Allahabad : Indian Press, 1928.

Professor R. D. Ranade contributes a foreword from which it appears that this small book attempts to meet the needs of candidates for the B.A. degree in Indian universities, most of which now require from students who offer philosophy some acquaintance with Indian philosophy. This was an inevitable and an interesting development of the former exclusively Western philosophical curriculum, but it is one which presents serious difficulties. It is sufficiently easy to select one or two philosophical classics of the West which students at an early stage can understand and which have high value as instruments of culture and incentives to reflection. But it is not at all easy to find an Indian philosophical classic which can take its place in a B.A. curriculum beside (say) Berkeley and Plato's Republic. And, failing this, the alternative is to prescribe a general acquaintance with the outlines of Indian thought; the value of which to a young student is, to say the least, dubious. It is extremely difficult to give philosophical significance to the dry bones of the *darśanas*. Even in the best exposition the technicalities of Sāṃkhya and Yoga, Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, Buddhism and Jainism look like fossils in a museum of philosophical antiquities. They can be arranged and labelled, but it is not easy to realize them as living forms of thought.

Mr. Jwala Prasad writes well and does not waste words or talk at large. He is free from prejudice, and has critical ability; and where his subject-matter and the compass of the work permits, his treatment is interesting. His account is never wilfully misleading (although it is perhaps a pity that he included in an Appendix a paper on *Germs of Modern Psychology in the Yajurveda*); and many who are looking for a readable and reliable short account of Indian thought will find his book useful. The book is indexed and well printed; though the late Dr. Venis' name should not have been (twice)

given in the form *Venice*, nor should Max Müller have been represented (again, twice) as speaking of "the oldest hymns of Babylonian and *Arcadian* poets". The inclusion of "Intellection (*buddhi*)" among the seven *guṇas* added later to the Vaiśeṣika-sūtra's list of seventeen, is a strange inadvertence—the quality intended must be *saṁskāra*; but this is not "intellection"; though in the form of *bhāvanā* it is an *ātma-guṇa*.

H. N. RANDLE.

KĀLIDĀSA. *LE Raghuvamṣa* (La lignée des fils du soleil) poème en XIX chants traduit du Sanscrit par Louis Renou. (Les Joyaux de L'Orient, Tome VI.) 6 × 8, xii + 218 pp. Paris: Geuthner, 1928.

Translations of a *mahākāvya* naturally provoke the reader to ask what the translator's aim can have been. In the case of a translation like that of Nandargikar the question is easy to answer; he meant to supply a key to every word in the text; a useful object, which he achieved with sufficient success to have earned the gratitude of many of us. Where the translator's aim is thus limited by an avowed intention "to preserve the sense of the Sanskrit expressions without sacrificing it to the beauty of English phraseology", the question whether any one could endure to read the English rendering for its intrinsic interest does not arise. But when we read a version which preserves in carefully balanced clauses the antithetic style of the original, and which plainly has in view the aim of conveying in a modern language something of Kālidāsa's mastery of form, we are tempted to ask whether it is possible to convey enough of the spirit of the original to make translation of this character worth while.

The *Raghuvamśa* has a plot-interest in respect of its central part, the *Rāmāyaṇa* story; and if it had ended with Canto XV there would perhaps have been unity enough to

make it a poem—instead of being, as it is, a string of poems. But then the poem would not have been a *mahākāvya*, the effects of which are episodic and lyrical: “raccourci avec un lyrisme contenu,” as M. Renou, in a preface which compresses into three or four pages an illuminating appreciation of Kālidāsa’s art, remarks with special reference to Canto XIV. The reader therefore who looks for epic breadth in the poem will be disappointed. And what will he find instead? A number of episodes chosen “non point pour leur importance propre, mais parce qu’ils prêtent à des variations littéraires où, dans un décor conventionnel, le poète peut donner libre cours à l’expression de ces *rasa*, ces ‘sentiments’ que préconise et définit avec tant de soin la rhétorique hindoue”. And more than this, even: “l’unité elle-même de l’épisode est sans cesse subordonnée à l’unité de la strophe, laquelle possède en propre ses fins esthétiques et se soumet aux nécessités internes de son bref développement.” The stanza is the thing, if not everything: “un tout indépendant et complet, un poème en miniature, avec son imprévu, ses jeux, son sommet d’expression et l’image inévitable qui l’accompagne.” And further, “où l’idée ne peut suffire à étayer l’image le poète y supplée par toutes les ressources verbales d’un art raffiné.” This is what provokes the question what the translator’s aim can have been. He has to ignore effects due to alliteration, assonance and play on words; and, when these are left out, nothing is left, in numerous stanzas, except perhaps an unreal antithesis. For instance, there is not much to choose between Nandargikar’s and M. Renou’s versions of such stanzas as:—

*ittham dvijena dvijarājakāntir āvedīto vedavidāṁ vareṇa
 enonivṛttendriyavṛttir enaṁ jagāda bhūyo jagadekanāthaḥ.*
 How could there be? And yet Kālidāsa is, after all, worth translating in graceful modern prose, even if the effect of his *yamakas* and other such artifices cannot be reproduced. And M. Renou’s version is (so far as a foreigner may judge) a very felicitous attempt to make the *Raghuvamśa* readable for

those who do not read Sanskrit. Those who do, will find that it keeps very closely to the original. To have achieved both results at once is a feat on which a translator may fairly be congratulated.

There is a misprint at V, 9, where *kālopapannātithikalpya-bhāgam* is rendered "une portion doit en être réservée pour les bêtes qui arrivent en temps voulu". *Bêtes* is a printer's error for *hôtes*. The description in the following line of the *gr̥hasthāśrama* as *sarvopakāraśrama* is, as the commentators explain, a reference to the dependence of the other orders on the householder (several times emphasized by Manu), and the rendering "celui qui permet toutes les assistances" fails to convey this idea. In III, 32, *pupoṣa gāmbhīryamanoharam vapuḥ* is not precisely rendered by "fleurissait dans des formes d'une profonde séduction". At I, 36, *nirghoṣa* is not "sans bruit". These were the only passages which appeared open to criticism, as the result of a fairly close comparison of the translation with the text in the earlier books. The translation is a valuable addition to this well-known series.

H. N. RANDLE.

A CALENDAR OF THE COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, 1668-70. By ETHEL BRUCE SAINSBURY, with an Introduction and Notes by Sir WILLIAM FOSTER, C.I.E. 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 6; pp. xx + 444. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929.

Though the three years covered by the present volume were not signalized by any momentous events in the Company's history in the East, the period was marked by steady development and increased shipping activity. In the proceedings of the Court and its Committees, however, we find references to several questions of historical and political importance, the outcome of events that had occurred in previous years, such as the relations with the governments of the Netherlands and Portugal and the power of the House of Lords to assume

an original jurisdiction. The negotiations with the Dutch government arose from the well-founded apprehension of the Company that the treaty of Breda had jeopardized their interests and threatened to establish a Dutch monopoly of trade in the Far East. The occasion of the Triple Alliance was taken to move the King to induce the States-General to remedy their grievances. Sir William Temple, then at the Hague, took the matter in hand, and a "Treaty Marine" relating to seafaring and commercial matters was concluded in continuation of the treaty of alliance; but the promptitude with which Temple pushed this through precluded consultation with the Company, who were not satisfied with the terms arranged. Further negotiations followed; but, in spite of de Witt's efforts, the demands of our Company were only partially conceded owing to the opposition of the Dutch East India Company.

Though Bombay was ceded to the King of England as part of the dowry of the Infanta of Portugal in 1661, the fleet despatched for the purpose under the Earl of Marlborough in the following year failed to get possession of it. It was not till 1665 that Humphrey Cooke took over from the Portuguese the island of Bombay, shorn of Salsette and Karanj, which were originally supposed to be included in the grant. Further trouble ensued in connexion with these two dependencies, owing to the levying by the Portuguese of customs duties upon all British vessels passing to the mainland. It was soon found that the government of Bombay cost more than it produced, and in 1668 it was handed over by the Crown to the Company "on payment of an annual rent of £10 in gold". It was Sir Gerald Aungier, Governor of Surat from 1669 to 1677, who, appreciating the possibilities of the site, founded the modern city of Bombay, and first placed its affairs upon a satisfactory footing. In this volume we find much evidence of the interest shown by the Company in its new possession, for example, in its fortification, armament and development, and in the despatch of a minister and of women to live there,

who were not to be permitted "to marry any but those of their own nation, or such as be Protestants". We see attention also being paid to the island of St. Helena, which had been occupied by the Company in 1651 on its evacuation by the Dutch. We find also several guarded references to the famous case of Thomas Skinner, which gave rise to a prolonged conflict between the Lords and the Commons, only to be dropped at the earnest personal request of the King. Skinner, however, falling between two stools, if the simile may be used of these august assemblies, never got any redress for the confiscation of his properties and the other hardships he had suffered at the hands of the Company.

The present volume forms the eighth of the series of Calendars compiled by Miss Sainsbury, who must be warmly congratulated on the sustained care and scholarship with which the task has been performed. The very full index enhances the value of the work.

C. E. A. W. O.

THE GURKHAS, THEIR MANNERS, CUSTOMS AND COUNTRY.

By MAJOR W. BROOK NORTHEY, M.C., and CAPTAIN C. J. MORRIS, with a Foreword by Brig.-General the Hon. C. G. BRUCE, C.B., M.V.O. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xxxvii + 282, with map and 69 illustrations. London: John Lane, 1928.

Those who are not in a position to study M. Sylvain Lévi's standard work, *Le Népal*, in three volumes, or Mr. P. Landon's recent sympathetic and detailed account of the country and its governors, in two volumes, will welcome this short and readable description of a people who have rendered such splendid military services to our Empire. One of the most remarkable facts about Nepal is the very limited knowledge we possess of the country, although it marches with British India for some 500 miles. This is chiefly due to the strong prejudice of the people against Europeans travelling in their

country, a prejudice which has evoked the strict regulations and prohibitions enforced by even the most enlightened rulers of the country. We can trace this feeling back at least to the time of the consolidation of the many hill states into a single kingdom under the "House of Gorkha", as Buchanan Hamilton appropriately named it. Prior to that, foreigners seem to have been under less restraint, as we know that Jesuit and Capuchin fathers and others had access to the country and passed backwards and forwards through it to Tibet. Since the treaty of Sagauli (1816), framed with characteristic foresight by the Marquess of Hastings, established our relations with Nepal upon a lasting basis, a representative of the British Government has always been stationed at Kāthmāndu. European visitors, however, have only been admitted within strictly defined limits. Ever since Bhim Sen Thapa took the reins of government into his hands more than a century ago, the kingdom has been practically ruled by the Prime Minister for the time being; and, fortunately for the country, that office has been held by a succession of men of outstanding ability, strength of character and breadth of view. General Bruce, in his discerning foreword, compares the system with the conditions pertaining in old Japan or in France under the Carolingians. Perhaps an even closer comparison may be drawn with the Rājas and Peshwas of the Marāṭhā empire during the last hundred years of its existence. Analogies also suggest themselves with Bhutān, with its Dharma Rāja, or spiritual head, and its Deb Rāja, the temporal ruler, and of Tibet with its Tashi and Dalai Lamas.

In Chapter IV Professor Turner gives a brief but suggestive account of the races and tribes met with and of the numerous languages and dialects spoken within the kingdom, about most of which our knowledge is still very defective. In no part of India are we faced with more problems of deep ethnological and linguistic interest. Let us hope that a continuance of the able and progressive administration by the Darbār,

which has already achieved remarkable advances in many directions, will also arouse interest in these subjects among the people themselves and call forth research workers capable of pursuing the inquiries so admirably begun nearly a century ago by that great scholar Brian Hodgson.

The authors, both of whom have served as Gurkha Rifles officers themselves, are specially competent to describe the soldier races of these hills. Major Northey has entered Nepal on several occasions, and Captain Morris, besides his professional knowledge, has already acquired distinction by his explorative work in more than one area of the higher Himalayas.

C. E. A. W. O.

BRITISH ROUTES TO INDIA. By HALFORD LANCASTER
HOSKINS. 8vo, pp. xvi + 494, 9 plates and 2 maps.
London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1928. 30s.

In this excellent treatise Professor Hoskins has given us a comprehensive history of the long continued efforts made to establish communication between India and England, alike by way of Egypt and by the Aleppo-Basra route. It is an interesting story of sustained endeavour, punctuated by failure, and succeeding at last, as regards the Egypt route, chiefly owing to the genius and untiring energy of Ferdinand de Lesseps. Probably what will attract most attention is the narrative of the fight over the concession for the Suez Canal, in which the English Foreign Office played an obstructive part. Incidentally much political history comes into the theme, particularly as to French schemes in Egypt and Russian intrigues in Turkey and Persia. So comprehensive is the author's plan that it includes somewhat detailed accounts of the survey work of the Bombay Marine, the capture of Aden, the development of the steamship, the extension of the European telegraph lines to India and the Far East,

and the organization of the postal system between India and the home country.

The book has some useful illustrations and a good index. In the very probable event of a second edition being called for, a few corrections will doubtless be made. On p. 33 "fears" is misprinted "feats"; on p. 34 Dundas is wrongly designated as Chairman of the East India Company, though his correct position is given ten pages later; John Henry Grose is called Sir Henry Grose in a note on p. 83; and the hoary error of "*Marquis of Wellesley*" appears on p. 90.

W. F.

EARLY ENGLISH INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA (1587-1743).

By Professor D. G. E. HALL, University of Rangoon.
Longmans, Green & Co., 1928.

A good book on this abstruse and difficult subject has long been wanted by researchers, and the new University of Rangoon has done well in publishing this one as its first publication, for it has been admirably put together and produced in exactly the right way. Professor Hall has gone throughout to the original sources, which he has dragged to light out of their hiding-places with a labour that has obviously been immense, and it is a blessing to think that such work has been done at last.

Professor Hall deals separately with eleven subjects relating to the efforts of the English to establish a trade with Burma in the seventeenth century, which practically all failed. The whole question has been hitherto obscure, and none of the efforts have been easy to follow. In some cases, indeed—e.g. the trouble at Negrais in 1686-7—one cannot be too grateful for the clearing up of difficulties. The whole book indeed is filled with information that will be new to most readers, and it may be noted that Professor Hall has the courage of the opinions he has formed as the

result of his own labours—witness Appendix II on the Alleged Existence of English Factories before 1647—in which he combats the ideas of all his predecessors. Altogether the book is a real advance in historical study in Burma.

R. C. TEMPLE.

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KALYANISIMA, PEGU. By C. O. BLAGDEN, with atlas of 24 plates. Epigraphia Birmanica, Archæological Survey of Burma. Rangoon: Government Press. 4s. 6d. and 7s. 6d.

Once again have the celebrated Kalyani Inscriptions been brought to public notice, and this time in a sumptuous though very cheap form. If I recollect rightly in 1892 Taw Sein Ko, then a young man, made some remarks in the *Indian Antiquary* on the inscriptions at the Kalyanisima, known to have been cut on ten stones—three in Pali and seven in Môn—with their bases *in situ*, in a suburb of Pegu town. About the same time the Government authorized me, as Archæological Officer, to arrange to set up the Pali stones again, so far as practicable. They were represented only by pieces, chiefly on the ground, and the work was eventually accomplished at the hands of enthusiastic officers of the Burma Public Works Department. The reason that the restoration was restricted to the Pali stones was that they could be read, and then the fragments could be replaced in appropriate positions just as they had originally stood; but Môn was then a little known language and it was impossible to restore the Môn stones in the same way. All the stones had been badly broken by deliberate iconoclasts, and much of the legends was lost, but fortunately their main subject was the consecration of a *simā*, or *thêng* as the modern Burmans call it—a place for ecclesiastical meetings and the performance of ordination and similar ceremonies. The consecration ceremony of such a place is so important therefore in Buddhist

eyes that the record of such ceremonies has never materially varied, and it was possible to place the fragments of the Kalyani stones in their proper position from the readings of the MSS. still in existence, so accurate had their reproduction through the centuries proved to be.

I may here remark on the advance during the last forty years that has been made in archæological surveys in the Indian Empire. About 1890 the Government of India resolved to look seriously into the antiquities of the country, and proceeded to direct the many local governments to appoint archæological officers. This they set to work to do each in its own way. Burma was then very poor after the Third Burmese War of 1885-9, and so that Government duly appointed myself to that post and Taw Sein Ko to help, but there were no office allowances whatever, and we were both otherwise busy administrative officials. Moreover, what work was done in the archæological field had to be performed at our own expense in such little leisure as we had, but now we find a survey department with full-time officials who are, I may say, most competent officers into the bargain. The first publication of the Kalyani Inscriptions fell to me in the *Indian Antiquary*, and Taw Sein Ko's all-important articles—good to the present day—on the Pali stones were the result. I am glad to note that Mr. Blagden has acknowledged the value they have been to him in the book under notice. It should be added that the once well-known archæologist, Dr. Forchhammer, who has long since passed away, was the first to notice the importance of these inscriptions and to take transcripts of their fragments.

Fortunately, also, the Kalyani stones bear a long introduction, which contains minutely dated historical, geographical, and ecclesiastical references of the highest value up to the point when the great Simâ was consecrated in exactly orthodox form in A.D. 1476. In this way, indeed, it will be seen that these inscriptions are of a value that can hardly be surpassed, and they are thus well worthy of all the research

that can be bestowed on their interpretation, and, it may be said, preservation also.

The Môn text, which is not a translation but a free paraphrase of the Pali—with in some cases entirely fresh matter—has now been dealt with by Mr. Blagden with his customary care, patience, and knowledge, with the help of another great Môn scholar, Mr. R. Halliday, and we may take it that we are in possession at last of a rendering that will last many a long day as authoritative, despite Mr. Blagden's feeling—that every researcher has—that there is much left undone. I would also draw attention to the very many invaluable footnotes that accompany nearly every page, making the whole work a mine of information on every kind of point—linguistic, textual, historical, geographical.

It is impossible in a mere book notice to review this remarkable work in the ordinary sense, and I therefore content myself with congratulating the author and his assistants on the scholarship which has produced it.

R. C. TEMPLE.

ORAOON RELIGION AND CUSTOMS. By SARAT CHANDRA ROY.
8½ × 5½, pp. xv, 418. Ranchi, 1928.

The memorable census of India of 1901, which led to the systematic ethnographic survey of the provinces and states of India by superintendents who had previously qualified for the task during the progress of the census, has produced results of permanent value. We have, on the one hand, the complete records of the tribes and castes of Bengal, Madras, Bombay, the North-West Provinces, and Central Provinces. Further, special works have been published on the tribes of Assam and Upper Burma. As the framer of the scheme which has produced such valuable results, the late Sir Herbert Risley is entitled to the gratitude of anthropologists. As a sequel to these, this new work of Sarat Chandra Roy is to be commended to students as an excellent and detailed study of the

primitive tribe of Chota Nagpur, known as the Orāons. Though they have not remained unaffected by contact with Hinduism and more recent religious influences, the Orāons display all the primitive characteristics with which students are so familiar in other parts of India.

Among them we find the survival of totemism, the spirit-scaring rites, the precautions for warding off the evil eye, ancestor worship, fertility rites, and tree-marriages which are common to all primitive tribes.

Colonel Hodson, in a brief introduction, pays full tribute to the importance of Sarat Chandra Roy's work, and the learning and ability which he has brought to his task. Within the limits of space permissible for this brief notice, it is only possible to enumerate a few of the more striking points which deserve the attention of the reader of the work. Ancestor worship among the Orāons is known as the cult of the *Pachbalar*. The author, who gives several different spellings of this word, might consider the connection between the *Panchpalava* and *Pachbalar*, as well as Crooke's *Pachbala* or fivefold sacrifice. The *Panchpalava*, or fivefold leaf totem godling of Western India, seems to be a form of the Orāon *Pachbalar*. The prohibition on marriage between families with the same totem is a common feature of early tribes in India. In this case it is supplemented by less familiar prohibitions on marriage between milk-relations, meaning apparently foster children of one mother, and between the families of boys who have entered into a ceremonial friendship with one another (p. 140). Eldest sons may not be married to girls who are eldest daughters. Tanks, wells, fruit-trees, and gardens are married before their fish, water, or fruit may be used. This, as the author remarks, is a practice not confined to the Orāons, though in their case the rites seem to be more than usually elaborate. The work contains some valuable corrections of the work of previous observers, such as Father Dehon and Dalton, to whom we are indebted for much of our information on this subject.

In warmly congratulating Sarat Chandra Roy on the valuable new light he has thrown on Orāon practices and beliefs in this interesting work, it may be permissible to suggest the desirability of more careful proof correction in subsequent editions of the book. On p. 109, for example, no less than four printer's errors have been overlooked, i.e. sorcerer, *urld*, hamful, and nail-pairing; and these are numerous throughout the book.

R. E. E.

THE PEOPLE OF TIBET. By SIR CHARLES BELL, K.C.I.E., C.M.G. pp. xix + 319, illustrations and 3 maps. Oxford University Press. London: Milford. 1928. 21s. net.

Sir Charles Bell in his latest work presents the most detailed and complete picture of the secular life of the people of Central Tibet yet given us. And, when we say this, we do not undervalue the recent contributions of competent European observers, such as Dr. McGovern and Mme David-Neel and of Tibetans themselves in *We Tibetans* by Rin-chen Lha-mo (Mrs. L. King) and in a *Tibetan on Tibet* (G. A. Combe), or forget the earlier authorities, among whom may be named Rockhill, Sarat Chandra Das, and Ekai Kawaguchi.

What impresses the reader most is the author's intimate understanding of and complete sympathy with the people, whose mode of life, habits, and mentality are so vividly portrayed in these pages. Racial weaknesses and, to the Western reader, strange customs, which other writers have unduly emphasized or condemned, are here set forth with a kindly moderation and in true perspective. We are told by an independent observer that Sir Charles "aimed at securing their (the Tibetans') sympathy and friendship", and that "his extraordinary regard for Tibetan susceptibilities worked wonders". For instance, when in Tibet, he abstained from food and practices of which the inhabitants disapproved, such as fish, chicken, the use of tobacco, shooting, and fishing.

This attitude and his command of the formidable colloquial secured for him the confidence of and the most friendly relations with all classes during his twenty years or so of service among Tibetans on both sides of the border.

By a free use of personal reminiscence, proverb, and quotation from native literary works he conveys to the reader in an easy, simple, and lucid manner a wealth of information on the everyday habits and customs of nomads, peasants, nobles, traders, beggars, and even robbers, on the position and occupations of women, on marriage, children, food, drinking, smoking, etiquette, amusements, and funeral rites. Here and there, as is inevitable, occurs some information on religious matters. For, as we are told, "religion lies deep down in the hearts of the Tibetans", and in few other countries can its influence be so strong in the political, social, and domestic spheres, but the author has wisely excluded the religious life as such from his survey in order to treat the secular life more fully.

Two brief introductory chapters adequately describe the physical features and outline the history of the country. The plate, *The Mountain Masses of Tibet*, well suggests its general configuration. But in place of the two general maps we should prefer a physical map on a larger scale of the region dealt with, that is the central provinces of Ü-Tsang, with the Himalayan countries south of the Indo-Tibetan border, Sikkim, Kalimpong, Darjeeling, and western Bhutan. On p. 5 the west Tibetan countries of Ladakh and Lahul (now politically outside Tibet) are inaccurately spoken of as in southern Tibet. One might supplement the remarks on p. 4 and pp. 110-11 as to the undeveloped mineral wealth of Tibet by direct mention of the long exploited shallow gold mines at Thok Ja-lung in the north-west Chang Tang (v. p. 22 *Tibet, Past and Present*). Can it be that the native legend that Tibet was "formerly all under a sea" somehow recalls a dim memory of the Tethys ocean that long ago covered central Asia? The belief that in old days

precipitation was greater and trees more plentiful than now seems well founded.

As we read on, we gradually realize the blend of qualities which constitute the Tibetan character. Religious, superstitious, stolid, and industrious, where there is work to do, the peasant is curious, light-hearted, and fond of society and recreation. Inclined to be independent and democratic, he defers to his superior, be he feudal noble, official, or ecclesiastic. He is enduring and patient rather than actively brave in war, unlike his martial ancestors of the seventh and eighth centuries, who subdued much of China, central Asia, and north India, and in whose time the Bay of Bengal was known as the Tibetan sea. Nowadays the nobles strongly dislike a military career. The up-to-date Commander-in-Chief, Tsa-rong Shap-pe, for instance, is not a member of one of the great noble families. Of course, in different regions, the people display varying qualities. We hear of the stupidity of the Pem-po and the bravery of the Kam-pas, who are also notoriously treacherous, or, as the proverb runs, "have not the long-tailed monkey's tail."

In the high steppes we are introduced to the simple and hardy pastoral folk, "probably the purest specimens of the race," whose countless flocks and herds yield products essential to the domestic economy of all classes. It is their wool, the export of which makes possible the import of foreign goods, such as silk, cotton, and woollen stuffs and tea. As in Burma, there is a prejudice against drinking milk, which is converted either into cheese or the butter that is consumed in enormous quantities, and, preferably in a quite rancid state, in tea, and is also used in temples. Only a few of the stricter lamas entirely abstain from animal food. While among the upper classes elaborate Chinese dishes are popular, the common people, in addition to their parched barley or *tsam-ba*, readily eat mutton and yak's meat raw, putrescent, or putrid, often four or five years old. So the Buddhist precept against taking life is seldom observed in the cold climate of Tibet,

and reasons for departing from it are, we are told, easily found. We hear that in the dry cold air grain has kept good in granaries for several hundred years. A Tibetan thinks nothing of drinking forty or fifty cups of tea a day, and may reach eighty. The weak barley beer he takes freely. As Sir Charles was told, "there is no sustained work without tea or beer," and again in archery contests, "Beer must be drunk . . . otherwise the shoulder shakes and the arrow does not go hot to the target."

There is in Tibet and Bhutan an official and religious ban on the "use of the evil, stinking, poisonous weed, tobacco," though snuff is taken. Unlike the American Indian belief, that of all offerings tobacco appeases the gods most, "the spirits of Tibet dislike the smell." In British territory cigarette smoking by Tibetans is lamentably heavy and, even in Lhasa, is often indulged in on the quiet. Dr. McGovern writes that the Commander-in-Chief smokes a pipe in his house at Lhasa. The same gentleman gave Sir Charles a private cinema performance. We also hear of other modernist tendencies creeping in and intruding upon the medievalism of Tibet.

While it is difficult to select out of so many pages all full of interest, we may, perhaps, mention the description of the still important medieval feudal nobility, which with the monastic body, fills the high government posts, and the chapters on women and their position, as amongst the most valuable and containing facts not to be readily found elsewhere. The author's official position, and his friendship with several Lhasa nobles and social intercourse with them in their town and country homes gave him unusual opportunities for inside observation. The exceptionally high status and capability of women, which other writers have remarked on, are duly emphasized at some length. Women's importance is to some extent due to polyandry, which is followed to a varying degree in different parts.

In connection with the remarks in chapter xix on names, we should have welcomed any light on the use of *rus-pa*,

or clan names in central Tibet. Long ago Sir James Lyall drew attention to them in Spi-ti, where some thirty-five or so are known. Among them occurs Do-ring-pa, the name of the noble Lhasa family. Research would probably show that many clan names occur throughout Tibet, and are not merely local. The author writes Tibetan words in a simplified phonetic form representing the Lhasan pronunciation for the benefit of the general reader, but also at times gives the Tibetan equivalent in the footnotes. The book is copiously illustrated, mostly with the author's own excellent photographs, and is well indexed. Two appendices deal with the unit of land taxation and the income from the large government Ser-chok estate at Gyangtse.

With this indication of the subject matter, we leave the reader under Sir Charles Bell's sure guidance to explore the highways and byways of Tibetan life.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

UNE GRAMMAIRE TIBÉTAINE DU TIBÉTAIN CLASSIQUE.
LES ŚLOKAS GRAMMATICAX DE THONMI SAMBHOṬA,
avec leurs commentaires, traduits du Tibétain et annotés
par JACQUES BACOT (Ministère de l'Instruction Publique
et des Beaux Arts. Annales du Musée Guimet,
Bibliothèque d'Études—Tome Trente-Septième). 10×7,
pp. 232 + 8 plates. Paris: Geuthner.

This is a work of the highest importance for Tibetan studies, and is produced with all the care and knowledge which we are entitled to expect from a scholar of the high attainments of M. Bacot.

Thonmi Sambhoṭa is the greatest figure in the history of the Tibetan language; not only did he write its first grammar, but it is probable that it was he alone who made the language of his rude mountaineer ancestors a fit medium for the expression of one of the most intricate and difficult religious philosophies that the world has ever produced.

To what extent he simply codified the rules of an existing language and to what extent he created a purely artificial language is still, and perhaps will always remain, uncertain, but there can be little doubt that his contribution was a considerable one. Moreover, his work is the foundation on which all subsequent native grammarians have built. We are therefore greatly indebted to M. Bacot for having produced an *editio princeps* which is at the same time a definitive edition of this work and its principal commentary.

At the same time, it would be a mistake to regard this work as a suitable introduction to the language for European students. As M. Bacot himself says, it was written by a Tibetan for Tibetans, and is, therefore, rather an exposition of the mechanism of the language for those who already know it than an introduction to the language for those who do not. M. Bacot has endeavoured to a certain extent to mould it to the latter purpose, particularly in his "Conclusion. Éléments et mécanisme du Tibétain Littéraire", and it is a great pity that this was not put at the beginning instead of the end of the book and that a number of summarized statements which are scattered through the book, were not inserted in it. The student would then have had a corpus of information at the beginning to which he could refer back; as it is, he is almost compelled to construct such a corpus for himself as he goes along, and the result is that he has to read the book two or three times before the light finally dawns on him. There is a further difficulty in the fact that Thoñmi Sambhoṭa attempted somewhat unsuccessfully to fit the language to the Procrustean bed of Indian grammatical science. This makes the work much harder for a European to understand, but that, of course, is not M. Bacot's fault.

One further small criticism. The book, at 200 francs, is unnecessarily expensive. The whole text of the *ślokas* and commentary is printed in Tibetan characters, with interlinear transliteration; the *ślokas* themselves are printed again separately in Tibetan characters and transliteration; and

finally there is a phototype reproduction of the whole MS. In the translation of the *ślokas* and commentary the grammatical examples are printed in Tibetan characters without transliteration. This lavishness was really unnecessary. It would have been quite reasonable to dispense with the phototype reproduction, or to confine it to a single specimen plate. After all, no one is going to challenge M. Bacot's transcription of the original.

Then the transliteration of the text of the *ślokas* and commentary, which will only be consulted by advanced students, might have been omitted as superfluous, the *ślokas* themselves being repeated in transliteration only.

On the other hand, the grammatical examples, which the beginner must read, might well have been in transliteration.

All these measures would have reduced the cost of the work, and would therefore, as is evidenced by the resolutions of the last International Congress of Orientalists, have been welcomed by the mass of students, who, after all, are the people who have got to pay.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

THE YEAR BOOK OF JAPANESE ART, 1927. Published by the National Committee of Japan on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations Association. First Annual Issue. Printed in Japan. Price: yen 8.00.

In an English Preface Mr. Saburo Yamada, the Chairman of the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation, gives the genesis of this publication, which marks an era in Japanese evolution and describes how the work, first written in Japanese, has been translated article by article into English; how the Committee debated for a long time as to whether the French or English language should be used, and as to whether the translation should be published by the Committee itself or be given to a foreign publisher.

As the book is primarily "informative", not literary, a discussion of its subject matter is essential. The nineteen chapter headings clearly indicate its scope: 1, Introduction; 2, National Treasures and Buildings under Special Protection; 3, Art Museums; 4, Shoso-in Repository; 5, The Imperial Fine Arts Academy and Artists to the Imperial Household; 6, Imperial Fine Arts Academy Exhibitions; 7, Exhibitions held by the Institute of Japanese Art; 8, Nikakai Art Exhibitions; 9, Other Exhibitions; 10, Exhibitions of Ancient Art; 11, Exhibition of Famous Works of Art of the Meiji and Taisho Eras; 12, Western Art Exhibitions; 13, Principal Buildings; 14, The Principal Schools and Institutes of Fine Art in Japan; 15, Art Organizations; 16, Auction Sales of Works of Art; 17, The Study of Art in Japan; 18, Illustrated Catalogues of Exhibitions and Other Reproductions of Works of Art; 19, Directory of Artists and Art Workers.

In addition to these, which are most ably written, there is a delightful Appendix in the shape of an essay by that great critic of Oriental art, Professor Sei-ichi Taki: a "Survey of Japanese Painting during the Meiji and Taishō Eras". This is followed by 120 plates, being reproductions of the pictures shown at the Exhibition of Famous Works of these same periods.

The binding and end papers are charming, and the volume is of extraordinary interest as a document treating the earnest attempt made by Japanese artists and men of learning to synthesize and fuse the apparently contradictory arts of East and West.

Professor Sei-ichi Taki ends his essay with the words: "In what direction then should be the aim of Japanese painting in our present generation? I would answer that Subjectivism must be given a more important place in our art. Yet by this I do not mean the mere revival of the time-worn school of *Bunjin-gwa* itself nor the blind imitation of the European Expressionism, but the adoption rather of the

best elements of Idealism, Naturalism, and *Æsthetic Formalism* which have hitherto influenced our fine arts, besides the free harmonious employment of these principles on a broader basis. This is quite other than narrow individualism. We should remember that a great personality must underlie each work produced according to these principles."

FLORENCE AYS COUGH.

ARCHAIC CHINESE JADES. Collected in China by A. W. BAHR. Now in Field Museum of Natural History, Chicago. Described by BERTHOLD LAUFER. 36 plates, 3 of which are coloured. New York: Privately printed for A. W. Bahr, 1927.

This beautiful little volume is from the Lakeside Press, Chicago, and contains within its slim covers much of deep interest to students of art and archæology. In a short Preface Mr. Bahr explains that during a visit to China in 1926, he was enabled, by the disturbed conditions then prevailing, to add to his already comprehensive collection of jade "hitherto unobtainable specimens from famous private collections, as well as jades from the recent excavations in Ho-nan".

Among these specimens are a number from the collection of Wu Ta-ch'êng, whose study of ancient jades, the *Ku Yü T'u Kao* published in 1889, is the most recent and most valuable contribution to the subject, which indeed served as the basis of Dr. Laufer's well-known volume on the subject. Dr. Laufer, who has made the subject of Chinese Jades peculiarly his own, treats these and the other specimens collected by Mr. Bahr in a series of illuminating notes and an exceedingly interesting Introduction. The jades described have passed into the possession of the Field Museum, Chicago, which now owns about a thousand pieces, of all

ages, the archaic jades being especially well represented. The little monograph is a valuable addition to the literature on a subject of vital interest to every student of Far Eastern art.

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

DRAGONS ET GENIES. Contes Rares et Récits Légendaires inédits recueillis oralement au pays d'Annam et traduits par E. Langlet. Librairie Orientaliste, Paul Geuthner, 31 Rue Jacob, Paris VI^e, 1928.

Monsieur Langlet has made a sympathetic study of the people among whom he has lived and, as he says in the charming letter to his friend Hoang Ngoc Hué, with which the book opens, has found that a simple unquestioning acceptance on his part of the principles of magic has had a remarkable result. The people have gladly told him their tales, and have freely discussed the local legends which have been transmitted from generation to generation. He concludes his "avant-propos" with words which are equally applicable to the vast country which stretches to the North and East of Annam:—

"Ce passé était hier encore voisin du présent. Il s'en éloigne maintenant à grands pas et d'autant plus vite que, sous notre impulsion, des idées modernes, des besoins nouveaux ont fait entrevoir à l'Annamite des horizons insoupçonnés jadis.

"A notre suite, il s'est précipité vers un avenir qu'il suppose meilleur; si cette évolution est trop rapide, il est à craindre qu'il perde trop vite le contact avec le passé et qu'il oublie trop tôt les quelque vingt siècles de morale au cours desquels il avait pris le meilleur de ses qualités."

FLORENCE AYSCOUGH.

LES JOYAUX DE L'ORIENT. Tome ii. Les poèmes érotiques ou ghazels de Chems ed Din Mohammed Hâfiz en calque rythmique et avec rime à la persane, accompagnés d'une introduction et de notes d'après le commentaire de Soudi. Par ARTHUR GUY. Tome premier. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1927.

Hafiz in French is almost a novelty. There are versions of a few odes by Defrémery (1858), and Nicolas (1898), but very little else ; for when M. Guy writes (Introduction, p. xxxvii) : " il paraît que Sir William Jones, qui a traduit Hâfiz en vers anglais, a aussi publié, en 1799, une traduction française," he does the English orientalist too much honour. The ghazels translated by Sir W. Jones into either language were but a handful, picked here and there ; the ten which he turned into French prose and verse will be found in his *Traité sur la poésie orientale* (*Works*, 1807, vol. xii, pp. 220-70). French readers, therefore, should welcome the present volume, which comprises the first instalment (*Odes* 1-175) of a complete translation of the *Divân*.

Like Walter Leaf in his *Versions from Hafiz*, M. Guy has endeavoured to reproduce not only the meaning of the original poems, but also their form (metre and monorhyme). Notwithstanding these extremely difficult conditions, his version is as faithful as can reasonably be expected of a translator in verse, and often unites lucidity with elegance, though in a manner that fails to suggest, as Gertrude Bell's free renderings certainly do suggest, that Hafiz is a great poet. While giving M. Guy full credit for his ingenuity and resource in surmounting self-imposed obstacles, we may doubt whether the game is worth the candle, when in the translation of a single ode (No. VI) we find two forced allusions to Greek mythology—" l'Aimé rival d'Aréthuse " for *آن یار آشنارا* and " les lèvres des muses " for *قبة العذارا*. Trifling as such things are, they show the weakness of a method which requires the translator to concentrate his energies on formal imitation.

The complete translation in German verse by Rosenzweig (1858), is less one-sided and still remains the best that has appeared in a European language.

M. Guy has some excellent remarks on the style of Hafiz, his use of symbolism, and the essential character of his poetry. "Ces peintures de la passion pour la coupe ou l'aimé sont dépourvues de toute recherche d'effet sensuel. L'action est dans la pensée. Les détails matériels nécessaires pour la soutenir, les images dont tout poète a besoin pour réaliser ses créations, les vêtements d'idées sont en petit nombre, impersonnels, et font figure de symboles. Les mêmes expressions, les mêmes groupes de noms et épithètes reviennent constamment et on se rend bien compte que Hâfiz ne veut pas décrire des émotions, des états de l'esprit et du cœur en association avec les sens, et encore moins de pures sensations, mais qu'il veut plutôt évoquer des idées, des idées générales, immatérielles, transcendantes. Oui, les coupes circulent en imagination, le vin coule à plots, l'ivresse règne dans l'esprit." This is the Persian interpretation of Hafiz, and probably it is the true one.

A miniature in Brit. Mus. Add. 7468, representing Hafiz with his patron Shâh Abû Ishâq, which is also reproduced in Professor Browne's *Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion*, provides the frontispiece to a well printed and attractive volume.

R. A. N.

AS-SUYUTĪ'S WHO'S WHO IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

Nazm ul-'Iqyân fi A'yân-il-A'yân. Edited by PHILIP K. HITTİ, Ph.D. New York: Syrian-American Press, 1927.

By discovering and editing this work of Suyûtî, Professor Hitti has added a minor, but not unimportant, item to the long list of Muslim biographical dictionaries. It contains two hundred articles very unequal in length and value.

About half of it is devoted to persons whose names begin with the letter *alif*, but from that point its hitherto respectable figure rapidly *desinit in piscem*. Still, it is a source, if not a mine, of new information, since the author chiefly writes of contemporaries, some of whom were personally known to him; one of these is his own father. Egypt and Syria supply most of the material; theologians, jurists, and scholars preponderate; there are also sultans and kings, including Sháhrukh (who is dismissed in three lines); and a few notable women.

The text is based on a Cairo MS. dated 1097 A.H., belonging to Aḥmad Taymúr Pasha, of which the Beyrout MS. (Professor Hitti's) is an inaccurate copy. The only other known MS., that of Leiden, entitled *اعيان الاعيان وابناء الزمان*, was transcribed in 974 A.H.; it seems to have been the original of the Cairo MS., but the editor regards the latter as more correct. He has taken great pains to improve it by consulting the *Daw' al-Lámi'* of Sakháwí, which covers the same period, and many other biographical works. In his Arabic preface, after having dealt fully with textual questions, he gives an admirable sketch of Suyúṭí's life and character. Students will be grateful for the index of all the book-titles mentioned in the text, but why is there no index of persons, not even of the two hundred who receive particular notice? It would have saved trouble, as of course they are arranged in the alphabetical order of their "Christian" names, and these are often much less familiar than their surnames or patronymics. The appearance of the Arabic print composed on the linotype is likely to commend that process to publishers of Oriental texts.

R. A. N.

ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES. By Professor A. V. WILLIAMS-JACKSON. (Colombia University Indo-Iranian Series, Vol. xii.) xxxiii + 325 pp. New York: Humphrey Milford, Colombia University Press. 20s.

"When this, my famous tale, was done at last
O'er all the realm my reputation past
All men of prudence rede and Faith shall give
Applause to me when I have ceased to live
Yet live I shall, the seeds of words have I
Flung broadcast, and henceforth I shall not die."

With these words¹ Firdausi ended the Shah-namah, and they are a fitting preface to a review of the present work, in which Professor Williams-Jackson marshals and summarizes rather than develops, the conclusions which he has reached during a lifelong study of the earliest and the most spiritual of organized Eastern religions.

It is a book which has long been needed, and is particularly welcome to-day, when signs are not lacking that the prestige of the orthodox Islamic faith is waning in Persia, and that the younger generation of educated men is showing an interest, if only sentimental, in the older faith. In this connection it may be mentioned that in a recent lithograph, widely circulated all over Persia, to celebrate the coronation of Riza Shah, Iran is depicted as a damsel reclining on the waters of the Gulf and leaning on the Shah, on whom shines the sun; in the background are Zoroaster, Cyrus, Hushang, and other great figures of the past, but there is no Islamic figure nor even symbol, though the Shiahs of Persia are not averse to painting Muhammad or Ali.

It is impossible within the compass of a brief review to do justice to the ripe scholarship, the conscientious citation of authorities, and the orderly presentation of ascertained fact and accepted theory which characterize this volume.

¹ A. G. & E. Warner. The Shahnamah of Firdausi, 9 Vols. 1925. Professor Jackson in his bibliography does not refer to this most scholarly and delightful translation.

Of pre-Zoroastrian religion he has little to say, bidding us, in a footnote, await a book on the subject by L. H. Gray, now in press. Of the two later stages in the Iranian faith, viz. the Zoroastrian revelation and the post-Zoroastrian evolution, Professor Williams-Jackson gives us a closely documented and clearly reasoned study. A careful examination of "Zoroastrianism as a faith" (ch. iv) leads him to the conclusion that "Dualism is a characteristic feature of Zoroaster's creed. Whatever may have suggested it, the teaching of this doctrine, in its fullest sense, is doubtless a product of his own insight". If an unlearned layman may presume, however diffidently, to offer a criticism, the present reviewer would venture to suggest that the dualism of Zoroaster is perhaps less distinctive than is here suggested, and was probably an essential element in pre-Zoroastrian beliefs, as Professor Jackson admits (p. 30), and probably of pre-Zoroastrian teaching. "The tree of knowledge of good and evil" is mentioned in the opening chapter of Genesis, and some form of dualism is suggested in the appeal of the doleful breviaries of Nippur to the beneficent mother goddess to appease the angry spirit of the wrathful gods. (*Cambridge Ancient History*, vol. i, p. 443.)

He mentions (p. 33) that the faith of modern Parsees resembles Christianity in more than one respect, but attempts no comparison. Perhaps the most notable difference is the absence of any trace of the idea of atonement: it is likewise absent from the tenets of Sunni orthodoxy, but not from those of the Shiah schism. The Imam Husain has a place in the affections of Shiah Persia that has no parallel outside the Christian communion. He is at once their sacrifice and their saviour, and is by them exalted above the Prophet himself. It is a curious fact that in accepting Islam, Persians should have emphasized, with such passionate devotion, an aspect of religion which is alike foreign to Islam and to the religion of Zoroaster, which has affected so profoundly the national outlook in religious matters.

If Professor Williams-Jackson can bring himself to compress the substance of his conclusions, so skilfully and attractively set forth in this book, within the compass of a hundred pages or so, and procure its translation into Persian by competent hands, it is the reviewer's belief that it would command a ready sale in Persia, where it would meet a real need.

Oriental scholarship has long flowered in the college cloisters of Europe and more recently, but not less brilliantly, in those of the United States of America. The most urgent need of to-day is to find some means whereby the seeds of learning may be transported to their ancient homes, to burgeon more brilliantly and to bring forth yet more abundantly. Thus only may Europe repay the debt which it owes to the birth-places of civilization.

A. T. WILSON.

THE ARAMAIC OF THE OLD TESTAMENT: A Grammatical and Lexical Study of its Relations with other early Aramaic Dialects. By H. H. ROWLEY. pp. xiv + 161, 8vo. London, Humphrey Milford: Oxford University Press, 1929. 10s. 6d.

In this book we have a careful investigation into the philological character of the Aramaic texts of the Old Testament, covering the chapters in Daniel, Ezra, and Nehemiah. The author has spent intermittently thirteen years on the study of these texts. To this purpose he has collected the whole material extant in Aramaic, inscriptions from Babylon and Zinjerli, Palmyrene and Nabatene inscriptions, and above all the Papyri of Assuan. He has then subjected every word and phrase in the O.T. texts to a minute examination, and he has compared them carefully one by one with all the other monuments mentioned. The result is a very remarkable one. The author comes to the conclusion that the Aramaic texts in the O.T. are neither of Babylonian character or origin, nor are they contemporary

with the persons to whom they are attributed. From the linguistic point of view they are, on the contrary, of Palestinian origin. They are later in date than the Papyri of Assuan, but older than the other Aramaic monuments. He believes that they belong probably to the fourth century, and occasionally he speaks of them in a more doubtful way, making them either a little older or a little more recent.

There is, however, a flaw in these conclusions. All the other monuments which the author cites have not passed through the hands of any copyist, and therefore are not likely to have undergone any change at the hand of the latter. They have been preserved in the very form in which they had been written or inscribed. Not so with the documents in the O.T. It would have been a miracle if the scribes who copied them in Palestine, and introduced them among the Sacred Scriptures, should not have changed involuntarily or unconsciously the original Babylonian character into one more familiar. And even so, in spite of the care taken by the scribes of the O.T. the manuscripts of the Bible vary considerably, both in words and vocalization. This can best be seen by the constant changes and alterations in the various editions of these very texts published by Strack. The genuineness and high antiquity of these documents is, however, not affected by these results. On the other hand, the fact that these texts, in the form in which they have come down to us, may belong to the fourth or fifth century B.C.E., proves that the Book of Daniel is anterior to the Hellenizing period after the conquest of Alexander. This may affect also the date of the Oracle in the last chapters of Daniel, although they are found now in Hebrew. Mr. Rowley has rendered a signal service to the student of Aramaic texts. This book, moreover, is a very valuable contribution to the comparative study of Aramaic.

M. GASTER.

GOTTHELF BERGSTRÄSSER EINFÜHRUNG IN DIE SEMITISCHEN SPRACHEN. SPRACHPROBEN UND GRAMMATISCHE SKIZZEN. MAX HUEBER VERLAG. pp. xv + 192, 8vo. Munchen, 1928. 16s. 3d.

The author of this book has had an excellent idea. There can be no better help to the beginner than to place in his hands a series of texts from all the Semitic languages, in careful transliteration in Latin type, with the literal translation side by side, such as given in this book. We have here specimens from Akkadian (i.e. Babylonian, mostly from the Hammurabi Code), Hebrew, Aramaic, South Arabian-Ethiopic and North Arabian, with numerous sub-dialects. The author uses a strictly scientific system of transliteration, and endeavours to reproduce as exactly as possible the original consonants and vowels. At the head of each text there is a short explanatory introduction; then there are some grammatical notes; and the book finishes with a list of words common to all the Semitic languages. On the one hand, one sees at a glance the peculiar character in which each word appears, and on the other, in their totality these words may assist in the reconstruction of primitive Semitic culture. This is practically what the author describes in the first chapter as Primitive Semitic culture. In spite of the care bestowed upon the transliteration, one cannot suppress some doubts as to whether the author has not been misled in one case or another, so e.g. the Hebrew text on p. 48, "according to Babylonian punctuation." The author assumes that there is no "raphe" pronunciation, and transliterates the letters as "k" and "p", where there is no justification for it. In that system there is indeed no separate sign for Pataḥ and Segol, but it is doubtful whether the vowel thus represented is a full "a". Turning to the Mandaean, the author has only given letter for letter in his transliteration. But the Mandaean is not pronounced in the way in which it is written, e.g. "g" is often read like "kh"; nor are the vowels clearly distinguished in the pronunciation. It might, therefore,

have been advisable if the author had drawn the attention of the student to these difficulties and the doubts in the pronunciation which Semitic texts in general offer to the student.

M. GASTER.

KITAB ZAINU'L-AKHBAR. Composed by ABU SA'ID 'ABDU'L-HAYY B. AD-DAHHAK B. MAHMUD GARDIZI about A.H. 440. Edited by MUHAMMAD NAZIM, M.A., Ph.D. (Cantab.), Muslim University Aligarh. E. G. Browne Memorial Series, 1. Orientalischer Zeitschriftenverlag Irschähr, Berlin, 1928.

The edition of this Persian text inaugurates a series to be published in memory of the late Professor E. G. Browne. Oddly enough, in Professor Browne's *Literary History of Persia*, Gardízi's *zayn al-akhbár* is not mentioned. Yet it is one of the very earliest modern Persian prose works that have survived, and at the same time is of considerable historical importance. Thus Professor Barthold, who has published extracts from it in the Russian edition of his *Turkestan*, writes that it "must be considered as the chief source for the study of the history of Khurásán down to the end of and including the Samanid period". The whole work, as extant, includes chapters on ancient Persian history, on the caliphs and other Moslem rulers, on the Greeks, on chronology and the feast-days of various nations, on the Turks and on India, as well as that now published. This consists of the history of Khurásán from the appointment of Táhír ibn al-Husayn as governor down to the author's own times (i.e. from early in the third to early in the fifth century A.H.). It is really divided into two parts, as Gardízi himself indicates. The first is that mentioned by Professor Barthold, which the author compiled from previous histories; the second deals with the reigns of Maḥmúd and Mas'úd of Ghazneh, which he was able to describe as a contemporary. Both are equally valuable,

since the sources for the first are for the most part lost to us. Throughout, however, as the editor remarks, Gardízi cuts down his narrative to the barest essentials. Indeed, his statements are often so bald as to be inexplicable without comparison with other authorities. Perhaps the book's chief merit lies in the plentiful supply it affords us of names and dates.

The editor has had the baffling task of working on what is virtually a single manuscript; for although of the *zayn al-akhbár* two codices are known to exist, the Oxford codex is no more than a copy of the Cambridge. Consequently many passages remain obscure. The editor often supplies interpretations—his own and Professor Barthold's—with numerous historical references, which, he complains, lack of space has forbidden him to multiply. He also elucidates the narrative with well-judged amplifications, distinguished by square brackets.

In the circumstances, it is no wonder if he has mistaken the meaning of some passages. On p. 22, for example, he takes *páris-i buzurg* to be a place-name (as appears from the index). But I think that the words (whatever the sentence may mean) must refer to the chamberlain called by Ibn al-Athír *báris al-kabír*, especially since on p. 35 a certain Ahmad is described as "the brother of Páris". On p. 36, on the other hand, in a highly confused passage, he takes *zhásht ja'far* as a man's name (placing it, however, under *jím* in the index), whereas I would read *amír-i rásht, ja'far* . . . Rásht (mis-spelt Zhásht?) being the known name of an appropriate province. Apart from questions of interpretation, the Persian text seems correct. The English introduction, however, perhaps owing to its printing in Germany, is not free from misprints.

At the beginning and at the end of the text the editor supplies a list of chapter headings of the remaining extant portions of the *zayn al-akhbár* as they precede or follow the part now edited. He hopes soon to publish them as well.

It is a pity that no indication is given of the aims and constitution of the Memorial Fund. But its existence is welcome; and its trustees are to be congratulated on choosing for their first publication a valuable and hitherto almost inaccessible work.

HAROLD BOWEN.

THE FORGOTTEN RULERS (JASTANIDS, KANKARIDS, AND SALARIDS). By S. A. KASRAWI TABRIZI. Vol. I. Teheran, 1928.

This is the first part of a work that may extend to as many as seven parts, of which three have already been composed. The author's aim is to rescue from oblivion the history of some of the earliest of the hundred-odd post-Islamic Persian dynasties that are ignored in the works of such authors as Ḥamd Allah and Mīr-Khwānd, and thereby to illustrate the revolt of the Persians during the third and fourth centuries of the Hegira against Arab domination.

In this part he deals with three Daylamite dynasties, the Jastánids, the Kangarids,¹ and the Sálárids; the second part is to be devoted to the Rawwádids of Adharbáyjān; and the third to the Shaddádids of Arrán. As a basis for his work, the author has used two manuscripts unearthed by a friend in a Teheran library. The first is a codex of Ibn Isfandiyár's *History of Ṭabaristán*, complete but for a few pages missing at the beginning, and free of the many gaps that (as our author claims) mar and frequently render misleading all other known copies, as well as E. G. Browne's translation. The second is a work that was supposed to be no longer extant: the *ta'rikh-i rúyán* of Mawláná Awliyá Allah. But he also gathers information from numerous printed sources, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, and Turkish. He has evidently expended great pains on research, and has ingeniously combined the results into a clear and persuasive narrative.

¹ So spelt in the Persian text, though the English title-page has Kankarids.

The three dynasties with which the present volume is concerned have all been dealt with repeatedly by European Orientalists. The author alludes to their studies, but refrains explicitly from criticizing them for the present. This is somewhat to be regretted, since in many instances his conclusions, based on these newly discovered texts, differ from theirs—though exactly how far only a detailed comparison, of course, could show. The author's most noticeable innovation is the separation of the two latter dynasties, which have hitherto been treated as one (by Justi as Wahsūdāniden, by Huart as Mosāfirides, by Sachau, Ross, and Vasmer, as Banū Sallār or Sallāriden). The Sálárids were an offshoot of the Kangarids; but since the two branches ruled in different places, and since the author is able to show that the name *kangari* was in contemporary use for the rulers of Tāram, his separation is justified historically as well as being convenient. The Rawwádids, with whom the second volume is to deal, being also of the same stock, have likewise been included hitherto in the Banū Sallār. A separate treatment can hardly fail to make their history clearer.

In a preface the author indicates his aims, and apologizes for the fact that what he would have liked to be the history of a popular movement has inevitably resolved itself into a dynastic chronicle. He then introduces the three houses with a description of Daylam, their place of origin. The volume is completed by genealogical tables, appendices, and an index. The present strong nationalist feeling of Persia is reflected not only in the author's aim but in his style; he has meticulously cleansed his vocabulary of all but indispensable Arabic words—without, however, any unpleasing effect of strain. Though he expresses himself dissatisfied with the production of this volume—he was even obliged to change presses mid-way—misprints, for instance, are not noticeable. Let us hope that the next instalment may soon appear.

HAROLD BOWEN.

SAID BIN SULTAN (1791-1856). Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar.

His place in the History of Arabia and East Africa.

By RUDOLPH SAID-RUETE. 10 × 6. With several illustrations. London: Alexander Ouseley, Ltd. 16s.

A considerable change has since the last century taken place in our ideas respecting the proper character of history. Our forefathers would have considered it vain to expect, and unreasonable to require, a strict and undeviating impartiality. They were content at best to set the prejudices of one side against the prejudices of the other, and to strike the balance between them. A man without opinions on matters of the greatest importance to his countrymen would have been reminded of the law of the Athenians, which forbade any man to be a mere spectator in the contests of his countrymen. Indeed, during the last two years, no less an authority than the Right Honourable Stanley Baldwin has publicly expressed his preference for historical works written with a definite and healthy bias; which alone can inspire a work with artistic unity and literary form.

The author of the present work derives his bias from the spirit of filial piety which informs his narrative, and has guided him in the selection from many sources of material for this memoir. His point of view is rather that of the subject of his book than that of a European observer writing almost a century later, and it is correspondingly of greater interest and value than the original sources on which he relies for his biography of his grandfather.

After reading Said-Ruete's lucid and well-documented account few will be found to disagree with Sir Richard Burton's verdict on Said bin Sultan, that he "was probably as shrewd, liberal, and enlightened a prince as Arabia ever produced": he deserves to rank in these respects with two other Arab princes, the late Shaikh Mubarak bin Sabah of Koweit, and Abdul Aziz ibn Abdul Rahman ibn Faisal al Saud—the present ruler of the greater part of Arabia. In the case of Said bin Sultan and Mubarak, environment and

external conditions beyond control imposed rigid limitations from which the fortunes of war and the follies of neighbours have enabled Ibn Saud to escape, with what results time alone can show.

A celebrated writer of the eighteenth century defines history as "Philosophy, teaching by examples". Accepting this definition, the present work is of peculiar historical value: it depicts an Arab ruler who combined diplomatic and strategical skill, qualities not uncommon in men of his nation, with the rarer gifts of commercial acumen and consistency of motives, plan and execution. It shows how he succeeded to the leadership of a congeries of weak and disunited tribes and left behind him a prosperous state, to which he had added an overseas dominion in Zanzibar, more valuable by far than the Kingdom of Oman. Though the journey to Zanzibar from Oman took as long as that from London to New Zealand does to-day, and could only be made twice a year, with the trade winds, Said bin Sultan contrived to hold both States, and to make both prosper. But for European intervention he might well have extended his domain to the interior of Africa, substituting a *pax arabica* for the then prevailing anarchy, much as Ibn Saud has done in the great tracts over which he holds sway. But Europe was too strong for Said bin Sultan, and bowing to the inevitable, he made treaties and co-operated with England in the suppression of the slave trade, made friends with the French (who did nothing whatever to discourage slavery), was polite to the representatives of the U.S.A., and other countries, which conferred on him numerous honorary distinctions, and played so skilful a game alike with Persia and with the Wahabis that he was able to retain in his hands extensive and lucrative leases on Persian territory, whilst preventing the Wahabi forces of Central Arabia from becoming a serious menace to Oman.

Said-Ruete has told us, in this work, little that is historically new, but he has told the tale with insight, freshness, and vigour. The Middle East may in the future, as in the past,

produce a virile race of statesmen and administrators, free from the shackles of "democratic" systems of government, the imposition of which upon Asiatic peoples may yet prove to be the greatest mistake ever committed in the name of civilization. To those students of Eastern affairs who hold this belief, this book will prove, as it has to the present reviewer, alike a stimulus and an inspiration.

A. T. W.

[NOTE.—By the kind permission of the author, members of the Society may obtain copies of this book at 12s. 6d., instead of the published price of 16s. Application to be made to the Secretary, Royal Asiatic Society.—EDITOR.]

KOṬAYYIR-ʿAZZA DĪWĀN ACCOMPAGNÉ D'UN COMMENTAIRE
ARABE ÉDITÉ. Par HENRI PÉRÈS. 8vo, 286 pp.
Alger: Jules Carbonel, 1928.

This is not the edition of an ancient manuscript of the collected poems which has been recovered; such a thing is most improbable, because the Diwan of this poet appears to have been lost at an early date. Professor Pérès instead has collected the fragments attributed to the poet in numerous works of Arabic literature and the commentary, in Arabic, is also taken from glosses which may accompany the verses in the sources from which he has derived the verses, or he has supplied them from the explanation given of rare words in the native dictionaries. This is at least my opinion, though the second or third volume containing this information has not been published at present, but the editor has informed me that the printing is well in hand, as also a study of the poet and his works in French.

This is perhaps the best way of making the compositions of lost authors accessible. Most of the poems of Kuthayyir were probably in the shape of short fragments and it would be erroneous to assume that any ancient Arab poet only

composed complete and long Qasīdas. We did possess at least one long poem of forty-seven verses, taken from an ancient manuscript, in Schwarz's *Escorial Studien* (Stuttgart, 1922), but the present work contains in its first volume eighty-five fragments, some consisting only of one single verse, and none as long as the poem mentioned.

Kuthayyir is known in Arabic literature chiefly for his love for a woman named Azza, to whom also the long poem, the most celebrated of the poet, found in the *Amālī of al-Qālī*, II, 109-111, is devoted. Al-Marzubānī in the *Mu'jam ash-Shu'ara'* (Berlin MS.) devotes a short notice to our poet, and tells us that he was of short stature, with a long neck, red faced, with spots on the face. In addition, like many small men, he had a very great opinion of himself and was very haughty; also that he died in al-Medina in the year 105 A.H. on the same day as 'Ikrima, the mawla of Ibn 'Abbās, and that he was one or two years above 80 years of age. He was a fervent, or even bigoted, Shi'ah, and as such attacked 'Abd Allāh ibn az-Zubair with his verses. His Shi'ah tendencies did not prevent him from composing poems in praise of the Umayyade caliphs, as it meant pocketing their rewards.

The language as a rule is very simple, and rare expressions occur only occasionally, and these may be of some importance for a study of the Hījāz dialect. He is cited several hundred times in the *Lisān al-'Arab* as evidence for the use of words explained.

The editor has vocalized all the verses, while the commentary has vowels only in cases of absolute necessity. As the type is very small, some misprints have escaped the editor. P. 13, I should like to read *يبيع المحنط والقطران* "he sells spices and pitch"; p. 30, v. 16, in commentary *صغير القطر*; p. 34, l. 4, read *في الصبا*; p. 35, paen., read *دخلت*; p. 60, ult. read *ارادة*; p. 74, v. 15, read *فشت*; p. 82, v. 15, I think *خدرها* would be better; p. 97, l. 1, read *بقر*; same page, v. 7, read *أركب*, cf. L.A., i, 414, 8, and

consequently the commentary is wrong; p. 107, read *أَرَاكَ* a rare plural of *أَرَاكَ*; p. 116, v. 7, read *ظَم* for *ظَمِي* dialect of the Hijāz which suppresses Hamza, but in commentary *العطش*; p. 118, v. 2, I should think the correct reading is *صَوَار*; p. 138, read *نَنَالِك*; p. 155, v. 10, read *هَذَا جَمْعُهَا* hence the commentary is wrong, which should read *الْحَاكُولُ الْعَظِيمُ مِنْ لُصَابِ*. The word in this meaning for large vermin, etc., is fairly frequent; p. 163, No. 43, v. 1, I should like to read *يَلْتَفِ حَرْهَا بِرُكْبَانِهَا*. I have found the verse only in Khiz. III, p. 154, where it is said to have been taken from the 'Ubāb of Ṣāghānī; p. 166, l. 1, read *تَفْسِير*; p. 168, l. 18, read *بِمَوْخَر*; p. 170, l. 3, *وَدَان*, l. 9, *الْمَغِير*; p. 172, l. 3, here the author has made a slip, we must read *الشَّجَاعِ* for *الْحَيَّةِ*, as both the verb preceding and the pronoun following are masculine; p. 211, l. 1, read *النَّاجِ*. I have noticed on more than one occasion that the vocalization for significations denoting places participles are in the active construction instead of the passive; this is wrong, cases in question are p. 110, v. 3, and 120, l. 3, where we should read *بِمَنْدَعِ* and *مَسْنَعَاتِ* respectively.¹ The correct form is used in other cases as p. 110, v. 6, and 169, v. 3.

F. KRENKOW.

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- LE PARLER DE KFĀR 'ABĪDA (LIBAN-SYRIE). Par MICHEL T. FEGHALI. 8vo, 307 pp. Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1919.
 SYNTAXE DES PARLERS ARABES ACTUELS DU LIBAN. Par MGR. MICHEL FEGHALI. 8vo, 535 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

When I say that we do not possess any works so complete as the two here mentioned for any of the Arabic spoken dialects, I am in no way exaggerating their intrinsic value. Works of this character are only possible by scholars who from their childhood are conversant with the language and

¹ Cf. Lisān, x, 238, 17.

have in addition received adequate scientific training. The only fault one can find is that the student who does not make a speciality of the spoken dialects is overwhelmed by the immensity of the material brought together by the author. Yet everything is done in such a systematic manner that one easily finds every phase of the language with ample examples. The phonetic system employed by the author is such that one can readily *hear* the words, and yet he has not committed the folly, found only too often with too strict phoneticians, of fixing a separate dialect for the speech of every individual. While the first of the books mentioned gave the dialect of one township, the second is of a more ambitious character dealing with the spoken language of the Lebanon as a whole, and the author tells us that the idiom for the whole district is for practical purposes the same with the comparatively slight difference that in the northern the influence of Aramaic is felt, while in the south the speech has affinities with the Bedouin dialects of the adjoining plain. The lexicographer will be surprised to find in the examples quoted by the author many a word current to-day, which judging from the written language of many centuries, had long disappeared from ordinary conversation, and was only known by the learned.¹

But this is not the aim of both works. The author presents lucidly the changes the language has undergone in its deviation from the classic language of Arabic literature. The chapters on the Numerals are highly instructive, and I believe the author has for the first time discovered the phonetic influence upon the use of genders after the units. To the reader of Arabic manuscripts of the Middle Ages, the apparent ignorance of the classical rules must often have been a puzzle, and all European editors of such texts had to do, was continually to put these errors right. A re-investigation of such corrections

¹ The example given by the author "Parlers" (p. 402) of the "Ghurāb al-Bain" is of very frequent occurrence in the Classical, if not exactly meaning "death".

probably would reveal similar rules. That some Particles of ever-recurring use in classical Arabic as e.g. "Lammā" should have disappeared in the spoken language is very strange, but they are in such cases replaced by others, sometimes by nouns which have assumed the functions of real particles.

The two books contain such a vast amount of material that a short notice like this cannot give an adequate idea of their value, but they will always be models for similar researches into other dialects of the spoken language, and we must look forward with the highest interest to the lexicographical examination of the colloquial promised by the author.

F. KRENKOW.

LE DIWAN DE 'ORWA BEN EL-WARD: TRADUIT ET ANNOTÉ.
Par RENÉ BASSET. 8vo, 73 pp. Paris: Paul Geuthner,
1928.

As long ago as 1863, Nöldeke published in the Acts of the Göttingen Academy, the text of the poems taken from the ancient manuscript of Leipzig, which contains other unique pieces, with a German translation, not only of the *Dīwān* but also of the article devoted to the poet in manuscripts of the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*.

Professor Prym, when in Cairo, lent a copy of this edition, with other books, to an Egyptian acquaintance which resulted in the edition of the Five *Dīwāns* (Wahbiyyah Press, 1293 A.H.). This edition has been reprinted since, with all its errors, and it is also the source for the article devoted to 'Urwa in Père Cheikho's collection of Christian Poets (Bairūt, 1890).

No doubt Professor Basset intended to make the French-speaking population acquainted with the compositions of a poet who was a true representative of the liberal Arab robber-chiefs. 'Urwa resembles in many ways the better-

known Ḥātim of Ṭayyi, with the difference that his collection of poems contains probably very few verses foisted upon him at later times.

'Urwa was nicknamed " 'Urwa of the Vagabonds", because he gathered round him poor fellows of various tribes, and with them made raids upon the property of more prosperous tribes. These raids were carried at times to very distant parts of Arabia and we are informed of one along the favourite route, which led from Southern Najd south-westward to the Jauf of Northern Yaman.¹ Whenever they came home laden with plunder, 'Urwa distributed it among his companions, many of whom were able to rejoin their tribes as rich men. It is easy to be generous with stolen property, but among ancient Arabs it was considered no disgrace to rob, only sly stealing was a despicable offence.

Among the pieces in the *Dīwān* are more than one which refer to 'Urwa having taken among his prey women of other tribes, and keeping them for himself. In two cases it is stated that they remained with him for many years, had children by him, and later on a visit to their relations forsook him, not because they disliked him, but to revindicate their honour. The cases may all refer to one woman only, though their homes, as given in the legends, are rather far apart, one among the Muzaina, who encamped in the neighbourhood of al-Medina, the other in the Yamama, i.e. near the modern Riyāḍ. 'Urwa must have been some man of consideration among his tribe, 'Abs, as we find him in open quarrel with their chief, Qais ibn Zuhair. This also fixes his date approximately in the last quarter of the sixth century of the Hijra.

At the end of his translation, Professor Basset has given several fragments which he had collected from various sources, some of which are, however, given by Nöldeke already in his edition. Others are certainly not by 'Urwa, their

¹ This was the way by which Yamanite kings had made their expeditions to Central Arabia in the time before Islām and is at present practically an unexplored country.

attribution being due to the carelessness of the authors, who cite them. No. 3 is by al-A'shā ; No. 4 is by 'Amr ibn Qī'ās al-Murādī, and is found in a poem cited in the Khizāna and more correctly in the Kitāb-al-Ikhtiyārain (MS. India Office) ; No. 8 is by Qais ibn 'Āṣim al-Minqarī or Ḥātim ; No. 10 may be by 'Urwa ibn Ḥizām or 'Urwa ibn Uḍaina, certainly not by 'Urwa ibn al-Ward. The Hamāsa of al-Buḥturī and the Muḥāḍarāt of ar-Rāghib are so full of wrong attributions to poets, that they can only be used in evidence when their statements are confirmed by other sources.

I could add considerably to the list of citations, but only one new verse cited in the Ma'āni of Ibn Qutaiba (MS. India Office, fol. 36, v.).

إذا ما جعلت الشاة للقوم خُبيرةً فشاؤك أتى ذاهبٌ لشؤوني
 "If you give *one* sheep to the men to divide among themselves, then is it thy business that I go after my own affairs."

The word خُبيرة is explained as meaning "a sheep which a man buys for a number of people for them to divide among themselves".

The very minute handwriting of the late Professor Basset is no doubt responsible for some misprints, p. 40, read Lisan xiii, p. 42, cancel Lisan xiii, 434 ; p. 43, the translation : "et un seul (à peine) recherche la tienne" does not convey what the poet means ; rather "only one person (i.e. yourself) takes a share of thy hospitality !" p. 42, poem xii, 2, instead of "comme le fourreau d'épée qui te donnait la victoire" rather "et le fourreau de l'épée avec lequel tu étais accoutumé à attaquer". It is the sword which is used for attack, not the scabbard, p. 63, No. ix, v. 3, read يَنْهَرِد with Jāhiz, Bayān, v. 4, read يُنَلْقَى ذَوَالْغَتَى, p. 65, read يَخْتَنِقُونَ "who strangle themselves". The poet refers to the act of some men of the tribe of 'Āmir who committed suicide rather than be made prisoners. It has escaped the editor that these two verses are actually found in the Diwān poem, 10, v. 3 and 4. The translation on p. 72 must be corrected accordingly.

The work is another monument to the indefatigable industry

of my late friend, and should be of great help to students of ancient Arabic poetry, especially those who cannot appreciate it in its original language.

F. KRENKOW.

LE "ṢAḤĪḤ" D'AL-BUḤĀRĪ: Reproduction en phototypie . . . de la recension . . . d'Ibn Sa'āda établie a Murcie en 492 de l'Hegire (1099 de J.-C.) publié avec une introduction. Par E. LEVI-PROVENÇAL. 30 pp. French Introduction; 39 pp. of Arabic introduction, and 177 folia in facsimilie. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1928.

Abū 'Imrān Mūsā ibn Sa'āda was a pupil of the renowned Spanish traditionist Abū 'Alī al-Ḥusain ibn Muḥammad ibn Ferro (or Fierro) ibn Ḥayyūn *aṣ-Ṣadafī*, who after long travels in the East, had brought back to Spain copies of the collections of Ḥadīth, by al-Bukhārī and Muslim. Ibn Sa'āda, who had become father-in-law to *aṣ-Ṣadafī* copied under the latter's instruction both books, but the copy of Muslim appears to have been lost. Of the manuscript of Bukhari, in five volumes, four have been preserved to this day in the Qarawiyyīn mosque at Fes, while a good copy taken of the first, and lost, volume, exists in another mosque. This manuscript through long ages has been the original which has formed the basis for most of the authentic manuscripts in use in Morocco, but being somewhat difficult of access, and with a view of presenting to Maghribi savants a true copy of the original, this sumptuous edition has been undertaken.

I have compared large portions of the fascimile with the Eastern recension based upon the joint work of al-Yūnīnī and the grammarian Ibn Mālīk and have discovered only very unimportant variants. The principal aim, as Professor Levi-Provençal points out, is to supply traditionists in Morocco with the text of an original upon which they look with special reverence.

In his introduction the editor traces the manuscript as far as it is possible from Murcia to Fes, but there remains a considerable gap after the expulsion of the Moors from Spain.

On p. 10 of his introduction the editor discusses the identity of the scholar named Yūnīnī who was responsible for the redaction of the *Ṣaḥīḥ* in conjunction with Ibn Mālik. He is Sharaf ad-Dīn 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Abul Ḥusain, son of Muḥammad, who died in 656 A.H. Sharaf ad-Dīn was born in 631 A.H. His end was tragic, because a poor man came to him and asked for alms, and as Yūnīnī was not quick in responding, he hit him on the head and stunned him. This happened on the first of Ramaḍān, and he died from the blow on the 10th of the same month, 701 A.H. *Durar al-Kamīna*, vol. ii, No. 221, of my edition in the Press; this biography is missing in the British Museum and Cairo MSS., through one quire having been torn out. The latter work mentions sons, grandsons and cousins of this Yūnīnī, which do not concern us here.

F. KRENKOW.

THE ARABIC COMMENTARY OF 'ALĪ BEN SULEIMĀN THE KARAITE ON THE BOOK OF GENESIS. Edited from unique MSS. and provided with critical notes and an Introduction by SOLOMON L. SKOSS, M.A., Ph.D. (Philadelphia). pp. viii + 211. 1928.

Jewish-Arabic commentaries on biblical books have, apart from any sectarian tendency, not only a literary, but also a linguistic importance. Their authors wrote in a language so nearly akin to Hebrew that it was for them another dialect, and were thus enabled to get a deeper insight into the real meaning of words than is gained in many instances from the ordinary dictionary. The author of the above-mentioned commentary wrote at the beginning of the twelfth century, and is therefore not one of the early writers on this branch of literature. In his introduction Dr. Skoss gives

a very elaborate survey of Jewish-Arabic writings notwithstanding the large amount of books and articles existing on the subject. He deals with the person of the author, his predecessors, his method of exegesis, and linguistic peculiarities. It is strange that the author of the Commentary still adheres to the old theory of biliteral roots although he was obviously acquainted with Ḥayyūj's reform, in consequence of which he can hardly be taken seriously as grammarian. In one respect, however, Dr. Skoss does him some injustice in charging him "with apparent disregard of the most elementary rules of grammar". This accusation would apply with equal force to nearly all Jewish-Arabic writers. The "errors" which he finds in the author's spelling by no means deserve this name, but are the characteristics of much earlier writers, and were dictated by the use of the Hebrew alphabet as well as of ordinary hebraisms. In general it is not correct to speak of the *Sprachgebrauch* of this or that author, because these "errors" are common to all from Sā'adyāh to Maimūni. They are not even confined to Jewish authors, as Dr. Skoss could have gathered from the late August Müller's essay on *the Text und Sprachgebrauch of Ibn Abi Useibia's History of Physicians* as well as from the late Dr. Vollers' remarks on the early neglect of the *ʿrāb* traces of which are even found in the Qorān. There is further to be compared Dr. v. Mžik's very recent publication of the *šūrat al arḍ* by Al Khowārizmi (ninth century), whose spelling betrays similar phenomena. That the author does not lack originality as exegete is shown in his comment on Gen. i, 1, but on the use of **אֶרֶץ** he has been forestalled by Qu'irqisāni, who is not mentioned either by the author or by the editor. In many places the author follows Sa'adyāh's version without mentioning his name, although he must have been acquainted with his translations and commentaries. Karaite writers only quoted his works when combating his religious views; otherwise they ignored him and took pains to destroy his works.

Dr. Skoss treats his subject with laudable thoroughness, and perhaps more broadly than necessary, garnering his arguments even from classical Arabic poets. He would have deserved still greater appreciation had he added occasional vowel signs and diacritical points to the Arabic text in order to help students less versed in reading Arabic in Hebrew characters. At any rate he did not fall into the error of others who thought it expedient to present such text in Arabic writing which alters the complexion of such texts considerably. There can be no doubt that the work was originally written in Hebrew characters, but the specimen in Arabic writing given in the earlier part of the book is clearly from a copy in transcription. Karaites indulged in this spiteful policy to exclude Rabbanite readers. The book is the product of sound scholarship and a welcome addition to the literature extant on the subject.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

MATERIALS FOR HEBREW COMPOSITION. By M. A. CANNEY, M.A. Second edition. pp. 88. Manchester University Press, 1929.

The fact that a second edition of this book has been published is sufficient evidence of its usefulness. The author was well advised in not simply taking his material from the English version of the Bible. By introducing suitable alterations, he not only prevents students from merely copying the paragraphs from the Hebrew originals, but also tests their acquaintance with the books of the Old Testament, as well as their proficiency in grammar. There is also one piece taken from a secular source. In a further edition this might be augmented. Why he translates **תִּשָּׁא** by *steel* is not quite clear; would not *plummet* be more suitable? Undergraduates will find the little book helpful and stimulating.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE COMPOSITION OF JUDGES ii, 11, TO 1 KINGS ii, 46. By HAROLD M. WIENER, M.A., LL.B., of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister-at-Law. 4to, pp. 39. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1929.

In setting himself the task of bringing order into the incoherent and rather scrappy narratives contained in the above-mentioned sections, the author struck out quite new lines. In contradistinction to earlier critics he distinguishes two main sources: first the Book of Judges to the death of David, which he ascribes to the Prophet Nathan, designated by *N.* He was a partisan, and at the same time a stern judge of David's actions, and chiefly responsible for Judges ii to 1 Kings ii. The other was the Prophet Gad (*G.*), who compiled the records from 1 Sam. xvii to 2 Sam. xxiv. He was the predecessor of *N.*, an older contemporary of David's, and hostile to the claims of the house of Saul. The author stresses the point that *G.* is but a symbol for a work in which Gad is mentioned as a historical person, but he allows no suggestions as to his authorship. No serious objection can be made to the opinion of the author that the problem of the Book of Samuel is too complicated to be solved by the supposition that only two hands were busy in compiling the narratives. As an instance he offers the alleged parallelism of 2 Sam. iv, 4, to ix, 1 sqq., which seems to be taken from a different source. In his analysis of 1 Sam. vii, 3, to xiv, 52, Mr. Wiener comes to the conclusion that ch. ix, 8, is an integral part of the narrative. On the whole his remarks on this and other points demand attentive reading with constant reference to the original text. The question remains, however, whether פָּרֶעַת is in every instance to be translated by *prefect*. For in 1 Sam. x, 5, this word must have the same meaning as in 1 Chron. xi, 16, both places evidently speaking of Philistines' outposts. Several of these, notably those mentioned in xiii, 3, seem to have been pushed right into the territory of the Israelites, as the latter were disarmed and had even to rely on Philistine permission to procure their agricultural imple-

ments. This has a true historical ring about it, as it goes against the spirit of an Israelite historiographer. Jonathan's success, related in xiv, 13, does not seem to have counted for much, since he had only had six hundred men with him. On the whole the situation is very obscure. The Philistine army seems to have been frightened by an earthquake (v, 15), which gave the Israelites some advantage. In xi, 5, the author suggests reading בֵּי־בֹקֶר for בֹּקֶר , but *after the morning* is not only awkward Hebrew, but also destroys the idyllic situation round the old Hebrew Cinannatus, and this should remain undisturbed in spite of Kittel's different view. To place ch. xii between x, 25, *a* and *b*, is a somewhat violent operation, because this section may be a fuller account of xiv, 48. The "unhistorical" character of the two sections is not quite obvious. If Amalek was not annihilated it was an act of disobedience on the part of Saul, who had to bear the consequences. Why did not the author make this the starting point of *G.*? These chapters are teeming with difficulties, and very little can be said with any claim to certainty. One thing is clear that modern eyes are unable to obtain a correct vision of the conditions. In any case, the author betrays signal skill in showing how these various, and by no means homogeneous, records might be united into progressive history while allowing the fissures to be recognizable. He has given a strong impulse to study the material afresh, and credit is due to him for his clever guidance through the maze of disjointed facts.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE SUMERIANS. By C. LEONARD WOOLLEY. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5$, 198 pages and 29 pictures, mostly on plates. At the University Press, Oxford.

Though of but limited extent, this modest book shows not only the interesting nature of the discoveries made of late years in the province of Iraq, but also the importance of the

inhabitants of the Babylonian plain. Before the discovery of the Assyro-Babylonian inscriptions, the name "Sumerian" was practically unknown. At the present time no history of the Euphrates valley can be written without giving them a large place therein.

In former years we used to speak of Sumer and Akkad, regarding the former as Southern Babylonia and the latter as the northern tract. This is undoubtedly right, but where we went wrong was in regarding the inhabitants of both tracts as non-Semitic. Jules Oppert always maintained that the Sumerians were non-Semitic, but at that time it was unproved that the Akkadians were Semites, as is now generally accepted. In Gen. x, 10, Akkad is referred to with Babel, Erech, and Calneh as though it were a city, hence the older point of view.¹ The country as a whole bears the name of Shin'ar, compared by some with Shumer. The Hebrew form still requires explanation.

The point of view in Mr. Woolley's book, however, shows that the whole Babylonian tract ought to be called Akkad, as the original inhabitants seem to have been Semites, whilst the Sumerians were the invaders or immigrants.

The descriptions of their primitive dwellings and mode of life are interesting and detailed, the statements being based on the remains discovered in the various ruins, among the first being the deductions from those at al-'Ubaid, near Ur. Here we learn about the reed huts with their hearths of clay, the barley-bread with its preparation and baking, the animals upon which they lived. The description of the boats in which they went (to catch fish) on the Euphrates, with their high prows of reeds attached together, is confirmed by engravings shown on the cylinder-seals and elsewhere. The men were clad in skins or home-spun garments, and the women wore their hair done up into a "bun" at the back of the head. The jewellery of the poorer classes was not

¹ With this the late George Bertin did not agree—see his paper, "The pre-Accadian (= pre-Sumerian) Semites" in the *JRAS.*, Vol. XVIII, Part 3.

apparently of the precious metals, but consisted of studs made of clay, bitumen, carnelian, or other workable material. The book contains many other details of their lives, as well as their manners, customs, and beliefs.

The historical part has a very complete list of the earliest kings and heroes, including those before the flood, which the inhabitants of Babylonia regarded as an historical event. This would seem also to be confirmed by the excavations at Kish and Ur. The excessively long reigns attributed to the kings before and immediately after the Flood are naturally impossible. Future discoveries may reveal to us how these long reigns are to be understood and explained, but we must not be too hopeful—they are possibly due to manipulations of the *sos*, *ner*, and *šar*, the great sexagesimal units, 60, 600, and 3,600.

But to go in detail through the many discoveries concerning the Sumerians recorded in this attractive monograph would take up too much space, and we must limit our notes so as to keep the notice within bounds. Exceedingly interesting are the plates, and among them may be mentioned the restored portrait of Queen Shub-ad, with its elaborate head-dress (there is an excellent reproduction of this in colours in the *Illustrated London News* for August 11, 1928). Her date is set down as being about 3,000 years before Christ. Plate 5, the cattle byre with temple-servants milking the cows and straining the milk, a mosaic in limestone and shale, from al-'Ubaid, is now well known, as is also the restoration of Queen Shub-ad's harp. From a mythological point of view Plate 11 is, perhaps, the most interesting. It is a shell plaque engraved in four superimposed divisions, the first showing a bearded man between two rearing bulls; the second, animals, erect, bearing offerings; the third, other animals, also erect, playing instruments, one of which is a harp; and an ibex following a scorpion-man bearing, possibly, drink-offerings. This object was found at Ur, and it is suggested that it may have formed part of a harp.

A fine specimen of Sumerian art, also, is the "mosaic standard" at Ur. One side only of this is given, showing the Sumerian army on the march, and in its train we see four-wheeled chariots, each drawn, apparently, by asses.¹

With the statuette of a Sumerian ruler of the earlier part of the third millennium B.C. may be compared that of Ur-Ningirsu, son of Gudea, *patesi* of Lagash. Other royal objects of interest artistically are the cylinder-seals on Plate 20. The first (unfortunately printed upside-down) shows fighting lions and men symmetrically arranged in a style often met with. It is of the sacred stone, lapis lazuli, and belonged to the Queen of Mes-anni-padda, founder of the first dynasty of Ur. The cylinder of Queen Shub-ad is less beautiful, as it shows, in two bands, two seated and several standing figures engaged, apparently, in religious ceremonies. The third cylinder-seal is in similar style to the first, but has only one row of figures, the animals crossing each other and the lions attacking bulls being very symmetrically arranged. It is described as a "Cylinder seal of a servant of the daughter of King Sargon of Akkad." This daughter, En-khi-du-anna, like the daughter of Nabonidus, was priestess of the moon-goddess Nin-gal at Ur.

The Sumerians is a book well suited to the general reader, for whom it was written, but the specialist may also gain useful points from it. Not only are their history and antiquities treated of, but also their literatures and their legends. A fuller Index would have improved it. Special mention must be made of the work of Mrs. Woolley, Mr. F. G. Newton, and Mr. A. S. Whitburn, A.R.I.B.A., who have furnished restorations.

T. G. PINCHES.

¹ For the whole design, see the *Illustrated London News* for 23rd June, 1928.

- I. BEITRAEGE ZUR KARTOGRAPHIE ALBANIENS NACH ORIENTALISCHEN QUELLEN. VON HANS V. MŽIK.
- II. ZUR GESCHICHTE DER OKZIDENTALEN KARTOGRAPHIE NORDALBANIENS VON BARON FRANZ NOPCSA. With 7 plates and 39 illustrations in text. (Tom. iii. Editio separata ex Geologica Hungarica. Series Geologica.) $12\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{1}{2}$. Budapest, 1929.

As Dr. Mžik observes, the Adriatic was but little known to Orientals during the first eight centuries of Islam, though already in the ninth century A.D. Saracen pirates had a nest in a Roman-Byzantine castle near Medua. It was not, however, till 1365 that a treaty between the Ragusan republic and the Turks, followed by an invitation, in 1385, from an expelled Duke of Durazzo, brought the Turks into Albania. Apart from the Arabic-Ptolemaic geographers (cf. A. R. Guest's article in *JRAS.* 1913, p. 305), the Islamic writers only begin to deal with the matter in the fifteenth century. The first 24 pages of the book before us are chiefly devoted to the identification of place-names.

The second part is double as long as the first and has appended to it a bibliographical list with 168 entries, which has a melancholy interest, for Baron Nopcsa tells us that after making a preliminary study, the results of which were published in 1916, his collection of over 200 maps of northern Albania was stolen in 1920. The oldest map is the Vienna *Tabula Peutingeriana*, the names in which have puzzled geographers from the sixteenth century, but are now intelligible.

The book as a whole is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of a subject in which the British names most prominent are: Durham, Evans, Faden, and Guest. The plates are clear and well reproduced.

O. W.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

(April-June, 1929)

GENERAL MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

22nd April

Central Asia

At a joint meeting of the Society with the Central Asian Society, at the rooms of the Royal Society of Arts, the Marquess of Zetland, President, in the Chair, Dr. W. Filchner read a paper, illustrated by a film, on his explorations in Centra Asia entitled

“MY CENTRAL ASIAN EXPEDITION, 1925-8”.

The following is an abstract of the lecture.

He said that although his main task was strictly scientific, it did not exhaust the aims of his undertaking. He hoped during his long sojourn in the heart of Asia to make other observations such as the history of civilization and ethnological matters.

The first stage of the journey, begun at the close of 1925, led via Leningrad and Moscow to Taschkent. His astronomic magnetic task was the connecting up of the European Western-Asiatic system with the Chinese system which had been created by the Carnegie Institute. It was proposed to lay down a continuous chain of survey stations along the line Taschkent or Kuldscha-Sining-fu to Kansu, the North-Western province of China proper. The distance between each station was not to exceed 50 to 60 kilometres. Spending the first winter in the neighbourhood of Sining-fu, he was to transfer the earth-magnetic work in the following spring to Tibet, with the idea of joining up the Chinese survey system with that of India. In spite of obstacles he was able to accomplish this task along the line Sining-fu on the East Tsaidam-Tangla-Nga-tschu-ka (north of Lhassa) thence in the direction of Leh in Kashmir, via Tschang-ling-korr-

Se-li-pu across the lake district. He was able to accomplish this scientific task, which was of particular importance in cartography, according to plan, and finally carried out the linking-up survey at Dehra Dun.

Altitudes were determined exclusively by means of a boiling thermometer (Siedethermometer) and theodolites and mainly at the astronomically fixed magnetic stations, the number of which exceeds 160. The whole length of the route covered in Tibet was determined by mapping out with the aid of a fluid compass. These points would be plotted in the gaps between the astronomically fixed points when working out the whole of the data.

The expedition, which finished in June, 1928, was hindered at the outset by the disturbed political condition of China. He found himself in the midst of civil war and his way led from one opposing camp to the other. Original distrust was soon displaced, however, by friendly assistance. Unfortunately the many privations and suffering from hunger and frost he was called upon to bear resulted in his falling seriously ill with gallstones just before the winter of 1926-7. Yet he was able to carry out his daily surveys, sometimes of twelve hours' duration, without a break. He was fortunate to find a real friend and helper in a highly educated Chinese salt mandarin, named Lu, who saved him from death by his devoted nursing, and he was given material assistance by missionaries and officials.

The journey across the Tibet plateau was delayed and obstructed by the well-known enmity of the Tibetan towards all foreigners. Every now and then, owing to superstition, he was forbidden to use his instruments. As all persuasive efforts failed, he was driven to cunning. The people were told he was to rest, but in reality he was working hard in his tent, making the necessary calculations through a hole in the canvas, thus completing the unbroken chain of observations. While his companions were resting at the stopping places he often had to work the whole night through. The astronomical

magnetic observations had to be carried out, diaries had to be written up, surveys checked, and dispositions for the next march day had to be made. During this time his feet were frozen and a few ribs, the right hand, and right foot were broken.

In view of the increasing insecurity on Tibetan territory, letters to the Viceroy of India and the Dalai Lama were smuggled through. It seemed not improbable that the expedition would be pushed up North without completing its task, even if nothing worse happened. Then one day a special messenger from the Dalai Lama brought instructions that he and his two white companions, an Australian and an American, should be given freedom to pass across Tibet in a westerly direction to Leh in Kashmir, and that they were to be treated in a proper manner. His Holiness sent them by a Tibetan dignitary a very welcome gift of foodstuffs, of which they were badly in need. From that time forward they enjoyed not only the best treatment, but were also supplied with provisions by the naturally hospitable Tibetans. The change came at a critical stage when his physical and mental powers were almost exhausted and his financial condition most deplorable.

The lecturer next gave an outline of the family life of the Tibetans, their dwellings and animals, and an account of their cloisters. He pointed out that in Eastern Tibet monogamy is practised as the sexes are approximately equal in number; but in Central and Southern Tibet where the number of women is considerably less, polyandry is usual. The several husbands of a woman must always be brothers. The children of the marriage belong to the eldest brother who is called "father" by the children, while the other husbands are called "uncle". Petticoat government obtained to a large extent in Tibet. The women were usually quite shy, but distinctly determined in dealings with their husbands.

In describing the fauna of the country Dr. Filchner paid most attention to the yak or "grunting" ox. He found the

yak very hardy and easily satisfied. After unloading, the beast is allowed to run loose to find his own food, and the catching of a yak for resuming the journey is a great art. The animal can carry approximately a hundredweight. At the beginning the expedition possessed thirty-five of them, but most of the caravan was lost by robbery and shortage in the mountainous districts between Kuku-nur and Tsai-dam. After being miraculously saved by a camel troop he was forced with his slender remaining resources to get together another yak caravan. "Pinching" was considered an honourable sport in Tibet, especially in the North-East. The Tibetan was not ashamed of his brigandage, but rather the victim was ashamed of not being able to prevent the robbery.

Tibet was described as a land of cloisters and religious orders, not only for men but also for women. Every year hundreds of thousands of pilgrims streamed from all parts of Asia to famous Tibetan cloisters such as Sera, Potala, and Dapung. The pilgrims were usually lodged in a caravan-serai in the outskirts of the cloister. The Lamas were divided into three classes—the Schabis or pupils, the Gethsul, and the Geslong who were the ordained priests. They were under vows of chastity, might not drink alcohol nor kill any animal. Each monk had his own house of at least two rooms in the cloister, and the richer monks possessed larger houses with courtyards, servants' quarters, stabling, etc. The monks carried no sword, but carried a dagger under their robes. On a journey, however, they wore lay clothing and carried weapons with them.

Describing the greatest festival at Kumbum known as the Butter-feast, Dr. Filchner said that its object was a polite invitation to the gods to listen to the recital of the holy scripture in the tents. Two enormous platforms of masts and precious carpets were erected in the cloister compound. Under these platforms wonderfully formed and beautifully painted images and symbols made of butter were displayed, and in the middle a sea of light from butter lamps. Bands

of music consisting of flutes, trumpets, symbols, and drums continually played in the same rhythm. The spectators, crowded perilously together, sacrifice in awe to these butter gods. The Lama police prepared a way through the crowd for saints or distinguished visitors by means of whips.

One of the lantern slides showed the monks of Kumbum assembled for prayer. The custom is to recite in loud tones amidst ejaculations and hand-clapping. A Lama of high rank, Tschora-tschungo, who superintended the other Lamas, circled round the praying monks relentlessly punishing the inattentive or other offenders. A Geslong led the prayer in a deep bass voice, the others chanting melodiously. Tea and dried fruit were served in the intervals. Dr. Filchner said that he spent the terrible winter of 1926-7 almost starved and frozen in this cloister, and the Lamas counted him more or less one of themselves.

At the end of each year the far-famed dances take place at Kumbum. Their significance, Dr. Filchner said, could be compared with the miracle plays of the Middle Ages. A full knowledge of lamaistic mythology was necessary to understand their symbolism. In these dances Atzaras, fantastic beings who were supposed to meet the souls of the dead in purgatory, were to be seen. The object of the dances was to guide the thoughts of the spectators to the impermanency of things, to remind them how quickly time flies, and how suddenly death may overtake even the youngest. All the figures were represented by Lamas. The masks were artistic to the last degree and richly painted. The robes also were costly and extraordinarily tasteful. The dances are carried out to the accompaniment of a Lama orchestra.

In a concluding passage Dr. Filchner said that like all other strangers travelling in this wild mountainous country, cut off from the world, he stood under suspicion of being accompanied by the devil. Bears, wolves, and robbers were always threatening his unarmed expedition. The correct

treatment of the people, these children of nature, enabled their humanity to gain the upper hand. Primitive folk would sympathize with him and even respect him when they realized that he exposed himself willingly to the bitterest poverty and tremendous exertions in the interests of his task. One of the most valuable lessons learnt on such a tour over half the earth seemed to him to be the ability to think in continents and to see things in their true perspective, and the realization that mutual knowledge and understanding of the nations can only result in a nearer approach to each other of the peoples of the earth.

Sir Francis Younghusband, in thanking Dr. Filchner for his lecture and film, said he could not praise too highly the courage and endurance which had enabled him to carry out and complete his scientific programme. Sir Francis said he had had some experience of the Tibetan climate and the terrible Tibetan winds, but to go through three winters short of food, ill, and with broken ribs and with little money and to persevere undauntedly spoke of a magnificent strength of body and mind on which he congratulated the lecturer. Turning to the film, he said that in spite of their superstitions, the Tibetans in all they did showed a very real religious sense, they referred their actions to something beyond their material advantage. The dances which had been shown on the film could well be compared to the mystery plays of the Middle Ages.

The Chairman (Lord Zetland) congratulated the two Societies on having had this opportunity of seeing Dr. Filchner's remarkable film and of hearing from him something of his expedition. Sir Francis Younghusband had spoken of the courage which the lecturer had shown in carrying through his scientific programme; perhaps only those who had travelled in Central Asia and had experienced not only the climate and the hardships of travel, but the continual suspicion of the people, could appreciate it at its

true value. He congratulated the lecturer very heartily on his remarkable journey and was glad to say his safe arrival was in part due to an Australian, Mr. Mathewson, and to the help given him by the Government of India. He would like also to congratulate Dr. Filchner on his courage in lecturing so successfully in a foreign language, and hoped the two Societies might have an opportunity of hearing him at some later date.

30th April

Expeditions to the Alai-Pamirs

At a joint meeting of the Society and the Central Asian Society at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Sir Francis Aglen in the chair, Mr. W. Rickmer Rickmers gave a detailed description of the expeditions he undertook to the Alai-Pamirs in 1913 and 1928. The following is an abstract:—

“TRAVELS IN THE ALAI-PAMIRS”

Mr. Rickmer Rickmers defined the term Alai-Pamirs as covering the mountainous regions between the Amu Darya, the Sir Darya and the Chinese border, and as therefore applying to the Pamir block and its westerly fringes. In the terms of political frontiers the region might be spoken of as the Russian Pamirs. He pointed out that besides having acquired a definite morphological meaning (a pamir—a valley of the Pamir type) the term had become very elastic in a topographical sense. There were divisions of the region just as there were divisions of London and the phrase “the Londons” would therefore correspond to “the Pamirs”.

He said that the two expeditions which formed the subject of the lecture were separated by fifteen years, but were connected by the same fundamental idea, namely the exact survey of certain mountains. During the interval very little happened in a region which he had in heart reserved for

himself. In 1913, when he led the expedition of the German and Austrian Alpine Association, the late Dr. Deimler made a photogrammetric survey of Karateghin and more especially of the range of Peter the Great. After his early death, Dr. von Gruber prepared two maps from the negatives, one showing the Borolmas and the Kizil-su glaciers in great detail; the other being a ridge map of Karateghin showing the lower valleys. In 1928, Dr. R. Finsterwalder surveyed about 4,000 square miles of mountains and glaciers between the Sel-tau, Transalai and Zulum-art ranges and the Tanimas river. Notwithstanding the gulf of time the expedition of 1928 was the immediate continuation of that of 1913, for both together were the first attempt to produce a complete and satisfactory map of considerable mountain areas in the Alai-Pamirs.

The first expedition lasted from 2nd May to 13th December, 1913, and cost £1,350. To the itinerary which he gave he said there must be added a great number of side excursions, glacier explorations, and mountain climbs. The party ascended about thirty peaks, the highest being 5,700 metres. It was as yet too early for linking the stages of glaciation with those of the Alps. The formations seemed to point to some comparatively sudden change in which the shortness of the glaciers might have acted as a contributory cause. Altogether the Alai-Pamirs formed a glaciological laboratory, which owing to its accessibility facilitated and, owing to climatic contrasts, deserved continuous, systematic observation. As an island surrounded by deserts this mountain range formed a splendid object of comparison with the Alps.

He cherished the fond belief that the solution of the riddle of the dead cities of Chinese Turkistan was to be sought along the Pamir glaciers. Nothing seemed to warrant the assumption that the Tarim basin was a zone of rainfall cultivation in historical times. If the change of climate responsible for glacial periods also produced more rain in Central Asia, then it must have been before the advent of historic man, or, to be exact, before the immigration of peasants. The dead cities

lived on agriculture by irrigation which drew its water from rivers partly fed by residual ice, by dead ice not replenished from precipitation above the snowline. This store of ice left over after the last glacial retreat, or cessation of surplus feeding, gradually dwindled. Rivers decreased in volume, and after a time were unable to fill the irrigation canals of outlying districts. If that theory was correct, the problem of the historic desiccation of Inner Asia would be changed from one of rainfall to one of residual melting. Thus we should be able to detach this narrower problem from the wider one of climatic change which loomed beyond. The stoppage of supplies from the atmosphere must have been more rapid than the melting of old snows. This would point to a comparatively sudden change of climate. But then everything was, or appeared to be, sudden in Central Asia, a country where every difference was magnified into glaring contrast.

The expedition was led by the secretary of the Beg of Yakabagh to the cave of Kalaishiran in the limestone canyon of the Kala-sai torrent. The two porticoes of the cave opened out on the right bank of the cliffs at a height of about 2,400 metres above the sea level. The familiarity of the guides with the locality, the remains of torches and broken stalactites showed that the place was used for pilgrimages or *tamashas*. Legend called it Tamerlane's horse-stable, which seemed justified by the thick layer of droppings. Digging a hole they came upon layers of broken bones, and in a cranny found a very old clay lamp. One of the caverns was neatly walled up with alternate layers of blocks and wooden beams. Earth filled in behind made a wide platform. They went in about 500 yards through halls alternating with narrow passages. He refrained from excavations on a large scale for fear of spoiling the work of future experts. Kalai-shiran promised well, for its human record must stretch unbroken far into the dim past, though it remained doubtful whether neolithic man ever roamed in this neighbourhood, but cave animals there might have been.

The 1928 expedition, consisting of eleven Germans and eleven Russians, was not only very large, but was characterized by the close collaboration of two peoples. He thought that the latter feature had come to stay. Nations in whose territory there was something to investigate no longer cared to be what looked like the passive object of foreign scientists. They did not care to seem incapable of describing their own country; they did not see why their antiquities or ethnographical rarities should be the booty of museums abroad. No one wished to exclude helpful neighbours, but everywhere self-esteem had begun to formulate this condition: "No foreign exploration by others without our own active share as homeland explorers." Further, the modern exploring party showed the inevitable evolution from the journey of discovery to the journey of study or committee of investigation. To-day the world was discovered—that was to say known everywhere in outline. The finder was being replaced by the examiner, the prospector by the sinker of shafts, the eye by the instrument, the story-teller by the measurer and statistician. All human activity moved from extensive to intensive cultivation or organization. The nomad became a peasant, the peasant a gardener. But as movement could not be dissociated from life, nor travel from exploration, the new order of things had been brought about by a division of labour. Geographical exploration was split up into pure travel and pure study.

He drew attention to these considerations, so that his hearers might understand why he had nothing sensational to report. There simply had to be no adventures if the task of the expedition was to be done thoroughly, and in time. Formerly discoverers went out in search of adventure, for they opened up new ways through oceans and continents, and an unknown road always meant adventure. Now adventure had been driven from the high roads to the lanes and by-paths. Instead of the sensational fight with unexpected obstacles there was now the noiseless war with

detail, with equipment, tactics and accounts. He noted that the 1928 expedition was camouflaged during its inception as the Alai Expedition. They did not like to mention the Pamirs, fearing to arouse suspicion, for the Pamirs "are like three mighty hands clasped in a grip of steel, each holding on for dear life, yet hoping that the others might let go". Schemers of dark plots would not have taken a dozen foreigners into their confidence, least of all map-makers. All the same the Governor of Kashgar concentrated troops on the border, and many Kirghiz fled into Chinese territory when they heard of the coming of the explorers.

The lecturer thought that the secrecy surrounding certain easy Passes showing traces of constant use could only be explained by the wish of the Tajiks (Galchas) to hide them from the Kirghiz, so that they could be used for flight or for fetching reinforcements. The old Aryan population of Darvaz sat astride the boundary ranges so that on the northern slopes of the mountains of Peter the Great (Karateghin) and on the eastern slopes of the Sel-tau the Tajik were dovetailed into the Kirghiz. This zone of contact meant a state of silent war between the races, each trying to extend its pastures or fields. It was not a war between two nations as a whole, but a state of economic pressure giving rise to small local adjustments where families grew or dwindled. Here and there one found groups of stone hovels representing relinquished outposts of the Galchas driven back by the Kirghiz. It was not easy to see where the nomads had retreated, as they left no permanent buildings behind. Real battles on a large scale did not seem to take place, at least not since the Russian conquest of Turkestan. Curiously enough, the two even mixed quite readily in some localities.

The highest passes across the central Sel-tau were abandoned long ago. Being fairly easy for hardy mountaineers, although very long and strenuous, they had not been closed by the forces of nature, but had become obsolete for historical reasons. When the Russians went into the country, they did

away with small boundaries, welding tribes and minor states into one whole of law and order. Short cuts or loopholes for fugitives, spies and smugglers became unnecessary. He believed, however, that the Tajiks still used them in a small way, and that their memory for the passes was kept bright for future emergencies. Some of the finds of the expedition went to show that the upper Tanimas Valley had never been quite deserted. Besides hunters and shepherds, prospectors for gold were to be counted among its regular visitors. Indeed, the presence of the expedition might have been responsible for its look of utter desolation, a sort of camouflage by abstention.

An outline of the geographical, geological, botanical, and zoological results of the expedition was followed by a reference to efforts to penetrate to the mysteries of the Pamir dialects spoken by the various tribes. The languages belong to the East Iranian branch. He held that it was high time that science took stock of them, for they were in danger of being swamped by New Persian, Russian, or some nondescript caravan language. The political and economic opening up of the high valleys was making great strides, so that original traits of national life and character would soon be blurred. Dr. Lentz, the linguistic expert of the party, was surprised by the wealth of oral literature in verse and prose which he found in the miserable village of Bartang. He had brought home a great collection of texts, together with phonographic and musical records, and his scientific report would show a great step forward in our knowledge of an ancient people. Among the more conspicuous objects of Tajik handicraft were the woollen stockings and the ceremonial veils or chash bands. The many-hued stockings on which the svastika often recurred reminded one of Fair Isle work. The women went unveiled, but wore a beautifully embroidered face-curtain for the marriage ceremony. The outstanding ornamental symbol was that of the red cock. Some of these chash bands were hundreds of years old.

ANNIVERSARY MEETING

14th May, 1929

Professor Margoliouth presided in the unavoidable absence of the President, the Marquess of Zetland.

The following were elected Members of the Society :—

Miss Elsie Benkard.	Mr. Asa Ram Kanshic.
Miss Wanden Mathews.	Mr. Gopi Krishna.
Mr. T. A. Kanakasabapathy Pillai.	Dr. S. Mangapatti Naidoo Aswini Kumar.
Rao Sahib C. Y. Doraswami Pillai.	Rai Sahib Asharfi Lal.
Mr. Hem Chandra Roy.	Mr. Har Kishen Lal Manucha.
Mr. T. E. Veeraraghava Sarma.	Mr. Amar Nath Pargal.
Mr. Bal Kishan Batra.	Mr. Parashu Ram.
Babu Shiva Charan Lal Jain.	Mr. P. K. Ramaswami.
Mr. F. H. Beswick.	Mr. T. S. Venunadhan.
Mr. Kishore Chand Joshi.	Mr. C. V. Vijayapaliah.

Fifteen nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL FOR 1928-9

The Society has lost by death the following members :—

The Rt. Hon. Syed Ameer Ali.	Dr. Phanibhusan Mukerji.
Mrs. Beveridge.	Sir John Murray, K.C.V.O.
Mr. W. Coldstream.	Prof. J. Samaddar.
The Rev. Canon Gairdner.	Mrs. D. B. Spooner.
Mr. Kanhaiya Lal Guru.	Mr. Moungh Tsain.
Dr. C. A. Hewavitarne.	Dr. T. H. Weir.
H.H. the Maharaja of Jhalawar.	

The following members have resigned :—

Mr. H. J. Cant.	The Rev. J. Vernon Lewis.
Mr. O. K. Caroe.	Mr. R. V. Malliah.
The Rev. E. Donaldson.	Staff-Surgeon F. R. Mann.
Mr. H. J. Frampton.	Prof. Radhakumud Mookerji.
Mr. Mysore Hatti Gopal.	Babu Mamnatha Kumar Rai.
Mr. J. Drummond Hogg.	Mr. G. R. T. Ross.
Mr. W. G. Johnson.	Dr. R. Shamasastri.
Mr. W. E. Jardine.	Mr. W. F. Albright.
Mr. M. Singh Kunwar.	

Under Rule 25*d* the following have ceased to be members of the Society :—

Mr. S. Sharaf Ahmad.	Mr. Md. Siraj-ul Islam.
Rev. E. Ahmad-Shah, Lahore.	Mr. Sukhbir Pershad Jain.
Mr. Syed Muhammad B. Alavi.	Mr. Ram Chandra Kak.
Mr. Upendra Mohan Basu.	Mr. N. G. Saswad Kar.
Mr. Ram Behari.	Mr. Afaqe Ahmad Khan.
Mr. Aboul Maali Syed Md. H. Bokhari.	Mr. Nathu Lal.
Mr. Nalin Mohani Chatterji.	Prof. H. W. B. Moreno.
Mr. D. N. Ray Chaudhury.	Mr. B. U. N. Mozumdar.
Mr. Gokulnath Dhar.	Mr. Braj Lal Mukherjee.
Mr. S. K. Ghosh.	Mr. H. B. Nanda.
Mr. Mam Chand Gupta.	Mr. Mian Sultan Nizami.
Mr. M. L. Sen Gupta.	Mr. M. D. Raghavan.
Mr. Seth Sohan Gupta.	Mr. M. Rashid.
Mr. Dwijes Chandra Gupta.	Mr. Parimal Chandra Sen.
Mr. Saras Ram Gupta.	Mr. Madan Mohan Seth.
Mr. A. K. Gurtu.	Mr. Mohammad Sharifuddin.
Rev. E. N. Harris.	Mr. Vinod Chandra Sharma.
Rev. J. P. Hodgkinson.	Mr. A. N. Singh.
Mr. Shams ul-'Ulama Hosain.	Mr. George H. Singh.
Mr. Agha Akhtar Hosein.	Mr. Inder Singh.
	Mr. M. Lal Talib.

The following eight Resident Members have been elected :—

Khan Sahib Farzand Ali.	Mr. Gerard Heym.
Mr. A. Z. Alsagoff.	Mr. S. C. Nandimath.
Miss Edith Clements.	Dr. Lal Dastur Cursetji Pavry.
The Hon. Mrs. Maurice Glyn.	Mrs. G. Swinton.

The following 103 Non-resident members have also been elected :—

Mr. Sh. Mohammad Abdullah.	Mr. Md. Anwar-ul-Hakk.
Mr. Chaudhri Nahi Ahmad.	Mr. Munir Agha Ashhar.
Mr. S. Srinivasa Aiyar.	Mr. H. W. Bailey.
Mr. Md. Hazur Alam.	Mr. V. S. Bakhle.
Mr. Mulk Raj Anand.	Mr. Rakhaldas Banerji.

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| Mr. Sita Ram Batra. | Mr. Md. L. Koraishy. |
| Mr. Raghunath Madhav Bhagade. | Mr. P. D. Kora. |
| Mr. Mula Ram Bhatia. | Mr. P. A. Krisnaswamy. |
| Syed Abdul Wahab Bokari. | Mr. Shamsunder Lal. |
| Major C. A. Boyle, D.S.O. | Mr. J. N. Mathur. |
| Mr. Paul R. Carr. | Mr. Radhika Narayan Mathur. |
| Mr. Harish Chandra. | Mr. Eduard Khin Maung. |
| Mr. Charanjiva. | Professor Antoine Meillet. |
| Mr. D. L. Chetty. | Mr. Shosen Miyamoto. |
| Mr. Himanshu Ch. Chaudhuri. | Mr. K. S. Hussain Mohamad. |
| Dr. S. K. Chowdhury. | Mr. G. Singh Mongia. |
| Dr. Ishvara Datta. | Mr. M. L. Motial. |
| Mr. Rames Chandra Dhar. | The Rev. Cecil J. Mullo-Weir. |
| Mr. Myles Dillon. | The Rev. J. P. Naish. |
| Mr. Bibhuty Bhusan Dutt. | Sheikh Wali Md. Naiyar. |
| Prof. Abid Hasan Faridi. | Mr. Jagat Narain. |
| Maulvi Feroz-ud-din. | Miss Lachhi Bai Jagumal Narsian. |
| Mr. Henry Field. | Miss Sita Bai Jagumal Narsian. |
| Mr. Radha Krishna Goel. | Mr. Peter Scott Noble. |
| Mr. Mohamed Mahmud Goma. | Mrs. G. Pavitran. |
| Mr. M. Sahibuddin Haki, Khan Sahib. | Mr. T. S. Dandeesvaram Pillai. |
| Mr. N. M. Hashmi. | Mr. Paras Mani Lakshmi Pradhan. |
| The Rev. H. Heras, S.J. | Dr. Jwala Prasad. |
| Mr. G. R. Hunter. | Mr. Pande Jadunandam. |
| Mr. Mohomed Ishaque. | Mr. Md. Ibadur Rahman Khan. |
| Mr. M. H. Ismail. | Mr. W. S. de G. Rankin. |
| Mr. K. A. Narayana Iyer. | Mr. Ch. L. Narasimha Rao. |
| Mr. R. V. Jahagirdar. | Mr. M. Sankam Rao. |
| Mr. M. H. S. Jalal-ud-din Ahmad Jafri. | The Rev. J. N. Rawson. |
| Mr. Amrit Lal Jain. | Mr. Hem Ch. Ray. |
| Pandit Bhushan Joshi. | Mr. S. Babu Reddy. |
| Miss Srimati Kamalabai. | Prof. Syed M. D. Riaz-ul-Hassan. |
| Mr. Ganda Singh Kewal. | Prof. Edward Robertson. |
| Mr. Abdur Rahman Khaki. | Mr. M. H. Khan Muhammad Rowther. |
| Mr. Aziz Ahmad Khan. | Rai Sahib Dharam Rozdon. |
| Mr. Diwan Harivamsh Lal Khanna. | |

Mrs. G. Sankunny.	Mr. C. S. R. Somayajulu.
Dr. George Sarton.	Mrs. W. S. Strong.
Mr. Nagendra Nath Sharma.	Mr. Md. Siraj-ud-din Talib.
Mr. Raghunath Sahaya	Mr. Mulla Ramoozi Tauheedi.
Sharma, M.A.	Mr. S. Bertram Thomas.
Mr. K. V. Radhakrishna	Mr. Thakur Tomara.
Shastri.	Mr. Ram Shankar Tripathi.
Prof. Abdul Majid Sheikh.	Prof. Guiseppe Tucci.
Prof. D. C. Simpson.	Mr. Hari Pal Varshni.
Mr. Sundar Lal Singhal.	Prof. Hutton Webster.
Devaki Nandan Prasad Singh,	Herr Otto G. von Wesendonk.
Raja of Monghyr.	Mr. S. W. Yamini.
Mr. T. Ram Chander Singh.	

And three Non-resident Compounders :

Mr. Andrew Fleming, Mr. V. N. Sardesai, and Raja Sri Ravi Sher Singhji, Raja of Kalsia.

The *Journal* has continued to increase in size and interest and the membership has brought in £67 more than last year. Several new libraries have been added to the List, though many of the old ones have dropped off.

In publication the Society has been very active.

The Oriental Translation Fund brought out in 1928 the important work on the Principles of Shi'ite Philosophy, the *Al babu' L'Hâdi 'Ashar* of Ibnu'l Mutakhar al-Hillî, translated by the Rev. W. M. Miller, and also accepted and has already published the Zoological portion of the *Nuzhât'ul Qulub*, edited, translated, and annotated by Colonel J. Stephenson.

The Prize Publication Fund produced Mr. Malalasekara's *Pali Literature of Ceylon* and by the generous aid of the High Commissioner for India the Council has been enabled to undertake to publish a very valuable addition to our knowledge of the languages of the North-West frontier of India, in *Torwali* by Sir George Grierson.

The Asiatic Monograph Fund has just published Dr. Pran Nath's *Study of the Economic Condition of Ancient India*.

The Forlong Fund brought out during the year the new edition of Trenckner's *Milindapañho*, which publication as was mentioned last year has received pecuniary assistance from the Pali Text Society.

The Fund has in the Press at the present time, three other works, *Falaki Shirwānī*, by Professor Hadi Hasan, *Elements of Japanese Writing*, by Commander Isemonger, and *Phonetic Observations of Indian Grammarians*, by Professor Siddheshwar Varma.

The Triennial Gold Medal was presented on 8th May, by Sir Edward Maclagan, the retiring President, to Professor Margoliouth in recognition of his distinguished services to Oriental Research, and on the same day a luncheon was given in honour of Sir George Grierson to celebrate the completion of the Linguistic Survey of India. An account of both functions will be found in the *Journal* for July, 1928.

The Burton Memorial Lecture founded in memory of Sir Richard Burton was given by Mr. H. A. MacMichael on 20th July, the subject being "The Coming of the Arabs to the Sudan", and the Triennial Medal was afterwards presented to him by the President.

The Public School Gold Medal was won by Mr. A. J. Hobson, of Nottingham High School, for his essay on "Lord Cornwallis in India", and the presentation was made by the President on 12th February, 1929.

Lectures delivered during the year 1928-9 were:—

"Excavations at Ur, 1927-8," by Mr. C. Leonard Woolley.

"The Contribution of Hungary to Central Asian Studies, with special reference to Csoma de Körös," by Sir E. Denison Ross.

"Education in India," by Mr. A. Yusuf Ali.

"Some Documents and Languages from Chinese Turkestan," by Professor F. W. Thomas.

"Some Notes on Early Muhammadan Titles," by Mr. Harold Bowen.

ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND

RECEIPTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
SUBSCRIPTIONS—						
Resident Members	284	11	0			
Non-Resident Members	1,028	0	10			
Student Members	1	0	6			
Non-Resident Compounders	83	10	0			
				1,397	2	4
RENTS RECEIVED				727	10	0
GRANTS FROM INDIA AND COLONIAL OFFICES—						
Government of India	315	0	0			
“ Hong-Kong	25	0	0			
“ Straits Settlements	20	0	0			
“ Federated Malay States	40	0	0			
				400	0	0
SUNDRY DONATIONS				24	5	0
GRANT FOR LIBRARY FROM CARNEGIE TRUST				400	0	0
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Subscriptions	442	3	3			
Additional Copies sold	141	19	1			
Pamphlets sold	3	14	5			
				587	16	9
DIVIDENDS				74	10	2
CENTENARY VOLUME SALES				3	14	0
CENTENARY SUPPLEMENT SALES				10	0	
COMMISSION ON SALE OF BOOKS				21	11	1
SALE OF LIBRARY BOOKS				4	11	9
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT				12	6	8
BALANCE IN HAND 31ST DECEMBER, 1927—						
Current Account.	244	9	2			
Deposit Account.	200	0	0			
				444	9	2

£4,098 6 11

INVESTMENTS.

£350 5 per cent War Loan, 1929-47.
 £1,426 1s. 10d. Local Loans 3 per cent Stock.
 £635 2s. 7d. 4 per cent Funding Stock 1960-90.
 £132 16s. 3d. 4½ per cent Treasury Bonds, 1932-34.

PAYMENTS FOR THE YEAR 1928

PAYMENTS

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
HOUSE ACCOUNT—						
Rent and Land Tax	503	17	4			
Rates, less contributed by Tenants	23	15	2			
Gas and Light, do.	86	15	1			
Coal and Coke, do.	43	1	5			
Telephone	16	9	9			
Cleaning	3	3	0			
Insurance	30	5	0			
Repairs	16	17	8			
Sundries	41	14	9			
					765	19 2
REBUILDING CHIMNEYS	97	9	1			
PAINTING HOUSE	79	13	0			
					177	2 1
LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND					20	10 6
SALARIES AND WAGES					777	15 0
PRINTING AND STATIONERY					136	5 7
JOURNAL ACCOUNT—						
Printing	1,039	17	0			
Postage	77	0	0			
					1,116	17 0
LIBRARY EXPENDITURE—						
General					124	9 4
Special Expenditure provided for by the Grant of £400 received from Carnegie Trust—						
Cataloguing	160	0	0			
Binding	75	0	0			
Books	65	19	0			
Book Cases	49	1	0			
					115	0 0
					*350	0 0
GENERAL POSTAGE					56	13 9
AUDIT FEES					14	14 0
SUNDY EXPENSES—						
Teas	19	7	8			
Parcels and Fares	4	13	4			
Lectures	24	4	6			
Diplomas	6	17	0			
Interest on overdraft	7	0	0			
Library Carpet	8	8	0			
National Health and Unemployment Insurance	15	7	0			
Sundries	16	2	0			
					95	6 6
BALANCES IN HAND, 31ST DECEMBER, 1928—						
Deposit Account	300	0	0			
Current Account—						
General	112	14	0			
Carnegie Fund	50	0	0			
					162	14 0
					462	14 0
					<u>£4,098</u>	<u>6 11</u>

* NOTE: There was at 31st December, 1928, a liability for repairing MSS. of which £50 is payable out of the Carnegie Trust Grant.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society, and have verified the investments therein described, and hereby certify the said Abstract to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
 { RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

SPECIAL FUNDS

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
1928.			
Jan. 1. BALANCE	358 4 6		
SALES	169 1 9		
INTEREST ON DEPOSIT ACCOUNT	8 15 3		
		PRINTING AND BINDING VOL. XXIX	69 8 5
		REPRINTING VOL. XVI	57 10 0
		SUNDRIES	126 18 5
		10% COMMISSION ON 1927 SALES TO GENERAL ACCOUNT	1 0
			12 10 7
		Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	396 11 6
	<u>£536 1 6</u>		<u>£536 1 6</u>

ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND

Jan. 1. BALANCE	126 9 5	10% COMMISSION ON 1927 SALES TO GENERAL ACCOUNT	2 10 3
SALES	21 1 9		
		Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	145 0 11
	<u>£147 11 2</u>		<u>£147 11 2</u>

SUMMARY OF SPECIAL FUND BALANCES

ORIENTAL TRANSLATION FUND	396 11 6	CASH AT BANK—	191 12 5
ASIATIC MONOGRAPH FUND	145 0 11	On Current Account	350 0 0
		„ Deposit Account	£541 12 5
	<u>£541 12 5</u>		<u>£541 12 5</u>

LEASEHOLD REDEMPTION FUND

		1928.			
		£	s. d.	£	s. d.
Jan. 1.	BALANCE				
	TRANSFER FROM GENERAL ACCOUNT	145	8 10		
	DIVIDENDS RECEIVED TO BE INVESTED	20	10 6		
		8	2 6		
		<u>£174 1 10</u>			
				174	1 10
				<u>£174 1 10</u>	
	BALANCE—				
	Represented by £162 10s. 3d.				
	5 per cent War Loan,				
	1929/47			165	19 4
	CASH AT BANK			8	2 6
				<u>174 1 10</u>	

TRUST FUNDS

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND

Jan. 1.	BALANCE	175	3 3	PRINTING AND BINDING	
	SALES	33	19 7	VOL. X	182 3 0
	DIVIDENDS	18	0 0	BINDING VOL. VII	12 0 0
		51	19 7	PRINTING BOOK LABELS	1 17 0
					<u>196 0 0</u>
				10 PER CENT ON 1927 SALES TO GENERAL ACCOUNT	4 10 10
				Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	26 12 0
					<u>£227 2 10</u>

GOLD MEDAL FUND

Jan. 1.	BALANCE	61	11 5	GOLD MEDAL	25 0 0
	DIVIDENDS	9	15 0	BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY	46 6 5
		£71	6 5		<u>£71 6 5</u>

BURTON MEMORIAL FUND

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
1928.		1928	
Jan. 1. BALANCE	4 10 6	GOLD MEDAL	2 12 6
DIVIDENDS	1 9 4	REPORT OF LECTURE	1 18 6
		Dec. 31. BY CASH AT BANK ON CURRENT ACCOUNT	4 11 0
			1 8 10
			<u>£5 19 10</u>

INVESTMENT.
£49 0s. 10d. 3% Local Loans.

JAMES G. B. FORLONG FUND

	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
Jan. 1. BALANCE	53 0 9	CARRIAGE OF VOLUMES	3 11 4
DIVIDENDS	210 1 10	10% ON 1927 SALES TO GENERAL ACCOUNT	1 19 5
SALE OF BOOKS	29 3 1		
DONATION	82 11 0	Dec. 31. CASH AT BANK—	369 5 11
		On Current Account	<u>£374 16 8</u>

INVESTMENTS.

£1,005 14s. 7d. New South Wales 4 per cent Stock, 1942-62.
£1,015 16s. 3d. South Australian Government 4 per cent Inscribed Stock, 1940-60.
£1,010 Bengal Nagpur Railway 4 per cent Debenture Stock.

I have examined the above Abstract of Receipts and Payments with the books and vouchers of the Society and have verified the Investments therein described, and I certify the said Abstracts to be true and correct.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.
(L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
Countersigned (RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1929.

PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND

1928.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	1928.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Jan. 1. BALANCE	.	62 8 10	ADVERTISEMENTS	.	1 3 0
DIVIDENDS	.	20 15 4	Dec. 31. BALANCE CARRIED TO SUMMARY		82 1 2
		<u>£83 4 2</u>			<u>£83 4 2</u>

SUMMARY OF TRUST FUND BALANCES

PRIZE PUBLICATION FUND	.	26 12 0	CASH AT BANK—		
GOLD MEDAL FUND	.	46 6 5	On Current Account.	.	154 19 7
PUBLIC SCHOOLS' GOLD MEDAL FUND	.	82 1 2			
		<u>154 19 7</u>			<u>£154 19 7</u>
		<u>£154 19 7</u>			

TRUST FUNDS

£600 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Prize Publication Fund).
 £325 Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "A" Stock (Gold Medal Fund).
 £645 11s. 2d. Nottingham Corporation 3 per cent Irredeemable "B" Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).
 £40 3½ per cent Conversion Stock (Public Schools' Gold Medal Fund).

I have examined the above Statement with the books and vouchers, and hereby certify the same to be correct. I have also had produced to me certificates for the Stock Investments and Bank Balances.

N. E. WATERHOUSE, Professional Auditor.

Countersigned { L. C. HOPKINS, Auditor for the Council.
 { RICHARD BURN, Auditor for the Society.

March, 1929.

"The Bega Races of the Eastern Sudan," by Mr. D. Harcourt Kitchin.

"The Genius: A Study in Indo-European Psychology," by Dr. L. D. Barnett.

"The Highway of Europe and Asia," by Dr. J. G. Andersson (in conjunction with the Central Asian Society).

"The Excavations at Nineveh, 1927-8," by Dr. R. Campbell Thompson and Mr. Hutchinson.

Much work in the Library has been done owing to the valuable help of the Carnegie Trustees. Over and above the Society's grant of £120 for buying books and binding, books to the value of £65 were bought during 1928 and binding amounting to £75 was carried out, besides a liability incurred of over £100 on repairing MSS. Fifty pounds was spent on buying two large bookcases, and the remainder of the £400 grant on preparing the Catalogue for publication.

The first letters of the Catalogue are ready for the printers, and good progress has been made in sorting and classifying the large collection of pamphlets in the Library.

The Central Asian Society, one of the Society's oldest tenants, finding they required larger premises, left us in March, and the Council have decided to take over the room thus vacated, for the Chinese Library, which since the move to Grosvenor Street has been very inadequately housed.

The Finance Report for 1928, shows an income of £3,653 7s. 9d., and an expenditure of £3,635 12s. 11d., the small balance being accounted for by two heavy expenses: one the triennial repainting of the outside of the house at a cost of £79 13s., the other a very unexpected order from the London County Council to take down and rebuild the chimney stacks, which were out of the perpendicular to a dangerous extent, of which the cost, just £100, crippled the spending powers for the year. The Society's landlord, the Duke of Westminster, has since given a donation of £25 towards this expense.

The other receipts and expenditure for the year were normal.

The recommendations of the Council for filling vacancies on the Council for the ensuing year 1929-30 are as follows:—

Under Rules 30 and 32, Mr. Hopkins and Professor Langdon retire from the office of Vice-President, and Dr. Blagden, Mr. Clauson, Dr. Gaster, and Professor Turner from the Council. Mr. Sidney Smith on his appointment as Director of the Iraq Museum resigned his seat on the Council. The Council recommend that Dr. Blagden and Dr. Gaster be elected Vice-Presidents and Sir William Foster, Dr. Hall, Mr. Hopkins, Professor Langdon, and Mr. Oldham ordinary members of Council.

Under Rule 31 Sir J. Stewart Lockhart, Mr. Perowne, and Mr. Ellis retire from the office of Hon. Secretary, Hon. Treasurer, and Hon. Librarian respectively. The Council recommend their re-election.

Under Rule 81 the Council recommend Mr. Hopkins and Sir Richard Burn as Hon. Auditors and Messrs. Price, Waterhouse & Co. as Auditors for the ensuing year.

Dr. Blagden, in proposing the adoption of the report, referred to some of the losses sustained by death, and notably those of Mrs. Beveridge, the Rev. Canon Gairdner and Mr. Ameer Ali, remarking that these names carried great weight among Orientalists. They had a certain number of resignations and also a certain number of removals from the roll under Rule 25d, which was a euphemistic way of saying that some members suffered from bad memories notwithstanding several reminders that subscriptions were due. They had satisfactory lists of new members, and on balance the year was one of substantial progress in membership. The *Journal* continued to show a satisfactory increase in size and he hoped they might say in interest. He was bound to admit that the interest was relative, owing to the necessarily large number of specialized contributions. A satisfactory feature was their activity in publications, for they brought out last year no less than

six works, and even when they made allowance for the fact that one of them was no more than a photographic reprint, this was a very creditable performance. They also now had three new volumes in the press. He thought the Society might congratulate itself on the support it gave to good and disinterested work in the cause of the publication of Oriental writings which otherwise might never be published at all. Of the presentation of the Triennial Gold Medal in the course of the year he would say nothing lest he should embarrass the Chairman that afternoon, Professor Margoliouth. The Public School Gold Medal, it would appear, now attracted very few competitors, and this was to be regretted. The list of lectures given in the report was satisfactory, but there was no feature of the report more gratifying than the reference to the library and the grant thereto by the Carnegie Trustees. The printed catalogue now under preparation would be extremely useful not only to their own members, but also, he did not doubt, to many other persons not known to the Society and to many other libraries. It would enable them to see that the library of the Royal Asiatic Society was in some respects unique. He thought the Society was to be congratulated on the year's working, and he had pleasure in moving the adoption of the report.

Colonel Lorimer, in seconding, said that their thanks were due to the various officials, including the honorary officers, who had carried on the work of the Society so efficiently during the year. He might be permitted to say something regarding their poverty—a matter which in his younger days was never talked about by people but which now was as common a topic of conversation as the weather. The accounts showed that they paid their way. The question was whether it was sufficient for a society of the distinction of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had now existed for over a hundred years, and had so many accomplishments to its credit, to merely carry on in the traditional way without new developments. Reference had been made to the library

and its prosperity. One would like to see the library better accommodated in a building where there would also be provision for a lounge for rest and conversation. Much was done with publications, but much more could be done, and he sometimes had visions of a Publications Committee which would always be in session and would not be prevented by financial stringency from giving support to satisfactory proposals from the scholars which made them. They ought to be able to subsidize research work much more fully than they did at present. He did not know whether they had anyone who could do for them what was done by Lord Curzon when he secured the removal of the Royal Geographical Society from Savile Row to Lowther Lodge. Their Society could not make the same popular appeal as the Royal Geographical Society, for geographical details were of more interest to the general public than Oriental research. But he felt that there was one possible line of appeal. They had a great number of Indian members who were scholars, but he believed that they had only a very few of the Ruling Princes of India on their roll.

Mr. Perowne as honorary treasurer gave details of the financial position. He said that last year the effective membership was 865, and this year it had risen to about 910 or 915. Having passed the 900 mark, it was reasonable to hope that their membership would be a thousand before long. The £400 received from the Carnegie Trustees was a most welcome support for the library; but it had to be borne in mind that the grant was strictly limited to the purposes of the library. In connexion with the enforced rebuilding of the chimneys he mentioned that the Duke of Westminster, the ground landlord, had kindly given a special donation of £25. While their membership was increasing, their expenditure was also increasing, and they needed a larger income in order to respond to the activities of the Society and provide against contingencies, the credit balance being only £128 10s. He hoped, therefore, that members would do their best to increase

the membership. He expressed his thanks to the assistant secretary, Mrs. Davis, for the help she had given in dealing with the accounts.

The Chairman said they would all share with him in his disappointment that their President, owing to his numerous engagements, was unable to take the chair. The Council of the Society would agree with him in an expression of appreciation of the services rendered by Lord Zetland. As a member of the Council, he could say how much they admired the wisdom of his advice which never failed when they had difficult questions to deal with. It was a source of pride to the Society that their President was the author of a great biography of one of our most distinguished statesmen, the late Lord Curzon. The Marquess of Zetland's life of that eminent statesman had been warmly received by those whose appreciation was most valued, and would be indispensable to all future historians of the eventful years with which it dealt.

It was the custom on these occasions for the chairman to say a little about the members whom the Society had lost by death during the year. Among them he would name, first, the Maharaja of Jhalawar, a good friend of the Empire and of the Society, a man of wide literary instincts, who composed books in Urdu, Hindi, and English, and corresponded in Sanskrit: an ardent traveller, who wrote books of travel which indicated keen observation and were fascinating in style: and a personal friend of many members. When, not many weeks ago, he (the Chairman) received in Calcutta an invitation to deliver the Wilson Lectures in Bombay, he was agreeably surprised by a visit in that city from the Maharaja's secretary, who, however, gave him the less agreeable intelligence that His Highness had gone to Bombay to obtain medical aid, and was lying ill at the Taj Mahal Hotel, but would be glad to see him. The Maharaja's intellect was so clear and his conversation so bright that he had no idea that the end could be so speedily approaching.

At the degree-giving Convocation of Calcutta University,

which he attended a few days earlier, the Vice-Chancellor called attention to the loss which that University had sustained by the death of Syed Ameer Ali. The Syed was for many years a counsellor of their Society, and when on his appointment to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council a dinner was arranged by the Eastern Question Association in his honour, the President of the Society, Lord Reay, was in the chair. Mr. Ameer Ali was personally known to and highly esteemed by many present. He won fame as a historian and as a lawyer. Though he belonged to a sect which had rarely been numerous, the Mu'tazilite Shias, his interest extended to all the Islamic peoples. The All-India Moslem League was to a great extent his creation. The great charm of his English style gave his writings wide circulation. As an interpreter of Moslem India to Europe he would not easily be replaced.

Canon Gairdner worked for many years as a missionary in Cairo, and made a profound study of the vernacular Arabic and of the phonetics of the language. He also devoted much attention to Islamic theology, and like another great missionary, Dr. Zwemer, adopted a sympathetic attitude. A gifted lady who co-operated with him in Cairo for some years, Miss Padwick, had composed a biography of Canon Gairdner, which would shortly be issued.

By the death of Professor Weir, of Glasgow, a scholar of great industry and ability, the circle of British Arabists and Hebraists had been seriously reduced. His work on the Sheiks of Morocco was familiar to those whose studies extended to French Islam. He also wrote on Biblical criticism. A fund was being raised in Glasgow to perpetuate his memory at the University. He also desired to refer to the loss the Society had sustained by the death of Mrs. Beveridge, who had co-operated for so many years with her husband in the study of Mogul literature, and of Mr. W. Coldstream, a member of the Society since 1908. He was a member of the I.C.S. for thirty-four years, and he contributed to the *Journal* a paper on the popular songs of some parts of India.

Owing to the enterprise and initiative of their ex-President, Sir Edward Maclagan, the library was entering upon a new epoch of its existence, becoming more expansive and more easy of access than before, though that spectre which loomed before all librarians, want of space, was already assuming threatening proportions. However, methods not of exorcising, but of tackling it were being devised. The developments had entailed more work on their honorary librarian, Mr. Ellis, but they knew how gladly he sacrificed his time and gave his knowledge for the benefit of the Society. The *Journal*, which like many others had become emaciated in consequence of the War, had now nearly recovered its former dimensions. Some members had complained and even left the Society because the articles which filled it were too technical in character. The *Journal* ought, they thought, to be more popular. This view was not shared by the Council, who meant to be stubbornly scientific. Another matter which might require handling was the scope of the *Journal*. As would be seen, they did their best to provide that no part of the vast region with which their title associated them should be neglected. There were now so many Oriental journals specialized and general that if the Locarno spirit developed some mode of dealing with this difficulty might be devised; the difficulty arose from the fact that each member of the Society was likely to be interested only in a small part of each *Journal*.

Mention of the Locarno spirit led him to say a little about the Congress of Orientalists, which took place in Oxford last August. It had something to do with the Society. In pre-Locarno days the R.A.S. and the similar societies of France, Italy, and the United States of America kept up the principle of co-operation by annual meetings, but when it was found possible to resume the old series of International Congresses, the R.A.S. was one of the first to give its adhesion. And when similar societies in Germany, America, as well as in France, Italy, Holland, etc., had signified their intention of sending delegates, the organizing committee, remembering the

skill and tact, the energy and the influence which Lord Chalmers had displayed when president of the R.A.S. in organizing its centenary festival, appealed to him to preside over the Oxford Congress of Orientalists. As an Oxford man who was Principal of a Cambridge College, as a former Governor of Ceylon and high official in the Government here, and as an Orientalist of fame, he appeared to them to be marked out as the ideal person to preside. The wisdom of the choice was in every way confirmed by the result.

The Report was adopted, and the recommendations of the Council for the re-election of officers, the filling of vacancies on the Council, and the appointment of auditors were accepted.

11th June

The Marquess of Zetland, President, in the chair.

The following were elected Members of the Society :—

Syed Mohiuddin Ahmad.	Mr. Rashid A. Munshi, B.Ag.
Mr. S. Masum Ali.	Dr. A. Sitarama Nayudu,
Dvij Nath Pandit Sri Vishavam-	L.C.P., etc.
bhar Nath Bajpai, B.A.	Major G. H. Rooke.
Mr. Nand Lal Singh Bhalla,	Mr. Kunwar Chandkaran
B.A., B.T.	Sarda, B.A., LL.B.
Baboo Sitaram Kanoujia, B.A.	Mrs. Walter Sedgwick.
Miss Florence Lederer	Pandit Suryadeo Sharma, M.A.
(Student).	Pandit Hariram Solanki.
Syed Abdul Majid.	Dr. M. Zainulabidin.

Six nominations were approved for election at the next General Meeting.

Mr. Elden Rutter read a paper on "The Arabians", illustrated by lantern slides.

An abstract of the paper will appear in the *October Journal*.

Will any member give or sell to the Society *Bengal Past and Present*, vol. 2, pts. 1 and 2, 1908, complete with the coloured plate to pt. 1, also title pages to vols. 1 and 2 and the index which were issued in a supplement.

The Librarian would be grateful for the presentation of any of the following works of which the Library is in need. Information as to the existence of copies for sale would also be welcomed :—

China Branch R.A.S., *Transactions*, pts. v-vii, 1855-9.

Journal of the Indian Archipelago, vol. i, vol. ix, Nos. 1, 2, 3.

Le Muséon, Nouvelle série, vols. iv, v, vi, and from vol. x to the end of the series, about 1915.

Numismatic Chronicle, vol. ii, No. 5; vol. iii, Nos. 11, 12; New Ser., Nos. 9, 10, 1863; *Proceedings* from the beginning.

Perrot and Chipiez, *History of Ancient Egyptian Art*, vol. i, 1883.

Phoenix, The, vol. 3, Nos. 27, 28, Sept.-Oct., 1872; No. 30, Dec., 1872; Nos. 34, 35, 36, April, May, June, 1873.

Sudan Notes and Records, vol. i, No. 2; vol. ii, No. 1.

Toyo-Gakuhō, vol. xiii, No. 1.

Vienna Oriental Journal, vol. xxix, pts. iii, iv.

Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, vol. viii.

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Vol. lix, 1928.

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Ferguson, Dr. J. C. Shapes of Porcelain Vessels.

Hayes, L. N. The Great Wall of China.

Wang Kuo-Wei. Chinese Foot-Measures of the past Nineteen Centuries.

Phelps, Rev. D. L. The Place of Music in the Platonic and Confucian Systems of Moral Education.

White, L. M. Early Christianity in Japan.

Hu Shih. Wang Mang, the Socialist Emperor of Nineteen Centuries ago.

Biallas, Rev. F. X. K'ü Yüan, Her Life and Poems.

Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen.

Jahrgang xxxi, 1928.

Erste Abtheilung, Ostasiatische Studien.

- Schubert, J. Tibetische National Grammatik.
Hauer, E. Erh-shih-se hiao.
Trittel, W. Chinesische Strafprozessordnung und Ausführungsbestimmungen zur Strafprozessordnung.
Simon, W. Zur Reconstruction der altchinesischen End-Konsonanten. Teil 2.

Zweite Abtheilung, Westasiatische Studien.

- Weil, G. Die Königslose. J. G. Wetzstein's freie Nachdichtung eines arabischen Losbuches.
Bolland, W. Schriftreform in der Türkei.
Babinger, F. 'Āšyq Gharib nāme.
Kampffmeyer, G. Arabische Dichter der Gegenwart.
— Die Anfänge einer Geschichte der neueren arabischen Literatur.

Bulletin de l'École Française d'extrême-Orient. Tome xxvii, 1927.

- Renondeau, Lieut.-Colonel. Choix de pièces du théâtre lyrique japonais, transcrites, traduites et annotées, iv-vii.
Parmentier, H. Notes d'Archéologie Indochinoise.
Roux, H. et Trân-vân-Chu. Les Tsa Khmu.
Goloubew, V. Le Cheval Balaha.

Ostasiatische Zeitschrift. Jahrg. 14. Heft 4, 1927.

- Coomaraswamy, A. Notes on Indian Coins and Symbols.
Eckardt, P. A. Der Zodiacal-Turkreis in der Koreanischen Kunst des 9. Jahrhunderts.
Herrmann, A. Die Lage des Landes Ta Ts'in.

Jahrg. 15. Heft 1, 1929.

- Wegner, M. Eine chinesische Maitreya-gruppe vom Jahre 529.
Kümmel, O. Zur Geschichte der japanischen Plastik.
Reidemeister. Über einige typische chinesische Fälschungen.
Le Coq, A. von. Teppiche der Kara-Kirghisen aus der Gegend des Terek-Passes in Russisch-Turkestan.

Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society. Vol. viii, No. 4.

- Alt, A. Epigraphische Bemerkungen zur Geschichte des Christentums in der Palastina Tertia.
Steuernagel, C. Wo lag Pnuel?
Stephan, St. H. Studies in Palestinian Customs and Folklore.
Albright, W. F. The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the 21st Century B.C.

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Kuenen-Wicksteed, Mrs. D. Embassy of M. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls, translated from the Dutch.

Journal of Indian History. Vol. vii, Pt. iii, 1928.

Das, Harihar. The East India Company; its Origin and Growth prior to Sir William Norris's Embassy.

Diskalkar, D. B. Note on the Kalvan Plates of the Time of Paramara Bhoja.

Aziz, Abdul. History of the Reign of Shah Jahan.

Koul, Anand. Birth-place of Kalidasa.

Sinha, H. N. The Rise of the Peshwas.

Srinivasa Iyengar, P. T. Pre-Aryan Tamil Culture.

Journal of the Society of Oriental Research. Vol. xiii, Nos. 1-2, 1929.

Mercer, S. A. B. Études sur les Origines de la Religion de l'Égypte.

Maynard, J. A. Lexicographical Notes on Akkadian Religious Texts.

Sudan Notes and Records. Vol. xi, 1928.

Evans-Pritchard, E. E. Oracle Magic of the Azande.

Lampen, E. A Short Account of Meidob.

Whitehead, G. O. Some Authors of the Southern Sudan.

Newbold, D. and Shaw, Id. B. K. An exploration in the South Libyan Desert.

Willis, C. A. The Cult of Deng.

Faheil, Sheikh Ibrahim. The Nāhās of the Kababish.

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Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. Vol. xix, No. 4, 1929.

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Sundram, L. Mughal Land Revenue System.

Venkatramiah, D. Svetasvataropaniṣad.

Vaidyanatha Ayyar, R. S. The Sumero-Dravidian and the Hittite-Aryan Origins.

Mitra, S. C. Studies in Bird-Myths.

— Studies in Plant-Myths.

- Journal of the American Oriental Society.* Vol. xlix, No. 1, 1929.
 Vanoverberg, M. Iloko Anatomy.
 Price, M. The Oath in Court Procedure in Early Babylonia and the Old Testament.
 Eitan, I. Two Onomatological Studies.
 Jackson, A. V. W. On Turfan Pahlavi mīyazdagtācīh as designating a Manichæan Ceremonial Offering.
 Ware, J. R. Studies in the Divyavadāna II.

Der Islam. Band xviii, Heft 1-2.

- Bräunlich, E. Abū Du'aib Studien.
 Jansky, H. Die Chronik des Ibn Tūlūn als Geschichtsquelle über den Feldzug Sultan Selīm's I. gegen die Mamluken.
 Ritter, H. Philologica iii and iv.
 Taeschner, Fr. und Wittek, P. Die Vizirfamilie der Ġandarly-zāde (14-15. Jahrhdt.) und ihre Denkmäler.

Rivista degli Studi Orientali. Vol. xii, Fas. 1, 1929.

- Cerulli, E. Note su alcuni popolazioni Sidāmā d'ell Abissinia meridionale.
 — Le stazioni lunari nelle nozioni astronomiche dei Somali e dei Danākīl.
 Ritter, H. Über einige Werke des Salāḥaddīn Ḥalīl b. Aibak as Safādī in Starnbuler Bibliotheken.
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 Rossini, C. Conti. GWL in sud-arabico.

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 Fabricius, Knud. The Hittite System of Land-Tenure in the Second Millennium B.C.
 Hackmann, H. Ein chinesisches Urteil über den Taoismus von Lung Hu Shan und Shang Ch'ing.
 Caland, W. A Vaidic Wedding-song.
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- De Silva, W. A. Sinhalese Vittipot and Kaḍaimpot.
 Chélvadurai-Proctor, R. Some Rules and Precepts among Tamils for construction of Houses, Villages, Towns and Cities during the Mediaeval Age.

Ferguson, Donald. The Earliest Dutch Visits to Ceylon.
Prakasar, Rev. S. Gnana. Place of Tamil in the Science of
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Bell, H. C. P. Excerpta Maldiviana.

Malayan Branch. Royal Asiatic Society Journal. Vol. vi, Pt. 2,
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Naville, E. Les premiers mots du chapitre xvii du *Livre des
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- Abulfedæ Tabula Syriæ cum excerpto geographico ex Ibn ol
Wardii . . . Arabice edidit, latine vertit . . . J. B. Koehler.
 $10\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$. *Lipsiæ*, 1766. *Bought from Carnegie Grant.*
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OBITUARY

Mrs. Beveridge

By the death of Mrs. Annette Susannah Beveridge at the age of 87, on Friday, 27th March, the Society lost one of its most widely known and scholarly members.

Mrs. Beveridge was born in 1842, her father, William Akroyd, being a member of a well-known Yorkshire stock. She was educated at Bedford College, London, where she entered in 1862, completing her studies in 1867. In 1872 she went to India, where she carried out a project of establishing an undenominational school for girls, which she successfully opened in the latter part of 1873. In 1875 she married Mr. Henry Beveridge, of the Bengal Civil Service, under whose guidance she entered upon the study of Oriental languages, especially Persian. Later on, she took up the study of Eastern Turkish.

Mrs. Beveridge is the author of several works of considerable importance for the history of the early Moghul Emperors of India. The chief of these are :—

A translation from the German of Noer's *History of Akbar* (1890) ;

The Humāyān-nāmah, or Memoirs of Gulbadan Begim, one of the Emperor Bābur's daughters, edited in Persian, with a translation, and published in the Oriental Translation Fund Series (1902) ;

A facsimile of the Turki text of the Memoirs of Bābur from the Hyderabad MS., with an analytical index, published by the Trustees of the Gibb Memorial (1905) ;

A translation of the preceding from the original Turki text, with copious notes, issued in four parts at intervals, during the years from 1912 to 1921.

Beside the above, Mrs. Beveridge is the author of a large number of articles on Oriental subjects, published in the *Journal* of this Society, and elsewhere. At the time of her death she was still engaged upon a revision of her edition and translation of the *Humāyān-nāmah*.

A. G. E.

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JOURNAL OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY 1929

PART IV.—OCTOBER

The Genius : A Study in Indo-European Psychology

By L. D. BARNETT

I. HORACE well describes the Genius as conceived in Roman thought :—

Scit genius, natale comes qui temperat astrum,
naturae deus humanae, mortalis in unum
quodque caput, voltu mutabilis, albus et ater.

(*Ep.* II. ii. 187 f.)

"The Genius knows, that companion who controls our natal star, the god of man's nature attached to each human being's head, changeful in aspect, white and black." With every person, family, and social group and place was connected a tutelary deity who from birth onwards controlled the destinies of the person or thing that lay under his sway, dispensing either happiness or trouble. The word *genius* probably means "natal, connected by birth", γενέθλιος, and to the Italian mind signified "the personality, the character, abstracted from the man and made into a god" (Roscher, *Ausf. Lex. d. gr. u. röm. Myth.*, col. 1615, s.v.). These Genii were regarded as forming the proletariat or commons of the Italian gods (Seneca, *Ep.* 110), and the month of December was sacred to them (Ovid, *Fasti* III. 58). There are some traces in Italy of evil genii corresponding to these good spirits; the idea of this dualism is at bottom IE.,

though the rigid schematic application of it is perhaps due to later developments. In art the Genius was represented as a young man with a snake, or a snake alone. The former combination is really a kind of compound hieroglyph, in which the man's figure signifies youth or vitality and the snake stands for eternity, so that the combination means an eternal divine person, who was the guardian spirit or divine counterpart of a human being or place, quite distinct from the Manes or soul, which never could attain to divinity, and was liable to suffering after death. A very similar state of affairs ruled in Greece, where every human being had his *γενέθλιος δαίμων* and every place its tutelary deity; and the corresponding *κακοδαίμων* or evil genius was not wanting. Worship was offered to the *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* of the household and the family, as well as of the individual, and he was represented as a snake, as in Italy (Rohde, *Psyche*, Eng. tr., pp. 173, 207). We may conclude that in these beliefs there lingered a remnant of the old IE. doctrine of a dualism which opposed to an Order of Light an Order of Darkness engaged in a constant struggle against it, and divided each Order into series of beings of successive grades of power for good or evil respectively. This belief had become attenuated in Greece and Italy, where in classical times the idea of evil Genii, as opposed to good spirits, played a very inconspicuous part. But it is very vigorously alive in the Rgvēda, where the gods are often represented as warring against spirits of darkness and death, *vrtrāṇi* and *rakṣāṃsi*, etc., and it is the leading feature in the religion of the Avesta, an uncompromising dualism falsely ascribed to Zoroāstra and really of IE. origin.

II. The Avesta conceives all life as divided into the Order of Light created by Ahura Mazdāh by means of his Holy Spirit (*Spəntō Mainyuš*) and the Order of Darkness created by the Evil Spirit (*Anrō Mainyuš*). Between these two classes of beings a constant struggle is and must be waged, from the highest to the lowest. All the beings of Ahura's creation,

not only gods and righteous men and women, but likewise the sun, moon, stars, earth, waters, plants, clean animals, and many other things, belong to the Order of Light, and have to carry on the conflict against the powers of Darkness. To each of these good beings, past, present, and future, is attached a Fravaši, a guardian genius or divine counterpart, existing from the beginning, who protects him, her, or it against the demons, and fights on the side of Ahura and good against the spirits of evil (*Dīnā-ī M.Kh.* XLIX. 23, *Šikand-gūmānīk Vijār* VIII. 59 f.). Probably in the earliest times Fravašis were assigned only to beings below the highest order of divinity, for these, being more or less inferior in holiness, needed the support of perfectly holy creatures; but in course of time priestly imagination and love of schematic completeness led the pious in Iran, as in Italy, to assign Fravašis to superior gods such as Ātar, Miθra, Sraoša, Nairyōsapha, Rašnu, the Holy Word (*mąθra spənta*), the Saosyants or future saviours (*Yt.* XIII. 17, 85 f.), and the Aməša Spəntas (*Yt.* XIII. 82 ff.), even to Ahura (*Yt.* XIII. 80, *Y.* XXIII. 2, XXVI. 2), and finally by a crowning absurdity of logic to the Fravašis themselves. They are attached to all good beings, whether past, present, or future (*Yt.* XIII. 20 ff., etc.). It is through their help that Ahura by his Holy Spirit established the heavens and the earth with its mountains, waters, and plants, and nurtures unborn children (*Yt.* XIII. 11, 20 ff., 28 f.; cf. *Y.* XXIII. 1). But for their aid the Evil Spirit would reign supreme in the material world created by Ahura, and there would be no men or animals in the Order of Light (*Yt.* XIII. 12 f.). Through their power and glory the paralysing grip of Anrō Mainyuš is removed, and the waters flow, winds blow, plants grow, women conceive and bear easily, the sun, moon, and stars travel in their courses, and eloquent men are born who successfully preach the true faith (*Yt.* XIII. 14 ff., 53 ff.).

The Fravašis are a vast host or hosts, whose home is in the summit of heaven, whence they descend when summoned

to aid their worshippers (*Yt.* XIII. 42), and to save them from perils of the way and of battle, for they are givers of victory over human and demonic foes (*Yt.* XIII. 17 ff., 31 f., 37 f., 63, 69 ff.).¹ Together with *Miθra*, *Rašnu*, and the Wind-god *Vāta* they war in mighty troops, armed with helmets, swords, shields, and other weapons against the demons, and win for their worshippers victory over the malignant powers of nature (*Yt.* XIII. 37, 45 ff.), bringing forth the star *Satavaēsa* that it may give rain on Aryan lands (*Yt.* XIII. 43 f.; cf. *Bundahišn* VII. 1 f.), and streams of water pour forth from the lake *Vourukaša* (*Yt.* XIII. 65 ff.). It is they who, with *Apaṃ Napāt*, the Wind-god *Vāta*, and the spirit of Glory (*Xvarənah*) distribute waters over the countries of the world (*Yt.* VIII. 34). Their troops, mounted on war-horses and armed with spears, guard heaven against the assaults of the Evil Spirit (*Bund.* VI, etc.). Myriads of them watch over the sleeping hero *Sāma Kərəsāspa* (*Yt.* XIII. 61, *Bund.* XXIX. 7); they guard the seed of *Zarathuštra*, from which is destined to arise the future Saviour (*Yt.* XIII. 62, *Bund.* XXXII. 9), the lake *Vourukaša*, where stands the sacred *Haoma*-tree (*Yt.* XIII. 59) and the *Haptōiringa* stars which stand over the doors of hell (*Yt.* XIII. 60, *Dīnā-ī M.Kh.* XLIX. 15 f.).

They are likewise the spirits of generation and guardians of the home. They bestow offspring on the faithful (*Yt.* X. 3, 73). They determine the sex of the unborn babe (*Dīnkar* VIII. xxxv, 8). At the time of the *Hamaspaθmaēdaya*—the 365th day of the year, corresponding to the special Italian worship of the Genii in December—the *Fravašis* of the dead come back to their old homes on earth and stay there for ten nights in order to find out who will worship them, promising

¹ In this aspect they bear a distant resemblance to the guardian spirits mentioned by Hesiod, *Op. & Dies*, 250 f.: "for there be on the much-nurturing earth three myriads of deathless beings belonging to Zeus, watchers over mortal men, who watch over plaints and evil works, clad in gloom, wandering everywhere over the earth." These *Φύλακες* are probably the same as the *Fravašis* in origin, but they have become more moralised in their function and limited to the guardianship of justice.

in return increase of men and cattle (*Yt.* XIII. 49 ff.). These days are the so-called Fravardikān, consisting of the five last days of the last month in the year with five additional days, and in them offerings of cakes are set for the Fravašis.¹ The *Sad Dar* expands the thought by saying that when the souls of the dead return to earth on the days sacred to them they bring with them as guests 9,999 Fravašis (XIII. 3). They likewise are healers: they restore the sick to health (*Yt.* XIII. 40), for they have the medicines of Aši (*Yt.* XIII. 32).

There is a curious story that the Aməša Spəntas by order of Ahura framed the elemental body of Zaratuštra, placed his Fravaši inside (i.e. inside the elemental body, according to the wording of *Dīnk.* VII. 1. 14 ff. of the Bombay edition, and VII. ii. 14 of *SBE.*), and put them into a stalk of the Haoma plant, which was then kept for many years on a tree, whence it was taken by the father of Zaratuštra, who handed it over to his wife, through whom the Prophet was born in the flesh. The interesting point here is that the Fravaši is said to descend from Heaven *inside* the Prophet's body, a connection which to the best of my knowledge is not mentioned elsewhere in Zoroastrian books. The Fravašis are often described as protecting spirits in the mass, coming freely in troops to the help of any one who worships them; and on the other hand many of them are described as being individually attached to particular persons as their guardian spirits. We may therefore conclude that the ancient Iranians imagined them to be collectively a vast host of spirits residing, for the most part at least, in heaven, but individually dwelling in or beside the persons or things to whom they were attached as tutelary spirits: in other words, the Fravašis, or a very large number of them, were thought to be at the same time in two places, in heaven and earth. Though this seems to us a *reductio ad absurdum*, it is quite in harmony with the general

¹ On their funeral cakes and meat offerings see *Šāyast lā-Š.* II. xi. 4; XVII. ii; *Sad Dar*, LXXXVII. 2; on their visits on their sacred days cf. *Sad Dar*, XXXVIII; *Dīnk.* VII. 10 ff.

principles of early Aryan religious psychology. It is the same as the idea of *avatāra*, according to which the person of a deity is present at the same time in his heavenly home and in the body of a being on earth. Instances of this primitive idea that the person of a deity may exist in his proper spiritual form and in many other shapes at the same time will be found in Hertel's *Die Sonne und Mithra*, p. 69.

The Fravašis are not mentioned in Zaraθuštra's Gāthās, which are the oldest portion of the Avesta in its present form. But this is rather an evidence for their greater antiquity than the reverse, for Zaraθuštra rejected a large amount of primitive Aryan myth and ritual and doctrine, which nevertheless after his death was brought back into currency and falsely stamped with the authority of his name.

III. In India there exists, and for thousands of years has existed, a vast plebs of humble guardian deities, commonly known in the North as *dēvatās*. They inhabit particular spots, trees, and the like; indeed almost everything may possess, or be possessed by, one of them. As a rule they bear no name, and have only a vaguely defined character. Vedic examples are Vāstōṣ-pāti, the Lord of the Dwelling, and Kṣétrasya Pāti, the Lord of the Field. In ancient art and legend they often figure: the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs of early Indian sculpture and story probably belong in the main to this class. In this innumerable multitude of nameless and colourless godlings we may recognise the descendants of the ancient IE. Genii—not indeed descendants of pure blood, for many of them are of aboriginal stock, and others, such as the Yakṣas and Yakṣiṇīs, may well be of mixed strain, but still in the main descendants. Nevertheless the old Genii in India have not always been submerged in this commonplace crowd: a study of early myth will reveal to us some aspects in which they appear with the same vigorous qualities as are displayed by Genii in other regions of IE. *Kultur*. These characters are two: the Marúts and the Púruṣas.

Precisely like the Fravašis, the Marúts in the RV. are a host dwelling in heaven and constantly waging battles in the sky against the powers of darkness and evil, especially revealing themselves in the lightning and thunders of the storms that bring rain to the parched plains of Northern India and revive the forces of nature. The Vedic poets exhaust their vocabulary in describing the awful battle-array of the Marúts, the splendour of their gleaming spears, their cars and horses, the terrors of their valour, and the like, in the same strain as the Avestic pictures of the Fravašis, but with vastly more literary elaboration. Owing to the peculiar climatic conditions of India, this function of ruling the storm and thereby giving rain has overshadowed the other aspects of the Marúts in Vedic India, and misled modern scholars into regarding them as primarily and originally storm-gods. They have other and equally important aspects.

Their parentage is rather uncertain. Commonly they are regarded as sons of Rudrá, or at least as Rudrá's companions, and their mother is Pṛśni. Once (RV. I. cxxxiv. 4) they are said to have been begotten by the Wind-god Vāyú. They are, however, most often mentioned in connexion with Indra as aiding him in his heroic exploits against the demon Vṛtrá, although there is also an obscure legend of a quarrel between them and Indra (I. clxx. 2, clxxi. 6, *Tāitt. Br.* II. vii. 11. 1). Their rain-giving function is especially marked by their occasional association with Váruṇa, the god of the heavenly waters. They are described as "stimulated by Indra, guided by Váruṇa", *indra-prasūtā váruṇa-praśiṣṭāḥ* (RV. X. lxvi. 2); and in the Varuṇa-praghāsa rites they were worshipped after Váruṇa (Hillebrandt, *Rituallitt.*, p. 116). For the same reason they are styled "children of the mother Ocean", *síndhu-mātarāḥ* (RV. X. lxxviii. 6), and are said to dwell in the waters (*Kāuṣ. Br.* V. 4, *Gōp. Br.* I. 22). They are lords of the rain (*Śat. Br.* IX. i. 2. 5); they are even said to be the waters themselves, *āpō vāi marutaḥ* (*Āit. Br.* VI. 30, *Kāuṣ. Br.* XII. 8). Here, as often elsewhere, the Indian

mind seizes upon a particular feature and exaggerates it to monstrous proportions. Further we may notice the remarkable verse in a funeral hymn (*AV.* XVIII. ii. 22) in which the Marúts are invoked as "water-bearing, water-streaming", to carry the dead man's soul up to paradise, cooling it with "the goat" and sprinkling it with rain.

If, as is often maintained, Ahura Mazdāh is a successor and to some extent a modified reflection of the Vedic Várūṇa in Iran, then the connection of the Fravašis with Ahura and the Wind-god corresponds to that of the Marúts with Várūṇa and Vāyú, and in this point again the parallelism is close.

To the Marúts are given the epithets *áhi-bhānu*, "radiant as serpents" (*RV.* I. clxxii. 1), *áhi-manyu* "having the fury of serpents" (I. lxiv. 8, 9), *áhi-śuśma* "having the violence of serpents" (V. xxxiii. 5). Even if we substitute in translation the word "dragons" for "serpents", still these compounds are striking and unusual. It is noteworthy that such descriptive compounds of the word *áhi* are only applied in *RV.* to the Marúts, with the exception of the rare and obscure word *áhi-māya*.¹ The phrase "radiant as serpents" is peculiarly striking, for serpents are not particularly brilliant. It seems therefore that in religious tradition there was some old connexion between the Marúts and serpents; and this reminds us that the Italian Genius was regularly figured in art as a young man with a snake, and that the snake also typifies the *ἀγαθὸς δαίμων* of the Greeks. When we remember that the Marúts are termed in *RV.* *mārya*, "young men," the parallel becomes still more striking. One is tempted to pursue this train of ideas further, noting that in Indian thought snakes are always imagined to feed on wind, and wind in post-Vedic India was identified with the Marúts, the word *Marut* being used to denote both indifferently.

¹ Explained in *Ved. Stud.* III. p. 138, as "listig wie die Schlangen"; but this meaning will not always fit the context. I omit from consideration the obscure *ahy-árzu* (II. xxxviii. 3 only), which from its accent as a *tatpuruṣa* seems to belong to another class of compounds.

Storms are accompanied not only by lightning and rain, but also by wind ; and this feature made a strong impression on the minds of the Vedic poets, who dwell upon it with much luxuriance of metaphor. The connexion between the Marúts and the winds grew stronger and stronger in the Indo-Aryan mind until in classical Sanskrit the words *marut* (in the singular) and the derivative adjective *māruta* came to designate simply wind, without any mythological association. But in early psychology wind is the same thing as the vital breaths of living beings, the *prāṇās*, and hence already in the Brāhmaṇas the Marúts are declared to be not only the powers controlling the breaths but the breaths themselves (*prāṇā vāi mārutāḥ*, *Śat. Br.* IX. iii. 1. 7 ; *prāṇā vāi marutō svāpayah*, *Āit. Br.* III. 16). This idea probably underlies the Upaniṣadic parable (*Br. Up.* I. iii. 1 f., *Ch. Up.* I. ii. 1 f. ; cf. *Tālav. Up. Br.* I. 60, etc.) according to which the breaths alone of the organs of the body were able to rout the demons—a function of the Marúts in the *RV*.—and it comes out clearly in the statement of Gāutama (XXV. 1 f.) that the vital breaths of a student who breaks his vow of chastity depart to the Marúts, his strength to Indra, the god of strength, and so forth. The same thought is repeated in a somewhat garbled form by Manu XI. 122.

Not only do the Marúts fertilise nature by rain and thereby dispense wealth, but they likewise watch over generation and bestow offspring. Repeatedly they are prayed to grant not only riches but also progeny (*RV.* I. lxiv. 14 f., lxxxv. 12, clxv. 15, clxvi. 14 f., clxvii. 11, clxviii. 10, V. liii. 13, VI. lxvi. 8, VII. lvi. 15, 20, lvii. 6, X. lxiii. 15, lxxvii. 7, *AV.* VII. xxxiv. 1, XIV. i. 33, 54, etc.). To them is offered the embryo (*Śat. Br.* IV. v. 2, 16). They are likewise healers (*RV.* II. xxxiii. 13, VIII. xx. 23 ff., etc. ; with Bhága, Sóma, Indra, and Agní they are invoked to restore a dying man to life, *AV.* VIII. i. 2). In all these respects they are exactly like the Fravaṣis.

As possessing these attributes, the Marúts already in Vedic times enjoyed a special domestic cult very like that of the

Fravašis. They were worshipped as "house-keeping gods" (*gṛha-mēdha*, *RV.* VII. lix. 10, whence *gṛhamēdhīya bhāgā*, VII. lvi. 14, or *gṛhamēdhn* in the *Brāhmaṇas*; cf. Hillebrandt, *Rituallitt.*, p. 117). At the beginning of the *Sākamēdhas* they were worshipped with Agni as *gṛhamēdhn* and *sāntapana*, and later on as *krīdhn* (*Śat. Br.* II. v. 3. 3 f., XI. v. 2. 4, etc.). They were invoked to anoint the furrows of the field with *ghī* and honey (*AV.* III. xvii. 9); in the rites for building a house they were entreated to sprinkle it with water and *ghī* (*ib.* III. xii. 4); when the plough was harnessed prayers were addressed to them with other gods, such as *Indra*, *Parjanya*, the *Aśvins*, etc. (*Pāraskara-grhya-sūtra* II. xiii. 2). Their offerings, like those of the *Fravašis*, were usually cakes: they were not "eaters of oblations" (*Śat. Br.* IV. v. 2. 16). Some of the qualities ascribed to them in these rites might be explained as developed from their character as rain-givers. But their functions as *gṛha-mēdhas* and bearers of the soul to paradise (*AV.* XVIII. ii. 22: *supra*, p. 738) cannot easily be derived from that source. It is much simpler to deduce their activities in rain-giving, fertilisation of nature, healing, and guardianship of the home from one comprehensive original function, that of the Guardian Genius.

In some parts of Greece worship was paid on the occasion of marriages to deities called *τριτοπάτορες*, who were believed to bestow fertility, and were also spirits of the winds. This suggests a comparison with the *Marúts*; and the suspicion of their kinship is confirmed by a study of their name. *Τριτοπάτορες* means either "they who have a third father, or third fathers",¹ or "they who have Tritos as father", "sons of Tritos". Now *Tritos* is exactly the same as *Tritá*, who is a well-known minor deity of Vedic myth. *Tritá* is primarily a god of the waters, who in the *RV.* is often

¹ Rohde's explanation (*Psyche*, Eng. trans., p. 171, 203 f.) is grammatically unsatisfactory, for the word is a possessive adjectival compound, like *φιλοπάτωρ*, etc.

associated with Indra and several times with the Marúts in their legendary exploits against the powers of darkness. Notably he is said in II. xxxiv. 14 to bring the Marúts in his car for aid; and in X. cxv. 4 the winds (*vāta*) are said to approach Tritá (here perhaps equated with Agni) in order to comfort or strengthen him. If we may then assume that in one form of the myth, which is now lost, Tritá as saviour-god and water-genius was represented as the father of the Marúts, this will form a pendant to the existing legend which makes them out to be *síndhu-mātarāḥ*, sons of the Mother Síndhu, who is the goddess of the sea or river.

The Marúts of the *RV.* are thus in origin a host of genii, of uncertain number and equally uncertain parentage, whose primary duty is the guardianship of the Aryan and his family. They are not so much spirits of storm and rain as spirits working in storm and rain for the welfare of men and other beings of the Order of Light. Their number is unlimited: the sporadic attempts to fix the figures that we find in the *RV.* and Brāhmaṇas are merely priestly figments. The truth lies in the statement that they are "the most numerous of the gods", *marutō vāi dēvānāṃ bhūyīṣṭhāḥ*, which is repeated in *Tāitt. Br.* II. vii. 10. 1, *Tāñd. Br.* XIV. xii. 9, XXI. xiv. 3. The *RV.* terms them *mārya*, "young men" (cf. the Biblical use of this epithet); the Brāhmaṇas more explicitly style them the yeomanry of the gods, *viś* or *vāśya*, the commons of the celestials (*viś*, *Tāitt. Br.* I. viii. 3. 3, II. vii. 2. 2, *Śat. Br.* II. v. 2. 6 and 27, III. ix. 1. 17, IV. iii. 3. 6, *Mahābhār.* XII. ccviii. 7588; *dēva-viśaḥ*, *Āit. Br.* I. 9, *Kāuṣ. Br.* VII. 8, *Tāñd. Br.* VI. x. 10, XVIII. i. 14; *Śat. Br.* II. v. 1. 12; cf. *mārutō hi vāśyaḥ*, *Tāitt. Br.* II. vii. 2. 2, and ib. II. iv. 8. 7).¹ The ordinary man, the ranker in the Aryan armies, saw in the Marúts the celestial counterpart of himself, as distinct from the Great Gods, who were represented on earth by his generals and kings. The Marúts

¹ This is the reason alleged for giving to the Marúts cakes, not oblations: cakes are the food for plebeians (*Śat. Br.* IV. v. 2. 16, *Āit. Br.* VII. 19).

were the big brothers of the common man-at-arms. The Marúts also are said to be the intermediaries through whom the worshipper approaches the great celestials (*Āit. Br.* I. 10). Thus they are not far from the Iranian Fravašis, conceived as divine counterparts of all living good beings, who link the latter to the greater Yazatas. The Marúts in the mass correspond to the Fravašis in the mass.

IV. But we have yet to find in Vedic and Upaniṣadic India a deity corresponding to the *individual* Fravaši, a tutelary spirit attached to every person and thing. Here the Marúts seem to fail us : in the *RV.* and Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads they appear only in troops, never singly. We may then conclude that among the early Aryans of India the tutelary genii were bisected : in their collective aspect, as powers battling against the Order of Darkness and bestowing wealth, offspring, and healing *ab extra*, they became the Marúts, while their character of individual *dēvatās* dwelling within particular persons and things survived in the *Pūruṣas*.

According to the Upaniṣads, there dwells in the heart of every human being a *Pūruṣa*, literally a "man" (or, as we may say, a mannikin or *homunculus*), who, though said to be no bigger than a thumb, or even smaller than a rice-corn or barley-corn or mustard-seed or canary-seed (*Ch. Up.* III. xiv.), is nevertheless a god to whom worship is due. The *RV.* makes no mention of such beings : apparently the priestly poets had no use for them in their theology, and left them to the popular faith, whence they passed into the Upaniṣads. To these *Pūruṣas* of the microcosm corresponds a Great *Pūruṣa* of the macrocosm, the deity dwelling in the universe as a whole, who is celebrated in the *Pūruṣa-sūkta* of the *RV.* (X. xc.), and ultimately identified with Brāhma. Further the Upaniṣads speak of a third class of *Pūruṣas*, those who reside in general departments of nature such as water, fire, etc. These have exact parallels among the Fravašis ; and they are given in the Upaniṣads the vague general title of *dēvatās*, deities. In course of time the Upaniṣads, eager

to identify the *ātmán* or individual soul with the Cosmic Force or Bráhma, extended this equation to embrace also the Púruṣa in man and the Púruṣa of the universe,¹ while they occasionally contrast these with the Púruṣas of the divers departments of nature as the whole with its parts. Thus in *Br. Up.* II. i. 1 f. (cf. *Kāuṣ. Up.* iv.) the Púruṣas in the sun, moon, lightning, ether, wind, fire, water, mirrors, and space, the Púruṣa of the shadow, and the Púruṣa in the *ātmán* (in the sense of *body*) are all shown to be subordinate to the *ātmán* or soul, which is the synthesis of macrocosm and microcosm; and similarly in *Br. Up.* II. ix. 10-26 the Púruṣas residing in earth, desire, form, ether, darkness, water, seed, etc., are contrasted as parts with the all-embracing *āupanīṣada puruṣa*, the Púruṣa which according to the Upanīṣads is the synthesis of the microcosmic and macrocosmic soul.² These and other passages show that the term *púruṣa* was used to mean something very like a *fravaši*, dwelling in man and in all classes of beings. Here our chief concern is with the use of the word as meaning the spirit dwelling in man. As such, the Púruṣa was at an early time confused with the *ātmán* or individual soul, just as in the Avesta the *urvan* or soul was sometimes confused with the *Fravaši*. Another point of resemblance between Púruṣa and *Fravaši* is that the *Fravaši* is declared to be never infected by the sins of the soul and body to which it is attached (*Dādistān-i Dīnīk* XXXVII. 80), and the same is always claimed of the Púruṣa. As we have seen, there is some evidence that the *Fravaši* was believed to dwell in the body, at least under certain circumstances; the Púruṣa is usually represented as residing inside the body during the waking state, and issuing from it during sleep

¹ Some traces survive of an early distinction between Bráhma and Púruṣa, as is shown by Hertel in his edition of the *Muṇḍaka*.

² For other examples of the antithesis which the Upanīṣads set up between these nature-deities (*dēvatās* = *puruṣas*) and the *Ātmán-Bráhma* cf. *Br. Up.* I. v. 22, II. iii. 3, III. vii. 14, *Ch. Up.* I. v. 2, vi. 8, III. xviii. 1-2, IV. iii. 2, etc. In *Bhag.-gītā*, VIII. 4, the macrocosmic Púruṣa is styled *adhidāivata*, "the one who is over deities," i.e. the divine sum of them.

and swoons and after death. The belief that the Púruṣa left the body in sleep and swooning was, however, probably borrowed from the old IE. theory of the *soul's* activities, after *ātmán* was identified with Púruṣa.

It is unfortunate for us that the Upaniṣads, in their passion for identifying the *Ātmán* with both the Púruṣa and Bráhma, as well as everything else, have obscured the distinction between *Ātmán* and Púruṣa, and thus broken away from the old Aryan psychology. In the Avesta, which remains at the early Aryan standpoint, there is no such thing as a soul in our sense of the word, i.e. a psychic unity or monad : it knows only a complex of psychic forces, namely the *urvan* or soul proper, which is the main subject of psychic experience and travels after death to heaven or hell, the *manah*, the *baodah*, the *cisti*, the *daēnā*, and at the back of all these the divine Fravaši. In India the *Ātmán* (in the Upaniṣadic sense of the word) corresponded to the Avestic *urvan* : it was the subject of finite consciousness, conceived as a positive entity composed of vital breath, yet superior to breath, like the Arabic *nafs* and the Hebrew *nepheš*, and like them came also to be used as a reflexive pronoun.¹ The *Ātmán* goes

¹ The word *ātmán* occurs 22 times in *RV*. In 11 cases it signifies "breath", *prāṇā*, in general, and twice (I. clxii. 20, clxiii. 6) it means the physical consciousness, *θυμός*. It is further used of the vital power in 5 cases (IX. cxiii. 1, *Indra* is bidden to put strength into his *ātmán* by drinking *Sōma*; IX. ii. 10, vi. 8, *Sōma* is *ātmán* of Sacrifice; IX. lxxxv. 3, *Sōma* is *ātmán* of *Indra*; X. xcvii. 11, the *ātmán* of phthisis perishes under the exorciser's spell). In X. clxiii. 5-6, where phthisis is conjured out *sirvasmād ātmánah*, it denotes the *person* as an aggregate of organs, a meaning familiar in the earlier Upaniṣads; and probably the sense is the same in X. xcvii. 4 and 8, where an exorciser boasts to his sick patient that he will win the latter's *ātmán*, i.e. he will preserve him with all his vital powers from destruction. In short, the word in *RV* denotes (1) breath, (2) vital breath, (3) functional soul, and (4) the person as an aggregate of vital organs. The functional soul in primitive psychology is quite different from the *alter ego* or spirit-form, *ψυχή*, which is a shadowy double of the live man and goes out of the body in sleep or on death, and for which the *RV* has no proper term (cf. E. Arberman, *Tod u. Unsterblichkeit im vedischen Glauben*, in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xxv, p. 354). In the Upaniṣads both these "souls" are occasionally denoted by the

to heaven or hell, or, according to later doctrine, is reborn in other bodies; but the *Púruṣa*, corresponding to the *Fravaši*, seems to have been originally thought to pass at once after death to the Great *Púruṣa* in the sun (*Ch. Up.* IV. xv. 5, *Br. Up.* II. iii. 3, VI. ii. 15), and possibly in some cases into the moon. After *Púruṣa* and *Ātmán* had become confused and the doctrine of transmigration of souls was generally accepted, the old belief was fitted into the new frame by the revised theory of *dēva-yāna* and *pitṛ-yāna* given in *Ch. Up.* V. x., *Br. Up.* VI. ii. 15 f., which added that they travelled back from the moon into earthly rebirth.¹

V. There are in the *RV.*, *Brāhmaṇas*, and *Upaniṣads* some traces of connection between *Marúts* and *Púruṣas* which deserve notice.

The word *púruṣa* or *pāruṣa* in *RV.* is used (including compounds) sixteen times in the common classical sense of a male of the human species; six times it has the meaning of the macrocosmic World-spirit; and once it bears a peculiar sense, scil. in X. li. 8, where the gods are prayed to bestow "fatness (literally *ghī*) of waters, *púruṣa* of plants, and long life of Agni", *ghṛtām cāpām púruṣam cāuṣadhīnām*, etc. "Fatness" of waters means their vivifying, fertilising power; but that power is conceived not as an abstraction but as the manifestation of a real divine person or persons, the *dēvatā*, or what the older *Upaniṣads* would call the *púruṣa*, of waters,² as is shown by the parallel phrase *púruṣam ōṣadhīnām*, which must mean a native spirit of fertility dwelling in plants. When we remember that in the *Avesta* waters and plants have *Fravašis* attached to them, these

word *ātmán*. Neither of them, however, can be easily linked up with the macrocosmic *Púruṣa* of *RV.* X. xc, an indwelling spirit conceived anthropomorphically as a divine person, or with the thumbling microcosmic *Púruṣa* of the *Upaniṣads*; only the *Āupaniṣadas'* mania for monism could lead to the belief that they were all the same.

¹ Cf. E. Arberman, *Tod u. Unsterblichkeit im vedischen Glauben*, in *Archiv f. Religionswissenschaft*, xxv, p. 369.

² The *Marúts* are prayed to give *ghī*: see above, p. 740.

words become more intelligible. A like phrase is *gárbham* *śadhīnām*, used of Agní, VII. ci. 1. *g. vīrúdhām*, also of Agní, II. i. 14. We may fairly conclude that *gárbha* and *puruṣa* are both used in the same meaning of an indwelling spirit. The word *gárbha* denotes (1) womb, (2) a babe in the womb, (3) a babe generally, (4) offspring, and it is several times applied to gods conceived as residing in some class of natural objects (scil. Agní as dwelling in water and plants and trees, Soma in water), or in the *ṛtá* or divine law (scil. Soma and Viṣṇu), or in the sacrifice (scil. Soma). Sometimes the word is used by itself without a determining genitive : thus Soma is simply called *gárbha* in IX. cii. 6, and so with Agní in VI. xv. 1, X. viii. 2. Thus the word in *RV.* may denote any indwelling spirit ; according to circumstances this spirit may be one of the great gods—Agní, Viṣṇu, or Soma—or a subordinate genius or Fravaṣi, and when he is thought of as residing in a limited material home, such as a tree, a faggot, or a pail of water, the word implies also smallness of body, so that it is in a way parallel to the *Puruṣa*, the thumbing spirit in the heart.

These facts help us to explain two obscure passages of *RV.* They are :—

I. vi. 4. *dhā́ha svadhām ánu púnar garbhatvám êrírê dádhānā nāma yajñīyam.* “Then indeed according to their natural power they again established themselves in the form of *gárbhas*, taking to themselves a worshipful name.”

I. lxxxvii. 5. *yád īm índram sámy íkvāṇa dśatād in nāmāni yajñīyāni dadhīrē.* “When singing they joined Indra in the fray, they took to themselves worshipful names.”

These passages refer to the mythical exploits of Indra against the powers of darkness, by which he freed the waters and nature generally from the paralysing grip of the demons, and in which he was aided by the Marúts. We get a better view of the scene if we compare the parallel myth in the Avesta, according to which the material world after it had been created by Ahura was assailed by Anrō Mainyuš and

his legions of darkness, who laid their numbing grasp upon it and prevented waters from flowing, plants from growing, winds from blowing, and stars from moving in their courses, and so forth, until Ahura with the help of the Fravašis overcame the evil spirits and released nature from their spell. The phrase *garbhatvám êiré* means with the context: "they again became *gárbhas*, vindicating for themselves the character of deities worthy of worship by the faithful." As *gárbha* denotes an indwelling spirit, whether it be a great god or a minor godling, we may conclude that in saying that the Marúts again became *gárbhas* the poet meant simply that they, after having fought as an armed host on the side of the Order of Light against the demons of darkness, descended from heaven and again became spirits dwelling within the beings of the good order as their tutelary genii, as they had been before they were summoned to battle as a host on the side of the Great God. This, of course, is not to say that henceforth they were to be always confined to material bodies: according to Aryan ideas, they would continue to lead a double life, as a host in heaven and at the same time as genii attached to finite beings on earth. But the great conflict was now over: henceforth only minor struggles remained to be waged.

If this explanation of the word *gárbha* is right, it will throw some further light on the ritual of *Šat. Br.* IV. v. 2. 16, in which the embryo, *gárbha*, is offered to the Marúts. Not only were they *inter alia* spirits of generation, but they were also called *gárbhas*, in the sense of "The Little Folk Within", and so had a double claim to have the *gárbha* of the victim as their share of the offering. Other gods—Agni, Viṣṇu, and Sôma—were also styled *gárbhas*, but they were not deities of generation, and so there was no question of offering the embryo to them.

We may further observe that one passage at any rate represents the Marúts as Púruṣas. This is *Br. Up.* II. i. 6, where the Púruṣa of Wind is identified with Indra Vaikuṇṭha

and the "unconquered army", obviously the Marúts. This indicates that in Upaniṣadic times the Marúts, in company with their leader Indra, were regarded, at least by many people, as constituting collectively the tutelary spirit, the Pūruṣa or Fravaṣi, of wind. As the wind was the department of nature in which their activity had most strongly impressed popular imagination, their other aspects were *ad hoc* ignored.¹

The ancient tutelary genii of nature and man in general, it would thus seem, were denoted by the word Pūruṣa, and in certain aspects were styled Marúts. In ordinary men's thought Pūruṣas and Marúts came to be regarded as more or less distinct. Finally, popular religion ceased to concern itself with Marúts and Pūruṣas of the definitely characterised types which we have noticed, and ultimately reduced all the highly coloured divisions of Genii to the rather drab uniformity of the modern *dēvatās*.

¹ We may further connect the Pūruṣas with the Vāḷakhilyas, who according to legend were a troop of pious sages no bigger than a thumb, sons of Brahman's mind-born son Kratu, who quarrelled with Indra, and are associated with the Sun. Charpentier (*Suparṇasage*, pp. 177 ff. and 332 ff.) suggests that they were originally "Seelenwesen" dwelling in the sun. I would go further. These Tom-Thumb saints, I believe, have grown in popular fancy out of the old Pūruṣas or tutelary gods who reside in the hearts of men and on death pass into the sun, where there is a Great Pūruṣa (cf. above, p. 745). It is perhaps noteworthy that in the *Māitri Up.*, II. 3 ff., the Vāḷakhilyas are introduced as asking Kratu to teach them the nature of the soul, the Pūruṣa-Ātmān, especially as manifested in the vital breaths, *prāṇās*, which we saw were often identified with the Marúts, and their conversation is reported by another sage to King Bṛhadratha, who is entitled Marut. Even the quarrel between them and Indra may be an echo of the Vedic legend mentioned above (p. 737). In a much-distorted form this story seems to have preserved some of the features of an ancient *itihāsa* of thumbing genii with power to bless and scathe, and with some of the traits of the Vedic Marúts and the Upaniṣadic Pūruṣas.

The Decorative Art of the Aborigines of the Malay Peninsula

By P. PAUL SCHEBESTA, S.V.D.

(TRANSLATED BY C. O. BLAGDEN)

(PLATES X-XIII)

THE decorative art of the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula has already been described in some detail by various writers. The best known and most important of these contributions to our knowledge of the subject are those of A. Grünwedel in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, Bd. xxvi, p. 141 (under the title "Die Zaubermuster der Orang-Utan") and Bd. xxv, p. 71. In Bd. xxxi, p. 137, of the same periodical Th. Preuss enlarged on the same theme. W. W. Skeat also devoted many pages in vol. i of his *Pagan Races of the Malay Peninsula* to this subject, and J. H. N. Evans has recently expressed his views on it in the *Journal of the Federated Malay States Museums*, vol. xii, part i.

The matter had been invested with so much importance because Vaughan Stevens, a pioneer fieldworker among the aborigines, had evolved a "flower theory", which attributed a deep significance to their decorative patterns. According to that theory, the decorations on bamboo combs, blowpipes, and quivers are all divisible into individual designs and patterns, each of which has its special meaning and magic potency. But although Vaughan Stevens' writings on this subject, containing as they do a large number of the Sémang names of these patterns, confirm the fact that he carried out his research in close contact with these tribes, his "flower theory" is entirely baseless. Of that there can now be no doubt whatever. As frequent references will have to be made to Vaughan Stevens in this article, it will be convenient to begin with a few remarks about the tribes among whom he carried out his investigations.

Even after a superficial examination of his notes, which

are preserved in the Berlin Museum, I was able to determine certain points.

In the first place, he invariably distinguishes sharply between the Pangan (or, as he calls them, Pangghan) and the Sēmang. It has always been supposed that by the name Pangan he meant the Sēmang tribes of the states of Kēlantān and Pahang. That, however, is not the case. Writing on the 20th September, 1893, Stevens gives a list of wild tribes including *inter alia* " (3) the wild Pangghan, i.e. the Sēmang of Ulu Sēlama mentioned in the *JRAS.*" (Straits Branch, No. 5). " (4) the Pangghan of the West or Sēmang together with western Blandass, and (5) the Tummeor."

The wild Pangan, of whom Stevens constantly speaks as being the genuine Sēmang, are therefore the Negritos of Ulu Sēlama, whom I got to know by their tribal names, Kenta Bogn and Kensiū. The fact is of importance, because the objects which Stevens collected and whose decorative system he described, actually belong to these tribes, as a comparison of his collection with mine, and also the names of the individual decorative patterns, conclusively prove. Evans, after only seeing illustrations of the objects collected by Stevens, and comparing them with his own collection, arrived at the same conclusion.

In another place Stevens also calls these "wild Sēmang" or "Pangghan" by the name of "meneek" (i.e. *meni* 'man'), which word is in fact used only by the Kenta-Kensiū group.

What then does he mean by the western or tame Sēmang, whom he associates with the "western Blandass"? In my opinion this refers to the Sabub'n Sēmang tribes living near Batu Gajah and perhaps also near Kuala Kangsar, which have now been absorbed by the Sakai and speak a Sakai language. Stevens still found Sēmang at Sapali, "sixteen miles above Tēlok Anson"!

Occasionally he speaks of the Tummeor, whom it would now be better to call Tēmer or Tēmiar. Tumeor is a name

used by the Chinese to denote the Sakai. While the real Tēmer or Tēmīar live in Kēlantān territory on the Prias and Beteḥ rivers, which are feeders of the headwaters of the Nēnggiri, Vaughan Stevens' Tummeor dwell on the border between Perak and Pahang. They are the Semai of Ulu Pahang, along the mountains from Batang Padang towards Slim. He also styles them the "wild Sakais"; "these are the very Tummeor I am now among," he writes, after narrating an attack made by them on some Chinese who were on the way from Tapah to Silensing (portfolio 13).

He also indicates the geographical position of the Tēmbē' fairly correctly, though it appears that he did not visit them. "As to Clifford's Tembe, they are a settlement of Blandass of the Sinnoi settled on the river of that name (Blandass river) one of the small feeders going north-east into the Pahang river from the most northern edge of the old Sinnoi territory" (letter of 3rd September, 1894).

I found the Tēmbē' on the Tanum river; they are Semai, and also call themselves Tēmbē'. The name Sinnoi is to be interpreted as meaning Sakai; the word *sen'oi* in the Sakai language means "man".

Having premised thus much, we can approach the real problem. According to my experience, the decoration on objects of general utility is by no means uniform in extent among all the aboriginal tribes, but occurs in some stage of development among all of them, though most feebly among the Jakudn. These latter are entirely unacquainted with bamboo combs; while bamboo blowpipes, so far as they occur among them at all, and quivers are only slightly and feebly decorated, the most ornate being those of the western Jakudn, the Mantra.

Among the Sakai, the Semai use bamboo combs of a type peculiar to themselves. I found these in great numbers in the eastern region of Pahang territory, but did not see any in the Batang Padang region, though they have been recorded there by earlier investigators. The Ple-Tēmīar, with the

exception of the group in the neighbourhood of Ipoh (Kinta), are entirely unacquainted with combs, but their blowpipes and quivers are decorated.

The Sēmang, however, much surpass the above-mentioned Sakai and Jakudn in the decoration of the things they use. There are only certain groups of them that are unacquainted with decoration, namely the Mos in Siamese territory, and the Batek, who only know the rudiments of the art. The Menri to the eastward have also not developed it to anything like the same extent as the Jahai, Kenta-Kensiu, and Sabub'n, among whom it would be difficult to decide which tribe held pride of place. Without a doubt we must maintain that the Sēmang at the present time possess the most developed decorative art of all the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula; and yet it is very probable that they borrowed the art from their neighbours the Sakai.

It seems to be impossible to assert anything certain about the origin and development of this decorative art; it was probably brought into the Peninsula by some one race, and that might well be the Sakai, who really brought with them the blowpipe and quiver, which were subsequently adopted by the Sēmang.

This cannot be asserted *a priori* of the comb, though there is one circumstance suggesting the inference that it too was derived from the Sakai. The following considerations point to that conclusion.

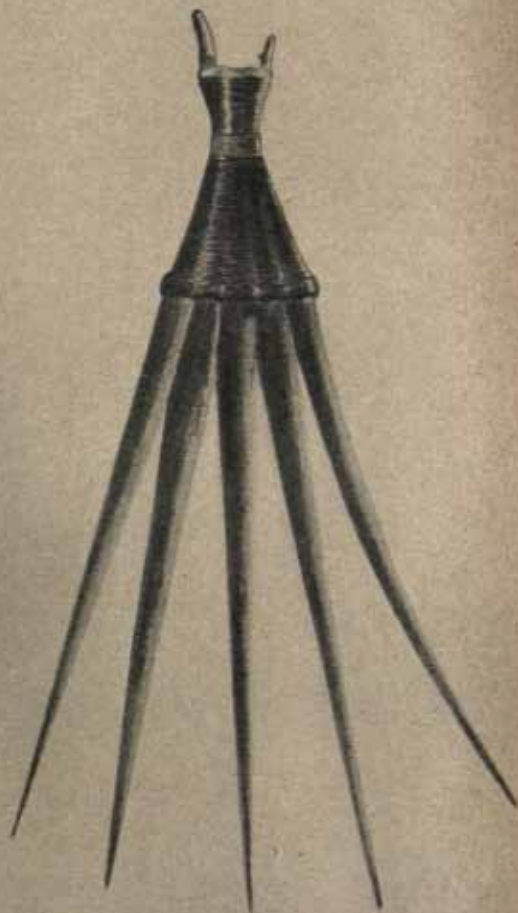
In the first place, there are in the Peninsula hairpins made of bamboo (Fig. 1a). I found them only among the Sakai. The Sakai likewise have combs that are made by lashing thin rods or pins together with black fibre, so that their bottom ends diverge while the top is so arranged that only two horn-like ends project (Fig. 1b).

This type of comb can therefore be regarded as a mere combination of a number of thin hairpins made into a comb. Later on these hairpin combs were replaced by bamboo combs made of a halved or quartered bamboo with the teeth cut out of it. Now it is a striking fact that in this type of bamboo

1a



1b



comb, which is most closely related to the hairpin comb, horn-like projections are carved at the top and a decorative pattern is engraved on the face of the comb (Fig. 2). The carved projections are nothing but a survival of the horn-like ends of the hairpin comb, and the line ornamentation is an imitation of the fibres which held the hairpin comb together. This becomes quite evident when one examines, for instance, the decorative designs of the Sakai of Serau.

A further step in development was to turn this linear ornamentation more and more into conventionalized geometrical patterns to which meanings were then attributed. The projections at the top often disappear, and then we have the usual Sēmang comb, consisting only of teeth and face, the latter being plentifully and often quite tastefully ornamented. These considerations tend to show that the Sēmang comb is the final stage of a process of development which began with the hairpin, or hairpin comb, of the Sakai; and accordingly the Sēmang comb would also be of Sakai origin. If, however, the blowpipe, quiver, and comb are of foreign extraction, the decoration with which they are covered must certainly be so too.

On this occasion I will confine myself to a more detailed consideration of the Sēmang combs. As already mentioned, the bamboo comb is not known everywhere, the Mos in the region between Patalung and Trang are certainly not acquainted with it, and did not know what to do with it when I showed them one. The comb is called *ken'ai*, a name that may have been derived by means of the infix *in* from the word *kai*. The expression *kai bunga* means to engrave decorations (literally "flowers"), to decorate, so that *kai* must signify something like to make, to engrave, to draw, or perhaps also to shape. Accordingly *ken'ai* would mean that which is prepared or engraved. Vaughan Stevens was acquainted with the word (he writes *kenîje* = drawing, representation), and he calls the comb simply *tin-leig*, a word I never heard.

The comb consists of two parts, the teeth called *med* or *mad* (literally, eyes) and the *was*, which means forehead and denotes the solid surface of the comb above the teeth, where the decorations are engraved.

I never came across the word *pawēr*, of which Stevens makes so much. But the Jahai call the lines enclosing the patterns by the name *wer*, which may well be connected with *pawēr*. *Těpi*, on the other hand, is a Malay word meaning edge or rim, and *mos* is a Kenta word meaning end, tip (Malay *hujung*). The determination of the meaning of these words seems necessary because Stevens makes so much use of them in the discussion of his flower theory. It may be, as W. W. Skeat says, that Stevens was misled by the expression *kai bunga*, to engrave flowers, which he took in its literal sense, whereas in this case *bunga* in fact means patterns. The Sěmang call everything that is decorated or ornamented "adorned with *bunga*". If we suppose that Stevens in fact thought the decorative designs were intended to represent a flower or flowers, it is comprehensible that he regarded the three terms *těpi*, *pawēr* (?) and *mos* as being three parts of a flower, e.g. *mos* as the calyx, *pawēr* (?) as the petals, and *těpi* as the stamen and pistils. This is only a surmise; but there is no doubt whatever that Stevens grossly deceived himself in thinking that the decorative ornament represented the parts of a flower. It is true that flowers do occasionally occur as decorative designs on combs, but that is not always the case.

The other names of individual decorative designs, as given by Stevens, must also be accepted with much caution. It may safely be said that in most cases his interpretation of them is wrong. Thus he is obsessed by the idea that the middle panel on a comb is a disease ornament, that is to say a prophylactic against some specific illness. That is certainly not the case, as the very meaning of the names goes to show. Evans has already rectified the interpretation of some of these names in the above cited journal.

Many of the names of the decorative patterns, whether on combs, blowpipes, or quivers, are derived from the Cenoï language, the sacred language of the Sēmang, and are therefore all the harder to explain as this differs from the common colloquial. With the help of the Kenta I have been able to elucidate the meaning of some of these words, as rendered by Stevens in his complicated transcription, but the greater part remains unexplained.

What then can be definitely asserted at present about Vaughan Stevens' deductions, his flower theory, and the Sēmang decorative patterns ?

(1) The theory was invented by him, probably in consequence of his being misled by the term *bunga*, which means " flower " and also " decorative design ".

(2) His collection of combs is altogether of inferior quality, if not indeed actually misleading. Even a casual glance reveals to the expert that the combs were made to order, and are not combs that had been used by the Sēmang. If that is so, and after seeing the Berlin collection I have no doubt about it, it may well account for Stevens having obtained to his order combs of so many different patterns. It looks as if the makers had endeavoured to meet his wishes in the matter. I bought up all the available combs in pretty well all the settlements I visited, and am therefore in a position to assert that the patterns do not vary as much as Stevens would have us believe. His statement that the Sēmang women often wear eight, and at times even sixteen combs, together in their hair, is also certainly a mistake, and it seems as if he had been intentionally misled on that point by the Sēmang makers of his combs, perhaps with the object of inducing him to buy more of them. In actual fact a woman seldom has more than one comb, and I often met women who had none at all.

(3) His assertion that the combs are worn as prophylactics against various diseases is only true in part. On that matter, I was able to ascertain the following facts :—

(a) The combs are in the first place ornaments and are worn only by women. They are fond of fixing fragrant herbs and flowers between the teeth of the combs and sticking them into their hair. According to the Jahai, the combs serve merely as ornaments; that is also their chief purpose among the Kenta-Kensui, and for that reason they are worn when there is singing or dancing.

(b) Further, the Kenta-Kensui women wear them at the time of childbirth, and the comb has to remain in their hair for seven days after the birth. There is no doubt that in this case it is meant to serve a magical purpose. The comb is a protection against epilepsy in children, and against all sorts of evil spirits (*hantu*). (It may be noted that the Sēmang who have not been under foreign influence have no natural fear of evil spirits.) Combs are also put on when there is a great storm.

On the other hand, combs must not be worn

(a) during a thunderstorm, when no sort of ornament may be worn for fear of the wrath of the god Karei, and

(b) for seven days after the death of a member of the camp or settlement.

The decoration of the comb seems to be left entirely to the taste and fancy of the person who makes it; at least that is the conclusion one is forced to arrive at after comparing them with one another. It is true that one of my Kenta authorities assured me that it was not so, but that while in the large middle panel of the comb any decorative design could be introduced, or it might even be left blank, yet above and below there were always three similar patterns, viz:—

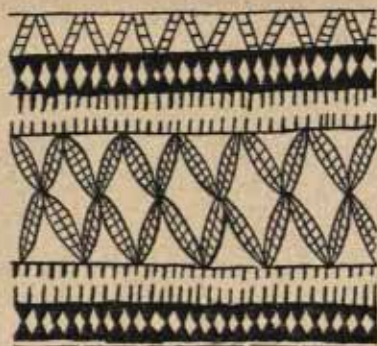
1. *boh padei* (rice grain).
2. *ñus ai* (monkeys' teeth).
3. *bělo patig'n*.

This last is said to be a prophylactic against the prevailing wind. It must be mentioned that Stevens always insisted that the germs of disease were deemed to be carried by the winds, against which germs certain special comb patterns

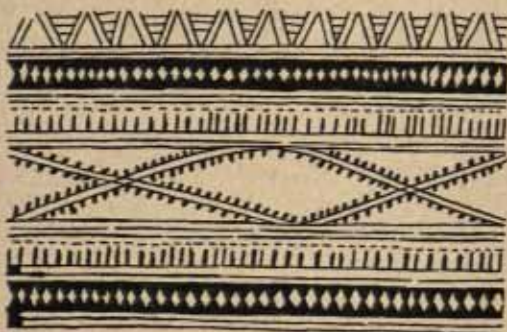
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3



4

were prophylactic. This seems to be in harmony with the fact that the *bělo patig'n* looks like a sort of fence or stockade, such as I have seen among the Sakai, who thus barricade paths in order to block the way of the spirits of disease coming from one settlement to another.

But an examination of the Kenta combs shows that these three patterns are by no means always present, so that practice and theory do not seem to agree.

A few of these comb patterns must now be presented in detail:—

Fig. 3 is a Kenta-Bogn comb from the Kupang River; between its teeth was stuck a bundle of fragrant herbs, called *lebèg*.

The first pattern is called *sudah manau*, the second *boh* (or *kelpö*) *manòg'n*, the third is *ñus ai* (monkeys' teeth), and then comes *boh manòg'n* again. In the middle panel is the design called *hěli yawil* (yawil leaves), and underneath this are three patterns which are not quite similar to the ones above, and rather lead to the presumption that want of space caused the one next to the *yawil* to be on a much reduced scale.

Fig. 4. The uppermost pattern is again *sudah manau* (Malay *pělēpah buku hitam*), but attention must be drawn to the fact that it differs completely from the *sudah manau* of Fig. 3, although the two combs came from the same settlement and the pattern was in both cases called *sudah manau* by the same informant. The second pattern is *boh padei*, rice grain, then again comes *ñus ai*. In the middle is *hěli yawil*, and under it come *ñus ai* and *boh padei*. The long lines are called *enām*.

Fig. 5 is similar, but with a difference. The first pattern is *pěsuah cenbeg* (Malay *humoh bėrtam*), elsewhere always styled *sudah manau*. Beneath it are *boh padei* and *ñus ai*. In the middle is *bunga timun*, cucumber flower, and under this again come *ñus ai* and *boh padei*.

Fig. 6 is a Kensiū comb, differing in shape from the foregoing

inasmuch as it has horn-like projections on the top engraved with the *bunga timun* pattern. It is to be noted that in this and similar combs the *was* (i.e. the surface above the teeth) is decidedly narrower. The uppermost pattern is *sudah manau*, underneath it is *ketō menlag'n* (Malay *kulit buah chēmpēdak*, skin of the *Artocarpus Maingayi* fruit), then follows *ñus ai*, and finally *sudah manau* again.

Another Kensi comb, not figured here, has the following patterns: (1) *sudah manau*; (2) *boh padei*; (3) *ceg'n manog'n*; (4) *tenwag*, scarf; (5) *bunga timun*; (6) lines and intermediate strokes, known as *kiōgn tagan*, or *ihu tagan*.

Another Kenta comb has only the patterns called *bunga tadug* (Malay *bayas*, *Oncosperma horrida*) and *awei ked'ō* (Malay *rotan dahanan*). A Jahai comb from the settlement at Tadoh has the following patterns: (1) *jeēg'n ikan*, fish bones; (2) *hali enreg'n*, leaf of the *enreg'n*-tree; (3) *sinsig'n rampau*, teeth of the *rampau* monkey; (4) (in the middle) *bunga raya*, which resembles *bunga timun*; (5) *sinsig'n tabog'n*, teeth of the *lotong* monkey and (6) *hali enreg'n*.

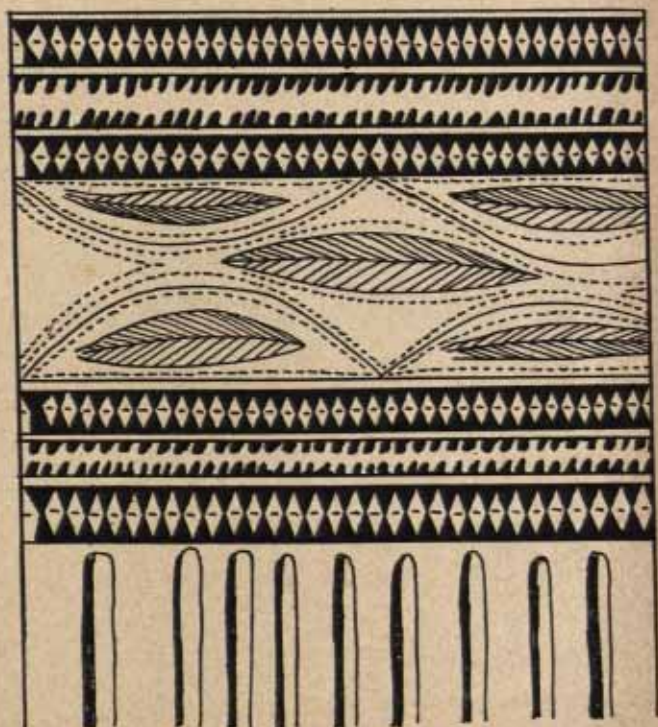
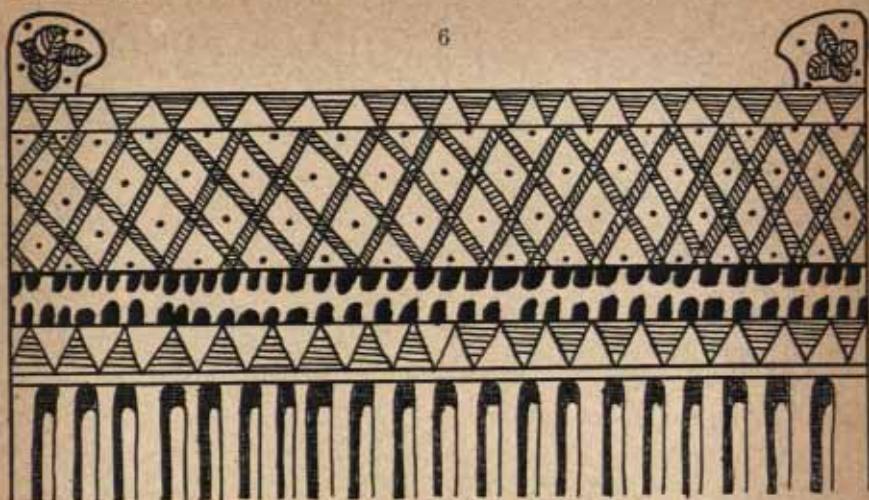
Fig. 7 represents a Jahai comb from Bērsiak. The pattern in the middle, representing some sort of leaves, is a new one, but those above and below it are the already mentioned *boh padei* and *ñus ai*.

Fig. 8 resembles the preceding so closely that one is inclined to suppose that it was carved by the same hand. It came from the same settlement. In the middle it has the *bunga timun* pattern.

Figs. 9 and 10, on the other hand, are of unusual types. Fig. 9 in particular has peculiar patterns, the names of which I unfortunately failed to record. It came from Ijok, and is therefore a Sabub'n comb.

The comb patterns which have been briefly described here show no trace of any complicated Sēmag system of magic picture-writing. The matter is really quite a simple one. It has already been said that the patterns sometimes have a magical character, and it must be admitted that identical or similar patterns usually have the same name. But they

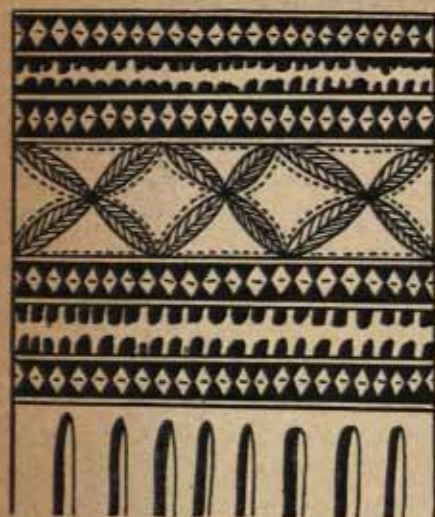
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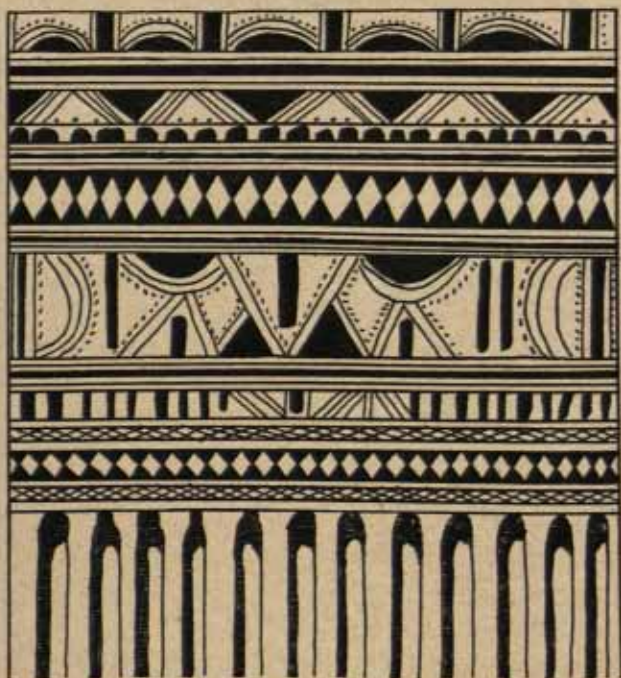
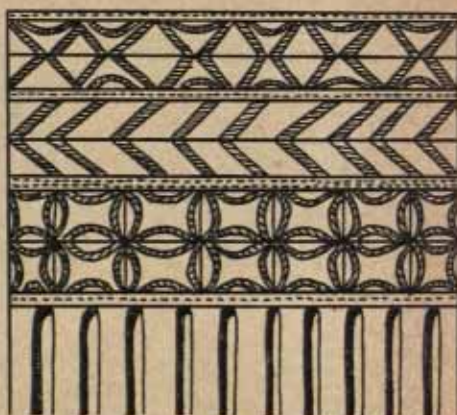
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[To face p. 758.]

8



10



9

do not constitute a system of picture-writing; they are merely pictures. That, however, is just the point where error has crept in. We may say that many patterns, which might be interpreted as ideograms, are lacking in the determinative element which would have rendered them unambiguous. Every Sēmang knows that a particular design represents monkeys' teeth, but only the man who made the pattern could tell us what species of monkey was meant. It is the same thing with other patterns, and in actual fact I found that similar patterns were called by various names by various persons. There can, therefore, be no question of any system of picture-writing, nor is any such thing intended.

According to Vaughan Stevens the patterns are meant to represent diseases or remedies for specific diseases. That statement is inaccurate. The explanation is probably as follows:—The Sēmang are acquainted with all sorts of remedies for many diseases, such remedies being derived from herbs, trees, and flowers. What could be more natural than that the artist in the jungle should represent these same kinds of healing herbs, flowers, and bark in his patterns, especially on combs, which are worn by women, who are also the principal collectors of these herbs and flowers? As already observed, the purpose of the patterns being primarily decorative, it was natural to select for that purpose the most highly prized plants. Vaughan Stevens' mistake was also a natural one, for if he inquired what this *bunga cenbeg*, for example, was for, the Sēmang of course replied, for such and such a disease, not meaning thereby that the pattern (*bunga*) engraved on the comb, but the real *cenbeg* flower, was the remedy. It may, however, be admitted as a possibility that among certain individuals, perhaps even among certain communities, the idea may have grown up that the mere pattern of a plant might serve as a prophylactic or remedy against disease. But I found no evidence of such a belief, though the possibility of such an association of ideas is obvious. Moreover, one cannot quite see why the Sēmang should protect themselves

by means of prophylactic patterns of plants when the plants themselves were available, as was in fact the case.

The Kenta have the following legend about the origin of the decorative patterns. They say that their ancestor Ta Piago taught the men how to make patterns on blowpipes and quivers, while his wife instructed the women how the combs should be decorated. But, in my view, this legend tells us nothing about the real origin of the decorations.

In this connection it may be of interest to note that the Negritos of the Philippines also use combs. William Alland Read ("Negritos of Zambales", *Ethnological Survey Publications*, vol. ii, part 1, Manila, 1904) figures several such combs on his plate xxxvi and writes about them as follows:—

"Hair ornaments are not generally worn, but nearly every Negrito, male and female, especially in Southern Zambales and Bataan, possesses one or more of the so-called combs of bamboo. A single style prevails over the entire Negrito territory, differing only in minor details. A section of bamboo or mountain cane, varying in length from 5 to 10 inches, is split in thirds or quarters and one of these pieces forms the body of the comb. Teeth are cut at one end and the back is ornamented according to the taste of the maker by a rude carving. This carving consists simply of a series of lines or cuts, following some regular design into which dirt is rubbed to make it black. The combs may be further decorated with bright-colored bird feathers fastened with beeswax or gum to the concave side of the end which has no teeth. The feathers may be notched saw-tooth fashion, and have string tassels fastened to the ends. In lieu of feathers, horsehair and a kind of moss or other plant fibre are often used. The most elaborate decorations were noticed only in the North, while the combs of the South have either no ornamentation or have simply the hair or moss. These combs, which the Negritos call 'hook-lay', are made and worn by both men and women, either with the tasseled and feathered ends directly in front or directly behind" (p. 38).

Fragments of Two Assyrian Prayers

By CECIL J. MULLO-WEIR

I

PROFESSOR LANGDON informs me that the prayer (K. 2407) which he edited in *ZA.* 36, 209 ff., is continued and completed by IV R. 21* c, col. ii, of which the first twelve lines are a duplicate of K. 2407, rev. 2-13. The context of the prayer is, accordingly, a long ritual used in connection with the building of a house. For a full discussion of the magic images mentioned in this ritual see Woolley, "Babylonian Prophylactic Figures," in *JRAS.* 1926, 689 ff., where a translation of several similar ritual fragments is given by Sidney Smith.

In the edition of the Rawlinson text which follows, the restorations in italics are from K. 2407; those in roman type are conjectural; Sumerian words also are rendered in roman letters. For many of the interpretations, restorations, and notes I am indebted to Professor Langdon, and Mr. C. J. Gadd has very kindly collated for me a few of the signs, confirming in every case the excellency of the copy.

IV R. 21* c, col. ii

1-9. Restore from K. 2407, rev. 2 ff., as in *ZA.* 36, 210 ff.

10.¹ [*i-te*]-*nir-ru-ba* *bitāti* *urodu* *nig-kalag-ga* ² *ša* *rigim-š[u gal-tū]* ³

Into the houses shall enter the copper bell (?), whose sound is awesome;

11. [*na-š*]*i* ^{4u} *Rammānu bēl bir* (?) ⁴-*ki* *ú-ša-aš-ga-ma eli-š[u]*

Rammanu, lord of lightning, who removes (it), shall roar over it;

12. [*mimm*]*a lim-nu ša eli* ⁵ *biti an-ni-i ibāššá-u* ⁶

All evil whatsoever that is upon this house—

13. [ina ki-b]it ¹⁰ *Nin-giš-zi-da sa-ḫi-ip-šù* ⁷ liḫta[lik] ⁸
At the command of Ningishzida, who overthrows it,
may it perish;
14. . ḫa ⁹-šu ina eli ⁵ bîti kišî u tarbaši an-ni-i pi-iḫ-da-[š]u
... upon this house, supporting-wall and yard,
commit it
15. ana ¹⁰ *Nin-giš-zi-da guzali irši-tim rapaš-tim*
unto Ningishzida, throne-bearer of the wide earth ¹⁰;
16. il[ān]ji ¹¹ ka-mu-tu lîl-k[u]-šu
May the bound gods take it;
17. ¹² *Ne-dû ni-dû-gal* ¹² pa-nu-uš-[šu bâba (?) li-t]e(?)-dîl
May Nedu the great watchman, bolt the door before it;
18. ḫûl-l[i]-iḫ ḫar-gul-li [ina pî-šu li]-iz-ziz ¹³
Destroy (it); may a gag stay in its mouth;
19. la i-t[a-r]a la i-sa-[ni-ka ana bîti] u nišê-šû
May it not return, not encroach upon the house and
its people;
20. šêdu lamassu [ana el]ji bîti lu ka-iâ-an
May the protecting genius and the guardian spirit be
continually on the house,
21. ina ki-b[i-ti-ka šir-ti šá la uttakka]-ru an-ni-ka ki-nim
šá la enû-u
By thine ¹⁴ august command that alters not, thy
steadfast favour that does not change.
-
22. kîma an-nam ana pan [šalam ¹⁵ Lugal-gîr-ra šá ina
rêš i]gari iṣ-ru iman-nu ¹⁵
Thus shall he recite before the image of Lugalgirra
which is fashioned upon the top of the wall;
23. ana pan šalam (?) ¹⁶ [im Enkum ¹⁷ ki-a-am iman-nu
before the image (?) of Enkum he shall recite as follows:
-
24. én ^{dingir} Enkum ¹⁸ [mağ dù-kug]-ga ub-ba al-gub-ba ¹⁹

¹ This line = K.2407, rev. 11. ² Semitic apparently *nikkalaggû*; cf. CT. 16, 24, 25-7; or it may be read *erû dannu*. It is a copper instrument used in rituals; probably a bell, or perhaps a drum. Cf. Langdon,

25. ^{4a} *Enkum* [š]i-ru šub-tum [el-li-tu šá ina tu]-ub-ki iz-za-az-zu

O Enkum, far-famed one of the holy chamber, who stands without.

II

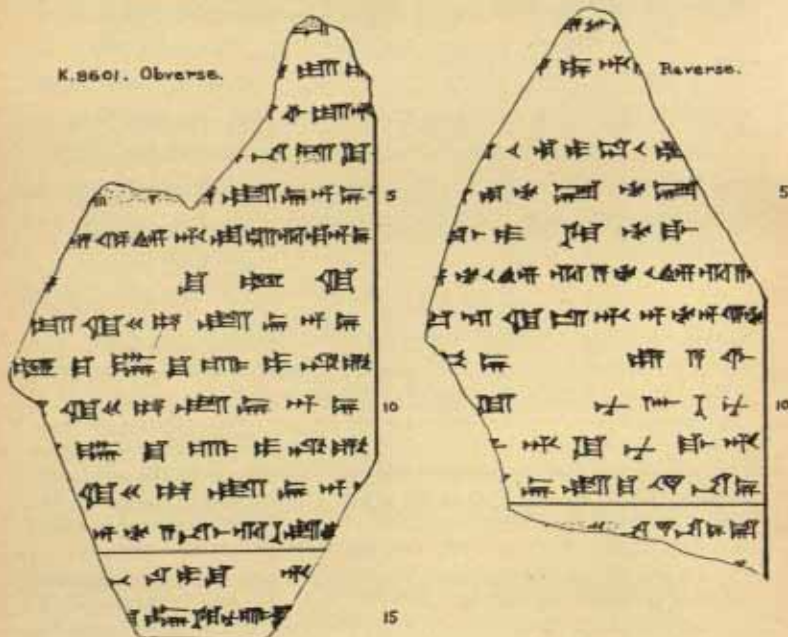
K. 8601 (= Craig, *Religious Texts*, i, 21) is a variant of Ebeling, *KAR.* 39, lines 1-17 of the reverse. By the courtesy of the British Museum authorities, I am able to give a fresh copy, which differs in some respects from that of Craig. In the edition which follows, the Ashur text, being the more complete, has been taken as the ground-text, but the prayers which precede and come after it are in their present condition too fragmentary to be worth editing here. The restorations in roman type are purely conjectural; all the others are from K. 8601.

PBS. x, 332 and 339, 14; also *nig-kalag-ga urudu*, Thureau-Dangin, *Rit. acc.*, 140, 342. ³ Cf. *CT.* 16, 24, 27. ⁴ So we must surely read. The scribe has written *RUS.* ⁵ The ideogram is *SU.* ⁶ Here ends K. 2407. ⁷ For *šahipišu*; cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 28, 22, *ina ki-bit-ka-ma.* ⁸ Restore *gu-ga-[lam]*, rather than the adverb *hu-ša-[riš]*. ⁹ *-ha* is the end of some noun, or of a verb in the Imperative. ¹⁰ I.e. of the underworld. ¹¹ Restore *dingir-[ding]ir.* For the "bound gods", Professor Langdon compares Ebeling, *KAR.* 38, 35, *li-ga-ku-nu* (said of *ilāni kamūti*) *iḫ-bu-nim-ma* " (god and goddess) ordered your capture ". Cf. Langdon, *Epic of Creation*, 145, n. 12; *CT.* 17, 37, 1, where they rise from hell (here = the dead ?); *CT.* 15, 44, 14, the bound gods in the pantomime of the Epic of Creation are Zū and Asakku, see Langdon, *ibid.*, 30, n. 2. See also Langdon, *OECT.* vi, 74, n. 2, below. ¹² *ni-dū* = *atū*, and *gal* = *rabū*, but we should probably read *nidugallu*, since *gal* = *rabū* has usually a phonetic complement. There was evidently a loan-word *nidugallu*, cf. *CT.* 16, 13, 49-50, and Ebeling, *KAR.* 227, iii, 19 (a close parallel to our line), where the construct state occurs, *nidugalli irḡi-tim.* ¹³ Uncertain. Cf. *Maḫd.* i, 54; *KAR.* 71, 6, *nadū ina pi ḥargulla*, to place a bit in the mouth. ¹⁴ I.e. Lugalgirra's. That the appeal for purification of the house is to Lugalgirra is proved by *ZA.* 36, 210, 14. ¹⁵ Restored from iv. R. 21a, 29 and 30; cf. also Zimmern, *Ritualtaf.*, No. 53, lines 10 and 14. ¹⁶ Doubtful. The ideogram *ŠAB* appears here to stand for *šalmu*, cf. iv. R. 21a, 30, where the usual *NU* occurs. ¹⁷ Restored from line 24. ¹⁸ On Enkum or Isimu, see *AJSL.* 39, 164, n. 11; Langdon, *Paradis*, 224, 29. ¹⁹ Restored from Zimmern, *Ritualtaf.*, No. 53, 15.

KAR. 39. Reverse.

[*1. ra (?) . .] ¹[*2. a (?) -ta-ka[l (?)]] ¹[*3. ši-ta-ti] ¹1. . . . aš . ina ru-šum-ti (?) ² na-[da-ku]

. . . . in the slime I am cast;

2. ³ . . . di-im ⁴ -tu ⁵ tūm ⁶ -tal-la-an-ni rêšê-[ia šu-uk-ki] ⁷. . . with tears thou hast filled me; exalt thou my head! ⁸3. ⁹ [ašar ta-pa]l (?) -su ¹⁰ amēlu šū ¹¹ i-bal-luṭ ina ni-iš
ênê-k[a]Where thou regardest, the man recovereth, ¹² by the
lifting up of thine eyes.4. [mu-up-pa]l (?) -sa-a-ta ¹³ ki-niš nap-li-sa-ni ¹⁴ ia-a-[ši] ¹⁵Thou art one who regardeth; faithfully regard me,
even me! ¹⁶5. [lib-bi uli]-iā ana ¹⁷ ašri-šū ¹⁸ li-tu-r[a (?)]

May the heart of my god return to its place!

6. [šiptu il]-ī ellu¹⁹ šur-bu-ú ka-i-šu balāti²⁰ anašši ti-
[pa-ra]²¹

Incantation : O my god, holy, magnified one, bestower of life, I lift up the torch ;

7. [as-ḥur]-ka il-ī maḥar-ka az-ziz eš-e-ka il-ī šá-pal-[ka ak-mis]²²

I have turned unto thee, O my god ; before thee I have taken my stand ; I have sought thee, O my god ; in front of thee I have bowed down.

8. [li-ḫ]i un-ni-ni-ia pu-tur il-t[i-ia]

Accept my supplication ; undo my ban ;

9. [kil-l]a-ti-ia pu-šur šir-ti lum-ni-ia ú-[sub] (= K. 8601, Rev. 2).

Loosen my disgrace, the guilt of my wickedness ; remove

10. [ma-ru]-uš-ti dup-pir murš-ī²³ an-ni idú-ú lá idú-[ú uk (?) -tal-lil (?)]²⁴

My disease ; drive away my sickness ; a sin I know (or) know not I have committed ;

11. [ana ar]-ni abi-iā abi abi-iā ar-ni ummi-iā um[mi ummi-iā]
On account of a sin of my father (or) my grandfather,
a sin of my mother (or) my grandmother,

12. [ana ar]-ni aḥi rabē-e²⁵ aḥati rabī-tu ana ar-ni kimt[i-iā]
On account of a sin of an elder brother (or) an elder sister, on account of a sin of my family,

13. [²⁶ nisū]ti-iā²⁶ salāti-iā šá (?)²⁷ KI i-sab-ba-s[ī]
Of my kinsfolk (or) of my clan

14. [ki-mi]l-ti ili u ištari²⁸ is-ni-ku-ni ia-[a-ši]

The wrath of god and goddess have pressed upon me.

15. [e-n]in-na a-ḫal-lu ṣalmāni-šū-nu ina ma-ḥar ilu-ti-ku-nu
rabī-[ti]

Now, I burn their images in front of your great divinity.

- 16.²⁹ [ma-mi (?) -t]ūm pu-tu-ra-a-ma dā-lí-lí-ku-nu lud-lul

Dissolve ye the curse, and I will verily sing your praises.

17. . . 'il-ti puṭ-ra sa-li-ma šuk-na-[ni]²⁰

Dissolve my ban; provide for me peace.

¹ Restored from the variant. ² Var. has probably [IM-RI]-A = [rušum]ti, or possibly [ru-sum-ti-i]a. ³ Var. inserts a line: . . . [ki-niš] nap-li-sa-an-ni. ⁴ So the var. reads. ⁵ Var. -ti. ⁶ Var. tu-um. ⁷ Cf. Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 9, rev. 6, ul-li ri-ši-ia; ibid., 4, 31, mu-la-at (Predicative ?) réšē-ka; King, *Magic*, 2, 16, ša-ka-a (var. šašā-a) ri-ša-a-ka. Professor Langdon calls my attention to the fact that in this last passage LAL = šakū "high"; cf. also King, *Magic*, 4, 9, LAL-tū, with its duplicate, Zimmern, *Rit.* 26, iii, 47, šā-ku-tū; the ideogram occurs also in King, *Magic*, 4, l. 11, šakū-tū, and l. 12, šakū-ū par-šu-[ki]. ⁸ Lit. "heads". ⁹ Var. inserts a line: [mu-up-pal-sa-a]-ta ki-niš nap-li-sa-an-ni, but omits the latter half of line 3. ¹⁰ Var. [ta-pal-la]-as-ma. ¹¹ Var. šu-ū. ¹² Lit. "liveth". ¹³ So read, rather than [nap-lu-u]s-sa-a-ta; cf. King, *Magic*, 2, 37, and 21, 17. The first sign in ll. 3 and 4 is surely BAL. ¹⁴ Var. -sa-an-ni. ¹⁵ Var. omits i-a-a-ši. ¹⁶ Var. repeats ll. 3 and 4. ¹⁷ Var. a-na. ¹⁸ Var. áš-ri-šū. ¹⁹ For restoration, cf. Craig, *RT.* i, 13, 12. ²⁰ Var. inserts a line: . . . [šā l]a in-nin-nu-ū ki-[biš-su]. ²¹ Cf. this line and l. 15 below with Ebeling, *Quellen*, i, 30, ll. 17 and 20, and *Maglū*, i, 109. ²² Cf. iv. R. 60, rev. 19. ²³ Var. omits from *usuḫ* to *mursi* and has instead a blank line. ²⁴ Var. [i-d]u-u la i-du-u u[š(?)]-tal-lil(?). Cf. l. 19 of this text, ú-[kal]-lil. ²⁵ Var. rabī-i. ²⁶ Var. inserts u. ²⁷ Or BAL(?), or IK(?). ²⁸ Var. ili-ia ištari-ia. ²⁹ Var. omits this line. ³⁰ The variant follows this prayer with the well-known line of ritual: [kikiṭṭa-šu lu i-na riksi lu i]-na niknakki tepp-uš, which was probably followed by a colophon.

Assyrian Prayers

By MICHAEL SIDERSKY

THESE prayers, the text and translation of which are given below, are but a few of those I copied some time ago from tablets in the British Museum. Owing to various reasons I have been unable to publish them before.

I have revised the copies and have given full notes and mentioned all other sources dealing with the subject and I hope that my work may be of some use to those interested in that branch of study.

I beg to thank Dr. R. H. Hall, Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, for having given me, on behalf of the Trustees of the British Museum, permission to publish these tablets. My thanks are also due to his assistant, Mr. Gadd, my friend of old Oxford days.

DEDICATION OF A BED AND THRONE WITH A MINIATURE SHIP TO AŠŠUR. K. 8664¹

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>1. (a-na ^{11u}Ašur) šar ilāni ab
ilāni šá-ku ba-nu-u ilu rabū</p> <p>2. (a-ši-ru) ^{11u}Igigi u ^{11u}A-
nun-na-ki ta-me-iḥ ši-pi(?)²
šami-e</p> | <p>1. Unto Ašur king of the gods,
father of the gods, the
lofty, the creator, the great
god.</p> <p>2. The musterer of the Igigi
and the Anannaki, that
holdeth the canopy of the
heavens,</p> |
|---|--|

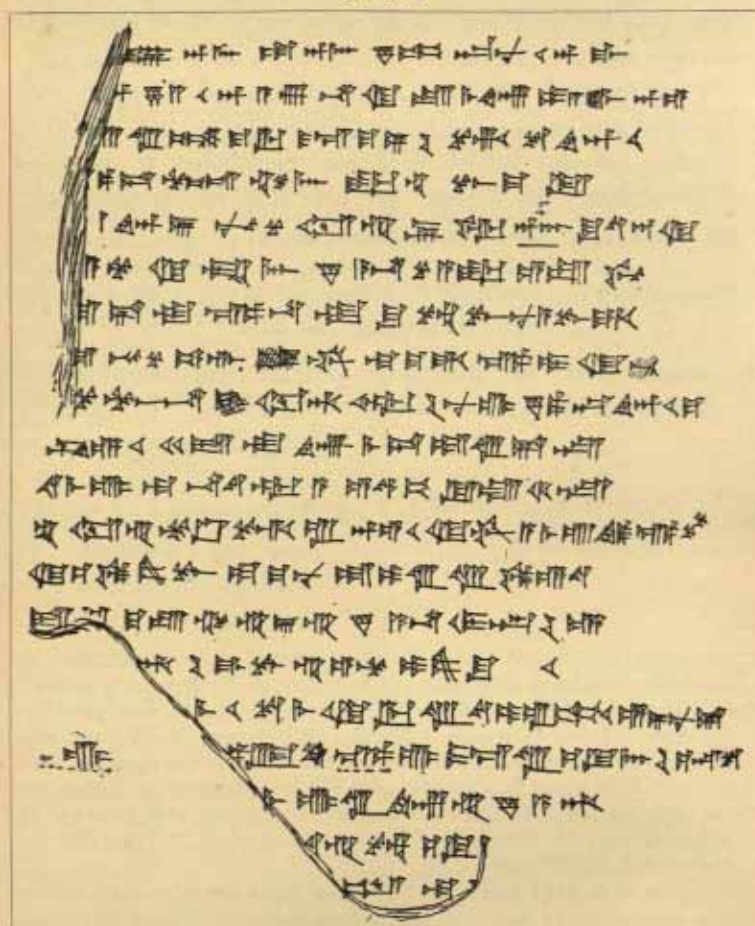
¹ A large four-column tablet, K. 2411, published by Craig, *RT.* 76-8, of which the Obverse is destroyed, has in Col. 1 of the Reverse a copy of a dedication of the same objects to Aššur by Senecherib, who probably plundered it from the temple of Marduk in Babylon. K. 2411 contains the copy of Senecherib's dedication by the scribe of Asurbanipal, who ordered it to be erased from the bed, after which a dedication by Asurbanipal was engraved. K. 9664 probably contained the original dedication of the plundered relics by Senecherib. For an edition of K. 2411, see Streck, *Asurbanipal*, ii, 292-303.

² ŠI or ME. The root šapū "to cover, overlay" exists in Assyrian + ša-pu (var. zu-pu zumur-šu "his body is clothed", *Gilgamesh Epic*, xi, 257; cf. ša-pi (?), *Küchler, Med.* 30, 42, *dup* = šipū, *Syn. lamā*, *Syl. C.* 40 *suppū*, *Syn. lubbū*, *VR.* 30, 65; cf. *Maḫlu*, vii, 65.

3. (. . .) libbu ru-ku ma-lik 3. of the unsearchable
ra-ma-ni-šù muš-te'-u heart, his own counsellor,
the solicitous.
4. (. . .) -di ¹-du mu-šim 4. The, decreer of
šimāti šar-ḫu git-ma-lu fates, the illustrious, the
perfect.

K. 8664

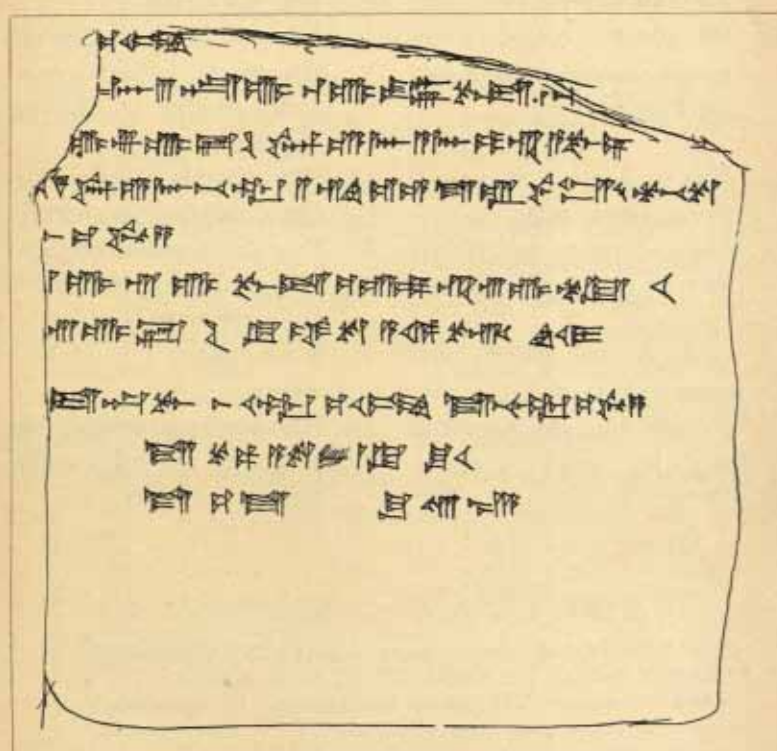
Obverse



¹ Uncertain. Also šag, ka or la pa possible. Read karradu la pa-du.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>5. (mu-ma-)'-ir kul-lat gim-ri
sa-niḫ ilāni šu-ut šamē
iršitim</p> <p>6. e-mu-ki širāti ¹ šé a-na mati
a-šar e-ta-gu</p> <p>7. ù nit-tu ² šak-na-tu šu-us-
pu-nu a-bu-biš</p> | <p>5. Director of all things, con-
troller of the gods of heaven
and earth</p> <p>6. Vast might which upon the
land, where men are disloyal</p> <p>7. and where violence exists,
like a cyclone, is hurled,</p> |
|--|---|

Reverse



¹ For this title of Nergal, see *CT.* 25, 49, 8, of Marduk, Streck, *Asurb.* 276, 2.

² Probably from *natû* on the analogy of *šaltu*, *bartu*. Cf. the same word employed in the sense of house breaker, *RA.* 11, 70.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>8. <i>ù kul-lat kib-rat irbit-tim
la ma-gir ŠAG-GAN¹ KI-
BAD²</i></p> <p>9. <i>a-bu-bu na-aš-pan-ti eli-šū-
nu u-ša-aš-ba-'u-ma³</i></p> <p>10. <i>biltu u man-da-tu iḥ-me-du⁴
ši-ru-uš-su-(un)⁵</i></p> <p>11. <i>ū-me-šam la na-pār-ka-a e-
zab-bi-lu dup-šik-su</i></p> <p>12. <i>bēl gim-ri mu-kīl šir-rit
šami-e irši-tim a-šib É-ḥar-
sag-kur-kur-ra⁶</i></p> <p>13. <i>ki-iš-šu raš-bu aṭ-ma-nu⁷
ši-i-ru ru-šu-un-na</i></p> <p>14. <i>da-a-ip⁸ ma-ta nam-ri-ir-ri
ša a-na šakkanakkē-šū-nu</i></p> <p>15. <i>(ina)ti-šū rabi-te ri-
e-mu i-raš-šu-u</i></p> <p>16. <i>(ša laban ap-)pi u te-me-ki
ur-ru-ḥiṣ i-laḫ-ḫu-u un-ni-
nu-uš</i></p> | <p>8. and who as to all the four hostile regions the pestilence of death,</p> <p>9. and a cyclone of devastation causes to befall them.</p> <p>10. As for them on whom he has placed tribute and presents</p> <p>11. daily without ceasing they bear his service.</p> <p>12. Lord of all, that holdeth the reins of heaven and earth, dweller of Eharsag-kurkurra,</p> <p>13. The terrible abode, far-famed building the adorned.</p> <p>14. Him that repelleth the land with brilliance, who upon their governors</p> <p>15. in his great taketh mercy.</p> <p>16. Who receiveth quickly the prayer of him of humiliation and entreaty.</p> |
|--|--|

¹ A title of Nergal as god of flocks, but here a general title of the pest god.

² *KI-BAD* = *ḫabru* "grave, hence death (?)". Uncertain, cf. the *KI-BAD* of Tammuz and Nergal, *CT.* 28, 44, R. 4 and 9.

³ *šabū* "to capture", in Hebrew and Aramaic. In Arabic *saba'a* "to purchase". The original sense of this root is "to raise, bring in".

⁴ *emēdu*, Arabic 'amada "to support". *ḥ* for *ayin*.

⁵ *un* is omitted on the tablet.

⁶ Cf. *BA.* v, 652, 8.

⁷ Arabic *waṭan* "dwelling". See Landsberger, *ZA.* 25, 384.

⁸ *dēpu*, Hebrew *דָּפַן*, Arabic *dahaba* "repel, thrust back". For this sense see Langdon, *PBS.* x, 195, 16, *irti id-i-pu* "my breast they have repelled".

17. (*eli la ma-gi-ri u*) *aš-tu-te* 17. Who against the hostile and
ú-šam-ra-ru kakkê-šù iz-zu-te troublesome causeth his
 angry weapons to be bitter.
18. (.)-*me u-ru-uh* 18. a way of
ri-šá-a-ti rejoicing.

Reverse

1. e *ammāt* . . . 1.
 2. (*ina*) ^{1u}*iršu* 2. on the bed.
 3. (3 *ammāti*) ^v*šalsu* (*su*) 3. Three and $\frac{1}{3}$ cubits by the
ammāt ina išten ammāt royal cubit is the length of
šarri mûrak šá ^{1u}*kussi* ¹ the throne.
 4. (1) *ammāt* $\frac{2}{3}$ *ammāt rupuš-šù* 4. One and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cubit is
^{1a1}*lamassāti idāti* ² *i-lab-bu-* its width. Female animal
ni figures surround the sides.
 5. 4 ^{1a1}*lamassāti ina muhhi* 5. Four female animal figures
 2 *gi-si-e ša šid šal-ši.* 2 over the two *gisû* of the
ditto ina pu-u-te third side. Two female
 animal figures on the front
 6. *ina* ³ ^{1u}*kussi* 6. on the throne.
 7. 1 *ammāt* $\frac{2}{3}$ *ammāt mûrak* 7. One and $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cubit is
^{1u}*má-tûr-ri* $\frac{2}{3}$ *ammāt mu-* the length of the "Little
lu-ú ⁴ Boat", $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cubit is the
 height,
 8. $\frac{2}{3}$ *ammāt rupuš-šù ku-up* ⁵*-te* 8. $\frac{2}{3}$ of a cubit is its width ;
a-di mušrušši unto the "dragon" ⁶

¹ This line = Craig, *RT.* 78, 29.

² A var. of *ID(á) = idu*, pl. *idāti*.

³ So read *aš* not *pap*, Craig, *RT.* 78, 32.

⁴ *málá* "height". The Sumerian technical term for "height" is *sukud*, *gúd*, usually rendered by *mélú*, see *Sumerian Grammar*, 218.

⁵ Or *ub* ?

⁶ Prow ? In any case *mušruššu* is here the name of a part of the ship

- | | |
|---|---|
| 9. <i>da-ba-bu šá ina eli ^{1u}irši
šá ina eli ^{1u}kussi</i> | 9. The inscription, which was
engraved upon the bed and
upon the throne |
| 10. <i>ša še-pa-a-te ?¹ -ma šu-u</i> | 10. with feet, it is. |
| 11. <i>ša ^{1u}le'i² la ša-tir</i> | 11. Not was it written on a
tablet. |

K. 1290

HYMN OF ASURBANIPAL TO THE QUEEN OF NINEVEH AND
ARBELA

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>šu-uš-ka-a šu-uš-ri-ḥa³ ilat
be-lit ^{1u}Ni-(na-a)</i> | 1. They are exalted, they are
made glorious the Queen of
Nineveh, |
| 2. <i>šur-ba-a na²-i-da ilat be-lit
^{1u}Arba'-ili</i> | 2. They are magnified, they
are revered, the Queen of
Arbela. |
| 3. <i>šá ina ilāni rabūti šá-ni-na
la i-šá-a</i> | 3. Who among the great gods
a rival have not. |
| 4. <i>šu-ḫur zi-kir-ši-na la i-sa-a
a-na ^{1u}Ištarati</i> | 4. Precious is their title unto
goddesses. |
| 5. <i>ma-ḥa-za-ši-na la un-da-aš-
šá-lu ḫali-šù-nu parakkê</i> | 5. The sanctuaries all of them
equal not their cult centre. |
| 6. <i>zi-kir šap-te-ši-na ^{1u}gibil
nap-ḫu</i> | 6. The word of their lips is
a blasting fire. |
| 7. <i>at-mu-ši-na kun-nu-u a-na
da-riš</i> | 7. Their speech is made
excellent for ever. |
| 8. <i>a-na-ku Ašur-bani-apli (na-)
ram lib-bi-ši-in</i> | 8. I am Ašurbanipal, beloved
of their heart. |
| 9. <i>zēr ilû-tû pár-ku bur-⁴ (ki
ilat be-e) l-ti ^{1u}Ni-na-a</i> | 9. The offspring of divinity
enclosed in the lap (of the
divine) queen of Nineveh. |

¹ Bezold read *DIS*, Pinches, *KA* (?).² ^{1u}ŠA, probably an error for ^{1u}DA = *le'u* ?³ A permansive on the analogy of a lamedh guttural root.⁴ The text of this line is very uncertain.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 10. <i>bi-nu-ut bit ri-(du-ti -)ú bēlīt kala-ma</i> | 10. The begotten of the house of rulership, the of the queen of the universe. |
| 11. <i>ša ul-tu libbi bit r(id-du-ti a-di ?)-ba mār šarru-u-ti</i> | 11. Who from within the house of rulership unto (?) of crown principedom. |
| 12. <i>ina pi-i-ši-na el-li ù la-bar¹ kussi-ia</i> | 12. By their holy command and (unto) old age of my throne, |
| 13. <i>ul i-di abu u um-me ina dur(?)-ki a-na hu-me-ia¹ ár-ba-a ana-ku</i> | 13. Although I knew not father and mother, ² in the palace (?) unto my I grew up—even I. |
| 14. <i>it-tar-ru-un-ni-i-ma ilāni ki-ma la'-e³</i> | 14. The gods have guided me like a weakling. |
| 15. <i>im-ni u šu-me-li it-tal-la-ku it-ti-ia</i> | 15. They have walked with me at my right and left. |
| 16. <i>šēdu dum-ki lamassu dum-ki u-kin-nu i-di-ia</i> | 16. The kind <i>sedu</i> , the kind <i>lamassu</i> have upheld my arm. |
| 17. <i>a-na naširūti šul-me u balaṭi u-paḫ-ḫi-du napiš-tim</i> | 17. They have entrusted my soul unto the guardians of peace and life. |
| 18. <i>šap-(.)-ak kat-ti ú-dan-ni-nu a-mu-ḫi-ia</i> | 18. I became in form, they fortified my strength. |
| 19. <i>ú-šab-bi-u zi-kir šu-(mi-ia) eli ka-li-šū-nu ma-li-ki</i> | 19. They longed for the mention of my name more than for all rulers. |

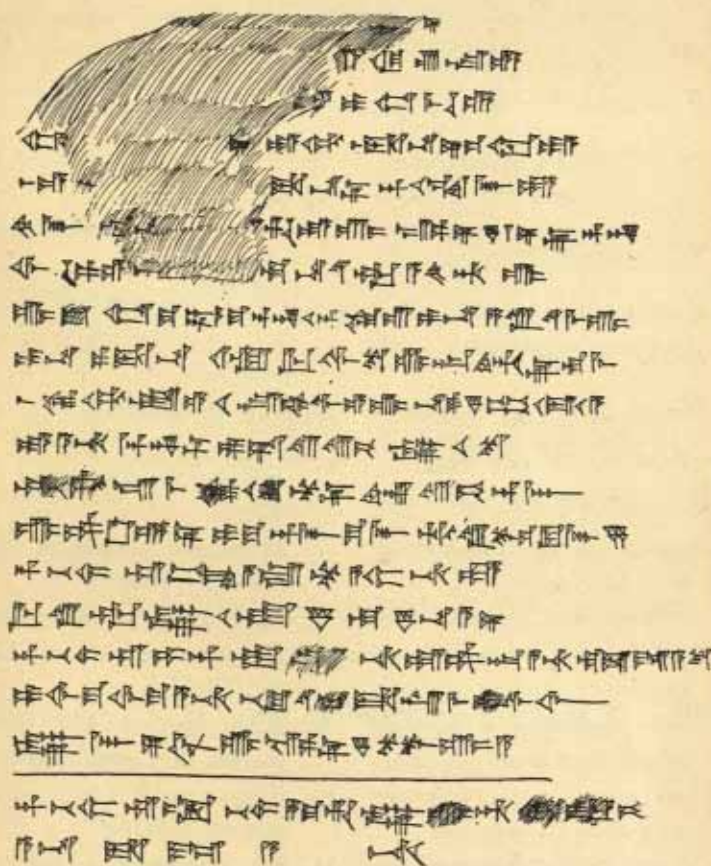
¹ Cf. *hammutu* "rulership (?)", Ebeling, *RT.* 122, 10; Streck, *Asurb.* ii, 302, 28. For *durku*, cf. *BA.* 3, 232, 49; Winckler, *For.* ii, 23, 5.

² The name of Asurbanipal's mother is not found in the inscriptions, but he, of course, knew his father, Asarhaddon, who for some reason passed over his elder brothers and appointed Asurbanipal crown prince at the end of his reign. The above reference to his childhood is explained by the fact that he was not at first educated and intended for the kingship.

³ Hebrew אֲנִי.

20. *im-mu-ú-ma i-(. . . .)i-ru-* 20. The augmented, they
bu¹ bal-tum increased vigour.
21. *(.) ²¹šip-ša-a-ti ša* 21. The powerful which
la ik-nu-šù a-na šarrani submitted not to the kings
abê-ia my fathers,

Reverse



¹ The ordinary preterite of *erēbu*, "to increase," is *erib*, Streck, *Babyloniaca* ii, 231. *erub* is probably a case of analogy with *erub*, "he entered." *immu* is here taken conjecturally from *namu*, Arabic *namai*, "to grow, augment."

- | | |
|---|--|
| 22. aš <i>ka</i> t-ra-a la e-me-
du-u-ni ma- <i>har</i> -šu-un | 22. and ly gifts placed
not before them. |
| 23. (a-na-ku) Ašur-bani-apli bi-
nu-ut <i>ka</i> tê ilāni rabūti | 23. I Asurbanipal the creation
of the hands of the great
gods, |
| 24. li'-tiš | 24. with might. |

Reverse

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ? ni | 1. |
| 2. -a ki-bit-su-un | 2. their com-
mand. |
| 3. -i-nim-me-šū-un | 3. |
| 4. ul (ina)-ni-ia
ul ina da-na-ni ^{1u} kašti-ia | 4. Not by the of my
. . . . , not by the might
of my bow, |
| 5. ina e-muḫ (ilāni-ia ina)
da-na-ni ištārāti-ia | 5. but by the strength of my
gods and the might of my
goddesses, |
| 6. matāti la (. . . .)-ri-ia ú-
šak-ni-šá ana ni-ir ^{1u} Ašur | 6. The lands not to
my I caused to
submit to the yoke of
Ašur. |
| 7. igisi-e (šad-lu-ti) la na-pár-
ka-a šat-ti-šam | 7. Numerous presents, un-
ceasingly, yearly |
| 8. ú-du-nim-ma ka -ma Ašur
u ^{1u} Nin-lil i-na-ša-ru ú-me-
šam | 8. They fixed, guarding daily
the outer gate (?) of Ašur
and Ninlil |
| 9. i-na pa-da-na ² ù teš-pi-te
u-ba-i'-u sa-la-me | 9. With singing and inter-
cession they sought grace |
| 10. ina šu-ul-li-e u su-up-pi-e
u-nu-aš-šá-ku šépu-u-a | 10. Kissing my feet with prayer
and supplication. |
| 11. ia-a-ti ^{1u} Ašur-bani-apli lib-
lib-bi šarru-u-te | 11. Me Asurbanipal the de-
scendant of kingship, |

¹ Or read *bab(ka)-ma*.² The verb from which *pidnu* (not *pitnu*!) "music, song", is derived.

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>12. <i>su(?) -ul-lil¹ šip-šu-u-te mu-ni-iḥ lib-bi ilāni</i></p> <p>13. <i>ú-tak-kil-un-ni-i-ma ilāni rabūti ik-ru-bu kakkê-ia</i></p> <p>14. <i>ilat be-lit² Ni-na-a um-mu a-lit-ti-ia</i></p> <p>15. <i>ur-ru-ka šarru-u-tu šá la šá-na-a-ni</i></p> <p>16. <i>ilat be-lit² Arba'-ili tu-(. . . .)-ti-si tak-ba-a-ti la da-ra-a-te²</i></p> <p>17. <i>i-ši-ma ši-ma-a-ti be-lu-ut kal da-ad-me e-pi-ši</i></p> | <p>12. The suppressor of tyrants, who appeases the hearts of the gods.</p> <p>13. have the great gods encouraged and they have blessed my arms.</p> <p>14. The divine queen of Nineveh, the mother my bearer,</p> <p>15. prolonging of kingship unrivalled</p> <p>16. And the divine queen of Arbela, the commands not annulled</p> <p>17. Have decreed as (my) fates—even to exercise dominion over all habitations.</p> |
|--|---|
-
- | | |
|---|---|
| <p>18. <i>šarrā-ni-šū-nu u-šak-ni-šá še-pu-ú-a</i></p> <p><i>ilat be-lit² Niná be-lit za-ma-ri šarru-ú-ti li-šar-bia-na da-ra-a-ti</i></p> | <p>18. Their kings they have caused to bow down at my feet.</p> <p>The divine queen of Nineveh, the queen of the song of kingship will I extol Forever.</p> |
|---|---|

A PRAYER TO NINLIL, K. 3515

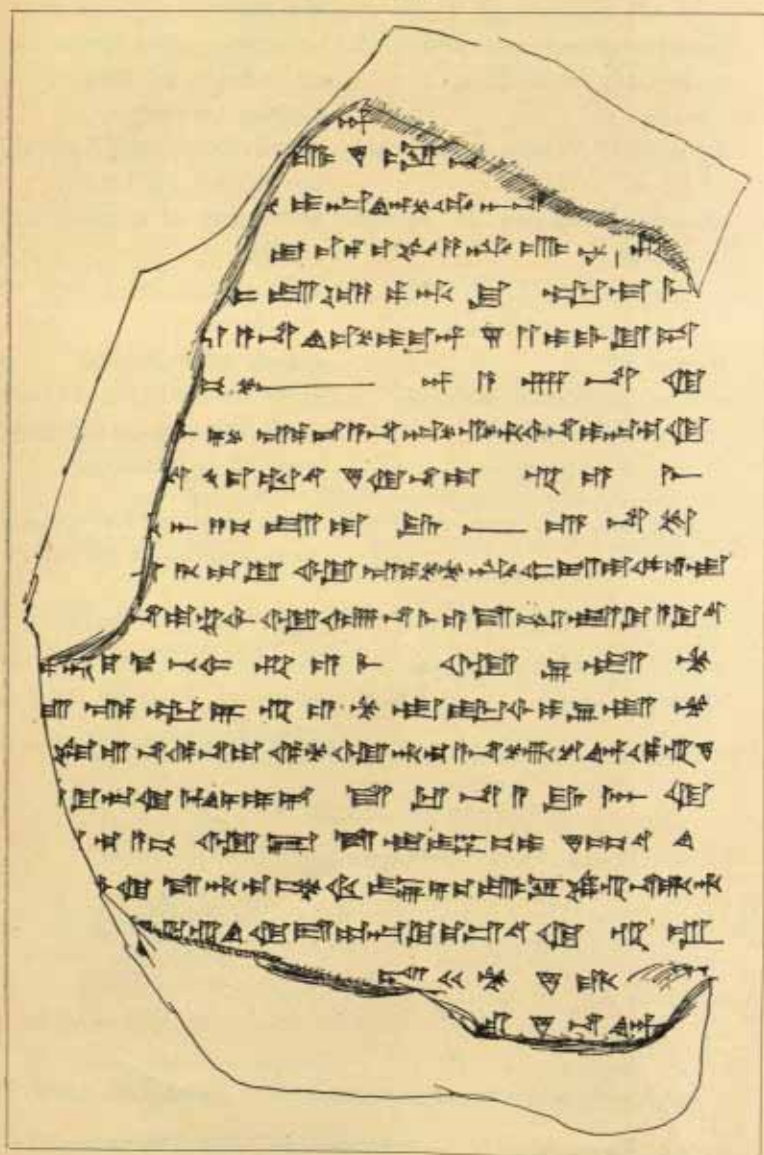
Obverse

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>1. <i>ilu</i></p> <p>2. <i>u-ša-az-na (an)</i></p> <p>.</p> <p>3. <i>i-ba'-lat- ul</i></p> <p>.</p> | <p>1. god</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p> |
|--|---|

¹ Probably identical with *su-li-lu-u*, Syn. *šahḫiru*, Poebel, *PBS.* v, 106; i, 15.

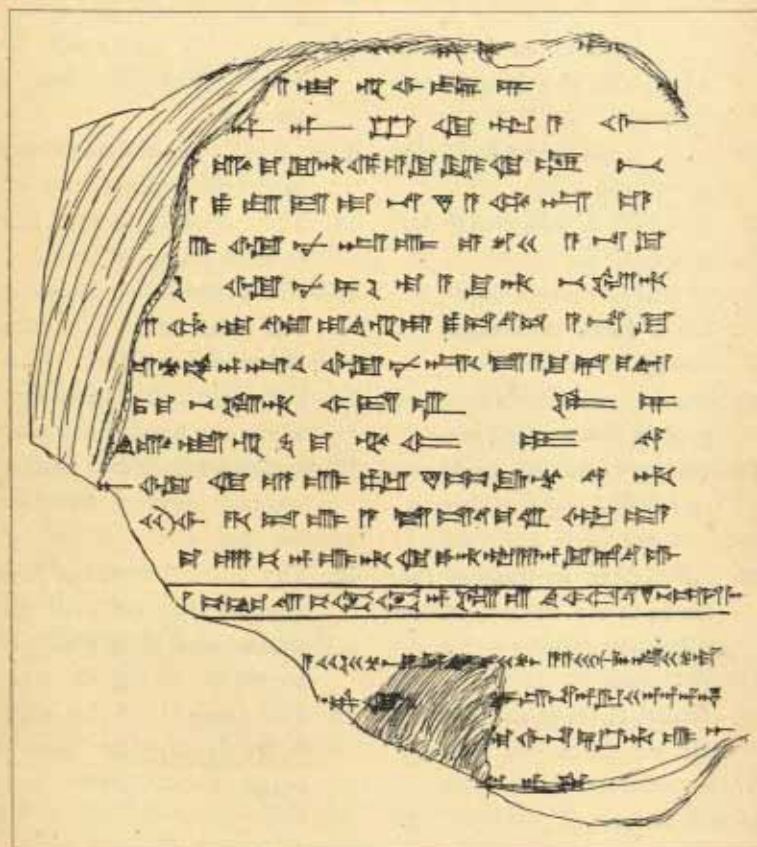
² *dará* "remove, annul". Cf. *tu-tar-ra zal-pa* "thou seizest away the wicked man", *ZA.* 4, 33, 3; cf. Delitzsch, *HW.* 2285.

K. 3515

Obverse

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4. nādin ^{1u} hatti
^{1u} kussi palu-u | 4. who gives a sceptre
and a royal throne |
| 5. (mu-rap-pi-sat a-lit)-ta-šu-
un pa-ti-kaṭ ka-la-me | 5. Who extendest their off-
spring, who fashionest
everything. |
| 6. a-na hi-is-sat-i-šu
^{1u} Igigi i-gal-lu-du | 6. at her wisdom the
Igigi tremble. |
| 7. (a-na ša) uš-ra-bi-
bu ^{1u} A-nun-na-ki | 7. At her . . . the Anunnaki
toss in terror. |

Reverse



¹ A quadriliteral on a *Šaphal* formation. It is due to the palatal *r* that *ušrababu* becomes *ušrabibu*.

8. (*a-me-lu-tum ni-ši*) *šal-mat*
kaḫḫadi a-na ba-laṭ nāpis-ti-
ši-na i-ba-la-ki
9. (*mal-ka-tu rim-ni-tu*) *gam-*
ma-al-tu ša-ki-na-at ri-e-me
10. (*mu-ḥad-di-at lib*) *muttallaki*
ša-bi-ta-at ḫati ina dan-na-te
11. *mu-up-pa-li-sa-at ḫa-ab-lu u*
šak-še mu-bal-li-ṭa-at mi-e-tu
12. *na-at en-ši u dun-*
na-me-e ša il-li-ku a-ku-tam
13. *ma-šarrat be-lit ri-e-*
me u sa-li-me
14. *ta-šak-ka-ni ri-e-mu tu-šar-*
ši-i sa-li mu
15. ^{14at} *Nin-lil na-di-na-at šul-*
mu u balaṭi a-namuš-te'- u
aš-ri-ša
16. *ana-ku arad-ki* ^{14u} *Ašur-bani-*
apli ša ib-na-a ḫatê-ki
17. (*ba*)-*la a-bi u ummi ša*
tu-rab-bi-i ša-ḫu-tu šarratu
18. *ki ša balaṭam tah-*
tin-in-ni-ma ta-aš-ṣu-ri na-
piš-ti
19. (*epšêt*) *taš-ri-ḫi-ki da-ab-ba-*
ku ma-gur-tam-ki dal-lak
20.
21.
8. Mankind, the blackheaded
race pray unto thee for
their life.
9. Merciful, gracious queen
who institutes mercy.
10. Who gladdenest the heart
of him in distress, who
takest the hand in trouble.
11. Who lookest at the despised
and downtrodden, who
givest life unto the dying.
12. the weak and
feeble, they that live in
poverty
13. queens, mistress of
mercy and peace.
14. Thou sendest mercy, thou
causest peace to be.
15. Ninlil giver of happiness
and life unto him that
seeks for her place.
16. I thy servant, Asurbanipal,
whom thy hands have made
17. without father and mother,
whom thou O ! lofty queen
hast reared.
18. Thy whom thou
hast secured unto life and
whose soul thou hast pro-
tected,
19. The deeds (?) of thy might
I speak of, thy grace I
praise

Reverse

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>tak-ni</i> | 1. |
| 2. <i>tu-ri-ši-in-ni</i> | 2. |
| 3. (^{at} <i>Nin-lil bēlit</i>) <i>ilāni ašhur-ki ka-a-ši</i> | 3. O! Ninlil, lady of the gods,
I have turned unto thee. |
| 4. (<i>e-ti-ru ù</i>) <i>ga-ma-lu ti-di-e šubat susikta-ki aš-bat</i> | 4. To spare and to show
favour thou knowest. Thy
mantle I have taken
hold of. |
| 5. (<i>hi-ti kab-ta (?)</i>) <i>aš-ta-da-ad na-ša-a ul idi-e</i> | 5. A heavy sin (?) I carry,
I know not to bear it. |
| 6. (<i>ina ar-ni</i>) <i>idu-ú ù la idu-ú e-te-niš a-na-ku</i> | 6. Because of (my) trans-
gression known and un-
known I have become weak. |
| 7. (<i>ina an-ni ša epu</i>) <i>-šù ù la epu-šu a-ka-ti be-el-ti</i> | 7. Because of the evil I have
done and have not done
I perish, O! lady |
| 8. (<i>hi-ti-tu ša</i>) <i>ul-tu ū-um ši-hi-ri-ja aš-du-ud-du a-na-ku</i> | 8. (Because) of the sin which
since the time of my youth
I have carried |
| 9. (<i>ù</i>) <i>ša mu-ār ili idu-ú ù la idu-ú a-šu-uš ma-'diš</i> | 9. And which the apostle of
god has known or not
known I suffer greatly |
| 10. (<i>ud-da-ka</i>) <i>m-ma be-el-ti liṭ-ta-riḍ lum-ni</i> | 10. Daily (?) O! my lady may
my evil be expelled. |
| 11. (<i>šār-ki</i>) <i>tābu li-zi-ḳam-ma ik-liṭ limmir</i> | 11. May thy good breath blow
and the darkness be
brightened. |
| 12. (<i>lma</i>) <i>puški u dannāti u-šap-ša-ku ḳatē-ja šab-ti</i> | 12. From trouble and calamity
that distress take thou my
hand |
| 13. (<i>ai</i>) <i>eš-lim ha-tú-ù-a ša iš-tam-ma-ru eli-ia</i> | 13. May not my offender
prosper who exults over me. |
| 14. (<i>luḅluṭ lušlim</i>) <i>-ma nīr-bi ilu-ú-ti-ki rabī-ti ka-ia-an lu-uš-tam-mar</i> | 14. May I live, may I prosper
and the greatness of thy
great divinity ever shall
I cherish. |

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>15. <i>bi-bil lib-bi ikrib</i>
 ^{iat}<i>Nin-lil šarrat rim-mim-tu</i>
 <i>ša pit-ku-diš izzazu</i></p> <p>16. (e-kal ^{iu}<i>Ašur-bani</i>)-<i>apli šar</i>
 <i>kiššati šar</i> ^{mat}<i>Aššur</i>
 <i>apli</i> ^{iu}<i>Ašur-aḫi-iddin</i> <i>šar</i>
 ^{mat}<i>Aššur apal apli</i> ^{iu}<i>Sin-</i>
 <i>aḫē-crib šar</i> ^{mat}<i>Aššur-ma</i></p> <p>17. <i>tak-ki</i> <i>bu-</i>
 <i>kur na-an-taš šar ilāni</i>
 ^{iu}<i>Aššur</i></p> <p>18. <i>la ši-pir</i>
 <i>ni-kil-tu u</i></p> | <p>15. the desire of the
 heart, a prayer unto Ninlil
 merciful queen of those
 who stand in awe before
 her</p> <p>16. The temple of Asurbanipal
 king of hosts, king of
 Assyria son of Asarhaddon
 king of Assyria grandson
 of Sanaherib king of
 Assyria.</p> <p>17.</p> <p>18.</p> |
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TABLET OF PRAYERS AND RITUALS TO NERGAŁ FOR THE
PURIFICATION OF PLACES. K. 3507

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| <p>1.</p> <p>2. <i>ta-da</i> . . .</p> <p>3. . . . -<i>ti biṭi-šù ma</i> . .</p> <p>4. <i>ul iṣ-šù</i> . . .</p> <p>5. . . . <i>maḥar ?-ka lit-tal-lak</i>
 <i>rēma (ma) riši (ši) ši- (mi tes-</i>
 <i>li-t)</i></p> <p>6. (ù <i>ana-ku anannu</i>) <i>mar</i>
 <i>ananni lu-ub-lu-ut dalil</i>
 ^{iu}<i>Nergal u</i> ^{iat}<i>Ereš- (ki-</i>
 <i>gal ?)</i> (<i>luḍ-lul</i>)</p> <p>7. <i>enim-enim-ma ina mūtānē</i>
 <i>ina pa-an ab-ri (su-tu-ki)</i></p> | <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> <p>3.</p> <p>4.</p> <p>5. before thee may he
 walk; have mercy and
 (hear my prayer)</p> <p>6. And I someone, son of some-
 one, may live; the praise
 of Nergal and Ereškigal (?)
 may I sing.</p> <p>7. Incantation at the expulsion
 of pests from an enclosure.¹</p> |
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¹ Cf. Zimmern, in Z.A. 30, 208, 24.

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| 8. (<i>šiptu</i>) <i>šu-ḥa-ru-ur ši-e-ru</i>
<i>pa-ar-ka dalāti tu</i> (. . . .) | 8. Incantation: To bring
silence upon the plains, bar
and gates to |
| 9. <i>na-du-ú ši-ga-ru šu-kam-mu</i>
<i>mu (ilāni kamūti ?)</i> | 9. To place the bolt, to cause
the bound gods ¹ to mourn. |
| 10. <i>pa-ta-a-ma abullē šá šami-e</i>
<i>ra</i> -(<i>ap-šu-ti</i>) | 10. to open the gates of the
wide heavens |
| 11. <i>ra-bu-ú-te ilāni mu-ši-ti</i> ² <i>šá</i>
<i>šu-up-pu-u</i> -(<i>ku-nu-ši it-ti</i>
<i>ku-nu ibašši</i>) | 11. for the great gods of the
night who heed (you, is in
your power). |
| 12. <i>sa-ba-nim ilāni mu-ši-ti</i>
<i>kaḫkabāni ra</i> -(<i>bu-u-ti</i>) | 12. the crushing of the gods of
the night, the great stars, |
| 13. <i>ḫaḫkab Mu-sir-keš-da</i> ³
<i>ḫaḫkab Sib-zi-an-na ḫaḫkab</i>
<i>šul-pa-ud-du</i> ⁴ <i>ḫaḫkab</i> (. . .
. . .) | 13. The constellations "Yoke
and Crown", "The Faithful
Shepherd of Heaven", ⁵
Shulpaed and |

¹ The gods of the night or the constellations are the giants of chaos who were bound by Marduk and chained to the stars. The similar prayer to them in Ebeling, *RT.* 38, Obv. 35, states that "god and goddess ordered their being captured".

² The gods of the night are the subjects of a prayer in Ebeling, *ibid.* No. 38, 9-23, where they include all the constellations *I(Anu-Enlil-Ea-u kal ilāni rabūti)*. Here Anu-Enlil-Ea refer to all the stars which were divided into three parallel bands assigned to these three deities. In the prayer referred to, the stars *Dilbat*, *MUL-MUL* (i.e. *Taurus*), *BIR*, and *Mūšitu* the bride of Anu are mentioned. *Dilbat*, here, is probably the constellation Medusa (*Tammuz and Ishtar*, p. 102, or *Pisces*, Weidner, *Handbuch*. 115). The constellation *BIR* or *kalitu* "Kidney", rise, in the first decan of Elul before *Corvus*, *Astrolab Pinches*, Kugler, *Sternkunde*, i, 229, and *Astrolab Berlin*, Weidner, *Handbuch* 66, which has *ka-li-tu*. *Rm.* 105, 12 = *Violleaud*, *Ishtar*, No. 26, explains ^{mu}*BIR* by *ilu ni-ru* ^{ua}*E-a*. The Babylonians, therefore, saw a star near *Corvus* and *Virgo* which resembled a kidney or a yoke. Weidner identifies *BIR* with the sail and keel of *Argo*, *ibid.*, p. 69. It was one of the many stars identified with *Nergal*, *CT.* 26, 42; II, 15, *BIR* is mentioned also in *K.* 3507, 14.

³ *Musir* = *niru* "yoke", and *kešda* = *raksu*, *agē šarrūti*, *VR.* 45, 47, and II *R.* 47, 22. Identified by Kugler, *Sternkunde* (*Ergänzungen*) 57 with the head of *Boötes*, but it included *Corona* as the commentary in II *R.* 47, 16-22 indicates. *Corona* or the *Crown* was identified with *Anu* and hence ^{mu}*Musirkešda* is ^{ua}*Anim rabū šamē*, *CT.* 31, 1, 19; *VR.* 46, 12. This constellation belonged to the zone of *Enlil*.

For notes 4 and 5 see next page.

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| <p>14. <i>kaḫḫab Mar-gid-da kaḫḫab</i>
 <i>Ne-bi-ru kaḫḫab Bir kaḫḫab</i>
 <i>En-te-na-maš-lum kaḫḫab</i>
 <i>Dil-gan (.)</i></p> <p>15. <i>sa-ba-nim ilāni mu-ši-ti iš-</i>
 <i>ta- (-)</i></p> <p>16. <i>sūtu iltanu šadū amurrū</i>
 <i>(šarē)</i></p> <p>17. <i>ir-bi</i> ^{ilat} <i>Nin-si-an-na</i> ⁶
 ^{ilat} <i>Belit ra-bi-tū ù ma-a-du-te</i>
 <i>kaḫḫabāni A-ḪI-A (su)</i></p> <p>18. <i>šā ha-si-is-ku-nu i-ka-šā-du</i>
 <i>ni-is-mat</i> ^{ilu} <i>(. . . .)</i></p> <p>19. <i>an-na-an-na ha-si-is-ku-nu</i>
 <i>i-ka-šā-du (. .)</i></p> | <p>14. The Wagon Star,¹ Nebiru,²
 The Kidney Star,³ The Boar
 Star,⁴ The Canal Star,⁵
</p> <p>15. The crushing of the gods of
 the night</p> <p>16. The South Wind, North
 Wind, East Wind, West
 Wind, the four winds</p> <p>17. Ninsianna the Great Belit
 and the multitudinous stars
</p> <p>18. Who attain unto your
 wisdom, the desire of
 they</p> <p>19. Some one, attaining unto
 your wisdom</p> |
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¹ The ordinary name of Jupiter in heliacal ascension, but here Sulpaed is a constellation.

² Orion. As a constellation Sibzianna was identified with Papsukkal, messenger of Anu and Ishtar, *CT.* 33, 2; II, 2, Weidner, *Handbuch* 85, 45, and Ninsubur, a form of Tammuz, is Capsukkal. Orion is then identified with one of the types of Tammuz, who was bound in the month of Tammuz, Weidner, *ibid.* I, 50, and *SBH.* 1456, 13, the *kimitum* of Tammuz. Tammuz as a god who was confined in hell figures among the "bound gods".

³ The Ursa Major of classical astronomy, but known also to the Greeks as Wagon Star. The Great Bear or Wagon Star was identified with the earth mother Ninlil of Nippur.

⁴ Nibiru is originally a constellation which in the Aries period rose in the seventh month, i.e. Tešrit, and marked the sun's passage of the equator at the Autumn equinox. The most probable constellation is Libra.

⁵ See note on line 11.

⁶ Entenamaslum (or *maš-sig*), the Boar Star, was identified with Ningur-su. For its identity with the Centaurus of classical astronomy see *RA.* 14, 22, n. 8.

⁷ ^{mat} *Dilgan* = *ikū*, Weidner, *HW.* 85, identified with Cetus + Aries by Kugler, *Sternkunde* (Ergänzungen), 14.

⁸ The ordinary name of Ishtar as the planet Venus, but also of Ishtar as Algol or Medusa, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 102.

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| 20. <i>ul-tu ul-la-ma</i> ¹ <i>ša-ki-in ma-ga-ru</i> (.) | 20. Him since eternity instituting mercy |
| 21. <i>ba-aš-tu te-eš-mu-ú bu-ul-lu-tu i-ba-aš-ši</i> (<i>it-ti-ku-nu</i>) | 21. Vigour, favour, giving of health are in your power. |
| 22. <i>i-ba-aš-ši it-te-ku-nu pa-ta-ar 'i-il-te uz-zu li-ib-ba-tū u ni-ki-il-</i> (<i>ti</i>) | 22. It is in your power to dissolve the ban, anger, rage, and craft (of evil). |
| 23. <i>iz-za-ka-ru-ku-nu-ši mu-ug-ra a-ma-aš</i> ² <i>su-ul-li-a a-ma-as</i> (.) | 23. They urge upon you mercy, confidence in my praying, confidence in |
| 24. (.)-a <i>iz-za-ka-ru-ku-nu-ši mu-ug-ra a-ma-aš su-ul-li-a a-ma-aš</i> (.) | 24. (and in my). They urge upon you mercy, confidence in my praying, confidence in |
| 25. (. . .)-a <i>šá ku-zu-ba-at i-lu-tim : ak-ku</i> ³ <i>kem</i> (. . .)- <i>ši-e kem</i> <i>šašku el-lu</i> | 25. |
| 26. 7 <i>akli kír-ra mu-tū ki-i ra-bu-ti bi-il-la RU</i> (?) | 26. |
| 27. <i>ši-ti</i> | 27. |
| 28. (.)- <i>ana-ku annan-nu</i> <i>mar annanni</i> (<i>lu-ub-lut</i>) | 28. and may I someone, the son of someone live. |
| 29. (<i>dalil</i> . . . <i>u</i>)- <i>ludlul</i> ⁴ | 29. (The praise of Nergal and Ereskigal may I sing. |
| 30. <i>enim-enim-ma</i> | 30. Incantation for |

¹ The Assyrian cognate of Hebrew עולם "eternity" occurs here for the first time. *ultu ulla* is a variant of the more common *ultu, ullannumma, ullama*, and *ullānu*, are both locatives derived from *ullā*, demonstrative pronoun, see Langdon, *PSBA.* 1913, 194. For the locative ending *am* for *aim*, cf. Brockelman, *Vergleichende Grammatik*, p. 393.

² *amāšu*, probably the cognate of Hebrew אִמָּשׁ

³ Read *ak-lu* (?).

⁴ The contents of this remarkable prayer to Marduk (?) and Sarpanit (?) as the keepers of the bound gods is important for its bearing upon the epic of Creation and the mysteries of the pantomime of the New Year

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| 1. <i>tu</i> (.) | 1. |
| 2. <i>bitu šuātu</i> (?) (<i>ma</i> ?) <i>ag-ra</i> | 2. |
| 3. TUM-ma-: <i>tu-nu</i> ¹ | 3. |
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| 4. <i>enim-enim-ma âlu</i> (<i>bur-ru-da-kam</i>) | 4. Incantation to (atone) a city. |
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| 5. <i>kikiṭṭa-šu ina pî abulli</i>
<i>ta</i> <i>tašakka-an</i>
<i>karpata</i> (<i>gubba</i>) | 5. Its ritual is: At the entrance to the city gate shalt thou place a water bowl |
| 6. 30 <i>ka zêri tašappa-(ak)</i> 10
<i>ka kēmi</i> , 2 + ? <i>akli</i>
<i>an</i> | 6. Thirty <i>ka</i> of seed corn heap up, 10 <i>ka</i> of meal, 2 + ? breads |
| 7. 1 <i>ka šaman</i> ² <i>halša</i> (?) | 7. One <i>ka</i> of filtered oil |
| 8. <i>išten-it e-di</i>
<i>-e šî-kin ra-a</i> | 8. One a work of |

festival in which the tragedy of the gods bound by Marduk and detained in hell by Nergal was represented. This myth is referred to in the poem translated in *BE*. 31, 35, from a text published by Pinches. It is discussed by Zimmern, *Zum Babylonischen Neujahrsfest*², 49. In view of its importance, the fragmentary state of the text is regrettable. The bound gods of the constellations are here represented as intercessors with their captors on behalf of the suppliant. In l. 20 the unnamed redeemer is probably Nergal. But for Nergal as *kamû limnûti* "binder of the evil ones", see *IV R.* 21*, iii, 27, and it is possible that in line 29 the names of the deities should be Nergal and Ereškigal.

¹ Cf. *CT.* 23, 16, 14.

² Cf. *RA.* 17, 70, 8, has *šaman hal-ša*; *Zim. Rt.* 176, 14; Kùchler, *Medizin*, 83, hence Jensen renders *BARA-GA* here by (*šaman*) *halša*, "filtered oil", *KB.* vi², 48, n. 3. For *šaman BARA-ga*, see also *RA.* 17, 86, 9. *AJSL.* 36, 80, 28, and variants *BARA-GE*, *RA.* 17, 68, 24, and *BARA-GÀ*, Ebeling, *RT.* 101, 17.

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| 9. išten-it tu-ku ša
AN-URUDA sa
. | 9. One
for the copper god (?)
. |
| 10. ište-en máš-gal ša iluti-ku-nu
1 immer | 10. One great kid for your
divinity, one lamb
. |
| 11. 1 immeru balṭu 1 immer | 11. One live lamb, one lamb
. |
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| 12. šiptu: ^{11a} Nergal bélu pāḫidu ¹
(muš-tam-di-iḫ šami-e u
iršitim) | 12. Incantation: Nergal, ob-
servant lord, who traverses
heaven and earth. |
| 13. duppu 181 -kam én é-(nu-
ru) | 13. One hundred and eighty
first tablet of the series
"Incantation of the house
of Nuru". ² |
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| 14. é-gal ^{11a} Ašur-ban-apli šar
kiššati (šar mat Aššur-ki) | 14. |
| 15. ša a-na ^{11a} Nergal ḫar-rad
ilāni (tak-lum) | 15. |
| 16. ša ^{11a} Nabu ^{11a} Tašmetum ¹
uznu rapšatum (išrukušu) | 16. |
| 17. i-ḫu-uz-zu éni na-(mīr-tum
ni-siḫ tupšarrūti) | 17. |
| 18. ša ina šarrāni a-lik (maḫri-
ia, etc.) ² | 18. |

¹ Var. King, *Magic*, No. 46, 11, read ŠID-KAK = pāḫidu.

² I.e. House of ^{11a}Nu(n)-ur-ra, Nurra, as title of Ea. For the explanation of this title see Langdon, *JSOR.*, vol. v². The series É-nu-ru is probably identical with the *Namburbi* series, or the "Atonement", K. 3464 = Craig, *RT.* 67, a ritual and prayers for the prosperity of a wine house (Zimmern, *ZA.* 32, 164), is the 135th tablet of *Namburbi* and iv R. 60, is a tablet of *Namburbi* to prevent evil results from the eclipses. This *Namburbi* series contains a prayer with the title én é-nu-ru. But Bezold, *Catalogue*, 540, read šu-ila for é-nu-ru.

Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Journey to Bulghār : Is it a Fabrication ?

By STEPHEN JANICSEK

THE Moorish traveller Ibn Baṭṭūṭa occupies a peculiar place in medieval geography, not only because his journeys were so extensive, exceeding in length even those of Marco Polo, but because the record of them contains such a fantastic mixture of items of information, some valuable or precise, others worthless or vague in the extreme, regarding the different cities, provinces, and distinguished men that he had seen. Everyone who has traced out his journey step by step must agree that there are serious arguments against the trustworthiness of his statements regarding several of the cities which he claimed to have visited. On the other hand, it is exceedingly difficult to substantiate the suspicions thus aroused. He was a skilful narrator, and did not himself, as is well known, write down the record of his journeys ; consequently the existence of one or two errors in his account of a city or a district does not prove anything against him, since it must be allowed that his memory occasionally played him false. Besides, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was a typical son of the medieval East, a fact which explains certain systematic faults in his narrative. For example, he is very inconsequent ; sometimes he speaks at length of a small village, and sometimes devotes no more than one or two words to a celebrated city. Sometimes, but not always, he gives an impression of sincerity, saying frankly that he was badly treated by so-and-so, or that he was told about such and such a city or country, but did not himself visit it. For this reason one is naturally inclined to accept his word when he says that he personally visited a place.

In spite of the difficulty of maintaining an objective attitude towards the trustworthiness of his claims, I propose in what

follows to show that his long journey to and from the city of Bulghār is a positive fabrication.

If we study the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's globetrotting from start to finish we may observe that his system is as follows. In general he describes cities, villages, celebrated localities and countries in a few sentences, which are sometimes very expressive and ingenious. After this his custom is to mention the fruits and other products of these localities, and finally to say something about local customs and the history of celebrated persons of those places, about whom he relates one or two anecdotes. We find, of course, many exceptions to this general method. Sometimes he omits the description of a city and prefers to describe different buildings in it, and on other occasions he says nothing about a locality but relates instead a long history, or a *ḥikaya* referring to some famous shaykh or amir of the district. In this latter exceptional case, it is important for us to observe that if a city, village, or country does not interest Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, he contents himself with mentioning its celebrated persons, or environs, or some special features, such as its waters, fruits, ruins, intact buildings, or culture, or incidents from its history, or local customs or ceremonies, or some *ḥikāyas* relating to it. There are only about twenty insignificant villages in his entire travels, of which he mentions nothing but the names. In most cases the reason for this was that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa only passed through these villages, or spent the night in them, on his way to some greater city, in consequence of which they did not interest him.

On applying these general principles, however, to the narrative of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's journey to and from Bulghār, and to his account of this famous city, we find that it constitutes a striking and unique exception to his methods in dealing with all other cities and countries mentioned in the course of his wanderings. This narrative, as dictated by himself to Ibn Juzay, runs as follows¹ :—

¹ Ed. Defremery, ii, 398-9; ed. of Cairo, i, 217.

ذكر سفرى الى مدينة بلغار . وكنت سمعت بمدينة بلغار فاردت التوجه اليها لارى ما ذكر عنها من انتهاء قصر الليل بها وقصر النهار ايضا فى عكس ذلك الفصل وكان بينها وبين محلة السلطان مسيرة عشر فطلبت منه من يوصلنى اليها فبعث معى من اوصلنى اليها وردنى اليه ووصلتها فى رمضان فلما صلينا المغرب افطرنا وأذن بالعشاء اثناء افطارنا فصليناها وصلينا التراويح والشفع والوتر وطلع الفجر اثر ذلك وكذلك يقصر النهار بها فى فصل قصره واقمت بها ثلاثا—

This part of his journey is followed by an account of the Land of Darkness. It is important to note that he says expressly that he did not personally visit the Land of Darkness, but only heard about it at the city of Bulghār. The following excerpts from this precious description are of special interest to us¹ :—

... والدخول اليها من بلغار وبينها مسيرة اربعين يوما . . . فان تلك المفازة فيها الجليد فلا يثبت قدم آدمى ولا حافر الدابة فيها والكلاب لها الانظار فتثبت اقدامها فى الجليد . . . وعدت من مدينة بلغار مع الامير الذى بعثه السلطان فى صحبتى فوجدت محلة السلطان على الموضع المعروف ببش دغ وذلك فى الثامن والعشرين من رمضان وحضرت معه صلاة العيد وصادف يوم العيد يوم الجمعة—

I. It is well known that from Bish Dagħ to Bulghār is a distance of about 1,300 km. Ibn Battūṭa says explicitly that the aim of his journey from Bish Dagħ to Bulghār was to visit the latter city itself. From this one would expect to find in his book a detailed description of this famous city, which must still have been a considerable one at that time. Bulghār lay far out of his direct route, and we know very well that whenever he has occasion to make a special detour to visit some city, he either describes the city itself or else says something about its history, celebrated persons, ruins, waters,

¹ Ed. Defremery, ii, 399-400, 402; ed. of Cairo, i, 217-18.

fruits, etc. To this general rule the sole exceptional case in his whole record is the city of Bulghār, about which he gives no details whatsoever, and has nothing to say of its history or other features. This is a striking point which can by no means be neglected.

Only one insignificant fact is mentioned by Ibn Battūta in connexion with his sojourn in the city of Bulghār, namely the remarkable brevity or length of the days and nights during the winter and summer respectively, in addition to the fact that he prayed there. We must add that his prayers seem to be mentioned for the express purpose of proving the extreme shortness of the summer nights, as he had himself experienced them at Bulghār.

This phenomenon, as is well known, had already been described in an old account included by Muḥammad 'Aufi in his *Jawāmi' al-ḥikāyāt*,¹ the origin of which is connected by Markwart with the name of al-Jayhānī.² It is referred to also in the works of Mas'ūdī, Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥauqal, Muqaddasī, Idrīsī, Abū Ḥāmid al-Andalusī, Qazwīnī, Abū'l-Fidā, etc. In consequence of this we may assume with certainty that the alternation of long and short days and nights during the summer and winter at the city of Bulghār was widely known in all the lands of Islam in the Middle Ages.³

Now if a careful comparison is made between the text of Ibn Battūta's statements on this subject and those of Iṣṭakhri, Ibn Ḥauqal, etc., it will be observed that there is an unquestionable similarity between their expressions. I suggest, therefore, that not only did Ibn Battūta not observe this phenomenon at Bulghār, but that he compiled this part of

¹ Brit. Mus. Or. 2676, fol. 70a; India Office, Nr. 600, fol. 514a.

² Joseph Markwart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10 Jahrhundert*. (Ungarische Jahrbücher, Berlin und Leipzig, IV Band, p. 263.)

³ "Die Redensart, durch welche unser Text [i.e. Muḥ. 'Aufi], Ibn Faḍlān und al-Mas'ūdī die kurzen Sommernächte von Bulghār veranschaulichen, ist offenbar ein stereotyper volkstümlicher Ausdruck." (Markwart, op. cit., p. 280.)

ERRATA

- p. 793 l. 15 : For تملك read تملك
ib. l. 19 : For رمضان ومضان read رمضان
ib. l. 25 : Delete and substitute: which was still a beautiful place at that time.
p. 795 l. 19 : For الصيف للصيف read الصيف
ib. l. 23 : For الاربع الاربع read الاربع
p. 797 ll. 3-4 (Arabic text) : Transfer to footnote ¹.

[To face p. 794.

his text from one of the authors mentioned above. Had he really visited the city of Bulghār, the degree of latitude of which is only about 55°, he would have been forced to observe that the summer nights there are actually much longer than he describes them. It appears to me that, apart from other sources, Ibn Battūta knew the *Risāla* of Ibn Faḍlān, and the *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* of Iṣṭakhri or the *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* of Ibn Ḥauqal, and drew from these works, somewhat transforming it in the process, his account of the brevity of the summer nights at Bulghār. Ibn Faḍlān's statement is as follows ¹ :—

و نحن ننتظر اذان العشاء فاذا بالاذان فخرجنا من القبة وقد طلع
الفجر فقلت للمؤذن اى شىء اذنت قال الفجر قلت فعشاء الاخيرة
قال نصليها مع المغرب قلت فالليل قال كما ترى وقد كان أقصر
من هذا—

Iṣṭakhri's account is as follows ² :—

وأخبرني الخطيب بها ان الليل عندهم لا يتهاى ان يسير فيه الانسان
أكثر من فرسخ في الصيف وفي الشتاء يقصر النهار ويطول الليل
حتى يكون نهار الشتاء مثل ليالى للصيف—

Finally, Ibn Ḥauqal enlarged Iṣṭakhri's account as follows ³ :—

وأخبرني الخطيب بها ان الليل عندهم في وقت الصيف لا يتهاى
لأنسان ان يسير فيه فرسخين وشاهدت ما يدل على صحة ذلك
عند دخولي في الشتاء اليهم ان النهار كان بمقدار ما صلينا الاربع
صلوات كل صلاة في عقب الاخرى مع ركعات بين الاذان والاقامة
قليلة—

We have seen from the text of Ibn Battūta that he remained in Bulghār for three days.⁴ I suggest that it is not plausible

¹ Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, i, 725.

² Ed. de Goeje, 1870, p. 225.

³ Ed. de Goeje, 1872, p. 285.

⁴ Markwart (op. cit., p. 287) calculates the date of his visit to Bulghār as 16-18 Ramaḍān, 732 = 11-13 June, 1332.

to make a long journey in wagons occupying 30 to 35 or more days (Ibn Battūṭa, as we have seen, makes it 10 days), then after a short rest of three days to travel again by "telega" for 30 to 35 days. Probably he was wrongly informed, or he thought that it was no more than a ten days' journey from Bish Dagħ to Bulghār. A rest of three days for a double journey of ten days is quite sufficient, but not for a long journey of twice 30-35 days (which is the actual distance between Bish Dagħ and Bulghār.) We know very well that Ibn Battūṭa, though a zealous globetrotter, was a man fond of comfort, and that, judging by what he reveals of his character and psychology in his works, he would have remained at Bulghār at least ten or fifteen days, had he actually gone there. We shall see, moreover, from the dates of his stay at al-Mājar, Bish Dagħ, and Ḥājj Tarkhān (Astrakhan), that the limitation of his stay at Bulghār to three days is intentional, and cannot be attributed either to the defect of his memory or to an error on the part of the copyist.

Further, it is curious to note that he does not mention that the Volga (Etil) flows not far from the city of Bulghār. From the records of his travels it seems to be evident that he visited three cities close to or on the Volga—as-Sarā, Ḥājj Tarkhān, and Bulghār. (About the identification of the Ukak which he mentions there are some difficulties.) In the cases of as-Sarā¹ and Ḥājj Tarkhān² he states that they lie on the Volga, but in speaking of Bulghār he does not mention the river. This, too, is a fact which cannot be overlooked by anyone who knows how scrupulously and exactly Ibn Battūṭa mentions the names of rivers, of streams, and even of rivulets flowing by the places which he visited. We see, moreover, from the text that he visited the city of Ḥājj Tarkhān after his journey to Bulghār, in consequence of which he must have seen the Volga before his journey to the former city. Yet, when we study his account of the Volga, as a river which passes by

¹ Ed. Defremery, i, 79, and ii, 446 (Cairo ed., i, 22, 230).

² Ed. Defremery, ii, 411 (Cairo ed., i, 220).

Astrakhan, it appears that it was there that he saw it for the first time.¹ This seems to suggest that he was not conscious
وهي من احسن المدن عظيمة الاسواق مبنية على نهر اتل وهو من انهار
الدنيا الكبار

of the fact that the Volga flowed near Bulghār, and therefore that he never saw the city.

II. There are other curious features to be observed in Ibn Battūta's account of his journey to and from Bulghār. Elsewhere on his travels, if he undertakes a journey to a place lying so far out of his predetermined route, he always mentions some localities lying between the starting-point and the place for which he is making, or he describes the physical features, rivers, mountains, forests, etc., or the races and tribes of the almost uninhabited territories lying between these two points, or else narrates some anecdotes referring to the journey. In this respect again the solitary exception is offered by his journey to the city of Bulghār, about which he says nothing at all. This point also cannot be neglected. Further, on his way from Bish Dagh to Bulghār, Ibn Battūta was bound to cross the Volga, which elsewhere he mentions among the ten greatest rivers in the world.² Now in the other sections of his text, when he crosses a river on such a long trip as that to and from Bulghār, and this river is one which he has included among the ten greatest rivers in the world, he invariably mentions the crossing. In most cases, indeed, if he crosses even a rivulet, he notes the fact. Here, too, we find the journey to Bulghār constituting an exceptional case, for he omits all mention of his crossing of the Volga.

Yet another point worth noticing in this part of his text is that Ibn Battūta does not mention the name of the amīr who, he says, was his companion on the journey to and from Bulghār. Elsewhere, however, he is always exceedingly careful to give the name of his companion, or that of a caravan, or of a tribe, on such a long uninterrupted excursion.

¹ See ii, 411 (Cairo ed., i, 220):

² Ed. Defremery, i, 79 (Cairo ed., i, 22).

Moreover, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa puts the distance between Bish Dagħ and Bulghār at a ten days' journey, a mistake so glaring that it arrests attention. If we study all the distances given in his text, we find that on the whole they are fairly accurate, allowing for the fact that he was a true son of the Orient and lived six hundred years ago. Where he is mistaken about distances, he errs generally on the side of overstatement rather than understatement. It may be noted that in this very case of Dasht-i Qipchaq he always gives the distances correctly (e.g. those between Qiram and Azāq,¹ between Bish Dagħ and al-Mājar,² between Ḥājj Tarkhān and as-Sarā,³ etc.). From the time taken on these journeys we know that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa travelled 30-40 km. a day on Dasht-i Qipchaq. Consequently, if he had actually gone to the city of Bulghār, we must allow for his journey from Bish Dagħ not, as he says, 10 days, but at least 30-40 days. On this calculation the total time occupied by the journey from Bish Dagħ to Bulghār and back, including the three days spent in Bulghār itself, must have been 60-70 days, instead of the 23 days which he explicitly allows for it. Such a striking error in time cannot be found elsewhere in all the distances which he records.

Nor can it be argued that the source of this error is that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa forgot the real distance between Bish Dagħ and Bulghār, or that it is the fault of the copyist. If we examine the text cited above, we see that Ibn Baṭṭūṭa was fully convinced that his journey to and from Bulghār took no more than 23 days, and he seemed to be quite unconscious of the fact that it required two months at the very least. This is clear from the following dates which he gives. He arrived at the camp at Bish Dagħ on 1st Ramaḍān (ii, 380), and thereafter set out for Bulghār; he mentions that his stay at Bulghār also occurred in Ramaḍān; he was back at Bish Dagħ on the 28th of the same month, and still there on 1st Shawwāl, while

¹ ii, 367-8 (i, 209).

² ii, 379 (i, 212).

³ ii, 446 (i, 230).

on 10th Shawwāl he started for Constantinople from Astrakhan (ii, 412).

III. Finally, when we examine the excerpts cited above from Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's text referring to the Land of Darkness we shall find in them some items of interest to us. He says, as we have seen, that he did not himself visit the Land of Darkness, but only heard about it at the city of Bulghār. In regard to this Markwart has already observed: "Der zweite Abschnitt [i.e. the article on the land of Yūra excerpted by Muḥammad 'Aufi for his *Jawāmi' al-hikāyāt*] enthält Nachrichten über das Land Yūra (Jugra), die grosse Übereinstimmung zeigen mit der Erzählung des Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (1332 n. Chr.) über das Land der Dunkelheit¹. . . Angesichts der Armut der zeitgenössischen Berichte sind drei Punkte in der Erzählung Ibn Baṭṭūṭas höchst auffällig:

1. die Naturwahrheit seiner Schilderung,
2. demgegenüber seine Miszverständnisse—er glaubt, dasz das Land Jugra auch im Sommer mit Schnee und Eis bedeckt sei und die Reisen dahin auch im Sommer stattfinden, und vermengt es mit dem Lande der Finsternis—und die Unvereinbarkeit seines Berichtes mit denen der Zeitgenossen,
3. andererseits seine weitgehende Übereinstimmung mit unserem Texte.

Daraus erhellt, dasz er seine lebendige Schilderung nicht etwa vom Hörensagen hat, sondern einer älteren *schriftlichen* Quelle verdankt, sowie, dasz Ibn Baṭṭūṭa und 'Aufi fast mit Notwendigkeit auf eine gemeinsame Quelle zurückweisen."²

It is clear, as Markwart has observed, from the text of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, that he really thought that from Bulghār to the Land of Darkness the ground was covered with snow and ice during both winter and summer. Yet he claims to have visited Bulghār in late spring or early summer, and we must add that if he had actually been at the city of Bulghār he was bound to have

¹ Op. cit., p. 262.

² Ibid., p. 302.

seen for himself or to have heard there that the ground in the environs of Bulghār was not covered with snow and ice during the summer.

* * * *

In conclusion, it may be asked: what reason had Ibn Baṭṭūṭa for deliberately telling a falsehood about his journey to Bulghār?

The answer would be as follows. If we study the whole narrative of his travels, we see that his principal intention in undertaking them was to visit all the countries of the earth inhabited by Muslims. Probably he had heard, or had read in the works of Ibn Faḍlān, Iṣṭakhārī, Ibn Ḥauqal, or other writers, that at that time the most northerly city inhabited by Muhammadans was Bulghār. In consequence of this I suppose that he was very eager to visit this famous city, and on reaching the camp at Bish Dagħ he proposed to do so. But when he heard that it was so far away, instead of going to Bulghār in person, he preferred to write or dictate his trip to Bulghār as if he had actually accomplished it.

When his statements on the city of Bulghār and on the Land of Darkness are carefully investigated it appears very probable that it first occurred to him to claim to have made this journey at the time when he dictated the story of his globetrotting to Ibn Juzay in Morocco.

In my opinion, the trip to and from Bulghār which Ibn Baṭṭūṭa claims to have undertaken is the only narrative in the whole record of his wanderings which seems to be, beyond all doubt, a falsification.

Assyrian Prescriptions for the "Hand of a Ghost"

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON

THE following translations are from the texts in my *Assyrian Medical Texts* for sick men suffering from diseases brought about by the "hand of a ghost".¹

No. 260. *AM.* 93, 1 (68-5-23, 2, and K. 2492)

2. . . . *LAL*-plant, kelp (?), *liquidambar male and female, . . . sulphate of iron, borax (?), *akušimanu*(?)-plant, seed of tamarisk, . . . thou shalt mix, sulphur, tamarisk-root together thou shalt bray, in cedar-blood thou shalt mix, anoint, and he shall recover.

5. (*Dup. AM.* 70, 2, 22 + 94, 7, 9; cf. also *AM.* 33, 3, 1.) [If the hand of] a ghost seizes on [a man], with fennel-root, sulphate of iron, iron, lime (?), *liquidambar thou shalt anoint him.

6. (*Dup. ibid.* 23 and 10.) [If ditto], semen of a man² thou shalt enfold in wool, put on his neck.

7. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, sulphate of iron, *liquidambar, sulphur, kelp (?), *LAL*-plant, paint (?)³

¹ The following abbreviations are used: *AH.*, my *Assyrian Herbal*; *AJSL.*, *Amer. Journ. of Sem. Languages*; *AM.*, my *Assyrian Medical Texts*; *CT.*, *Cuneiform Texts*; *HWB.*, Delitzsch, *Handwörterbuch*; *E.*, Ebeling, in *Archiv f. Gesch. d. Medizin*; *EB.*, *Encyclopædica Britannica*, 11th ed.; *KAR.*, Ebeling, *Keils. aus Assur, Relig. Inhalts*; *KMI.*, Ebeling, *Keils. Medicinischen Inhalts*; *MA.*, Muss-Arnolt, *Assyr. Dict.*; *PRSM.*, *Proc. of the Royal Soc. of Medicine*; *SAL.*, Meissner, *Seltene Assyr. Ideogr.*; *SM.*, Budge, *Syriac Book of Medicines*; *TCP.*, *Trans. Coll. Phys. Philadelphia* (Jastrow's article, 1913, 365). Running numbers on the left of the translations, Nos. 260-71, refer to the consecutive numbers of the translations, beginning with No. 1 in *PRSM.*, 1924.

² = * *Tragacanth* (*JRAS.* 1924), 452.

³ *Ši*(?)*-mit*, from *šindu* (= *šimtu*), but *šimat* is the usual form (see *AM.* 15, 3, 16; 73, 1, 11). Cf. *E.* xiv, 27.

from the doorposts of the temple of Marduk right and left, these six drugs thou shalt take, bray together, anoint him in oil (therewith), and he shall recover.¹

10. If a ghost seizes on a man, for his recovery thou shalt fumigate him with pig-dung, dog-dung, jackal-dung, fox-dung, gazelle-dung; **Ammi*, *Salicornia*-alkali, hart's horn, sulphur, bitumen, human bone, glue (?), in fire.

13. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, thou shalt pound together pine-turpentine, sulphur, strain, mix with the fat of the kidney of a kid that has been covered,² spread on a skin, anoint the place with cedar-blood, bind on either his head or his neck, and he shall recover.

15. Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, roses, sulphur, wheat flour, kelp (?), together six drugs thou shalt pound, strain, steep in rose-water, spread on a cloth, bind on his head.

Reverse

. . . flour (powder, dung) of a sea-locust, flour of *barley, dates of Dilmun, thou shalt spread on a [cloth], bind on his [head].

3. . . . roses, flour of *barley, wheaten flour, fine-ground flour, . . . thou shalt spread on a skin, bind on [a cataplasm] for blains.

6. . . . gum of *Andropogon* (?), . . . together thou shalt mix, bind on, . . . a cataplasm for blains.

9. . . . *galbanum, *maple seed, tops (juice) of poppy, . . . sulphur (?), gazelle-dung, . . . a cataplasm for blains.

¹ The characters at the end may be read in several ways. Cf. *AM.* 35, 3, r. 6.

² *MÁS* (**BIR*).*ZU.* Cf. *AM.* 1, 4, 3 (No. 241), reading text thus in both.

12. . . . **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, . . . thou shalt bray, he shall drink in beer, and he shall recover.

No. 261. AM. 94, 2 (K. 2477 + 2539 + 9685) + 88, 4 (K. 9150, text in KMI. 71) + 96, 8 (K. 13429, text in KMI. 79) + 98, 1 (K. 10350 + 10461) + 63, 4 (K. 10833): AM. 76, 7 (K. 14462).

Obverse. Col. I. (Here is AM. 94, 2)

1. . . . thou shalt pour into his anus, with oil anoint. . . .

2. (Dup. AM. 78, 4, rev. 1.) If ditto (fourth), thou shalt mix reddish urine, milk of white ewes, (mountain) honey, wine, strong vinegar, *kurunnu*-beer, oil together, pour into his anus, and he shall recover.

4. (Probably dup. of AM. 78, 4, rev. 4.) If ditto (fifth), thou shalt boil fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, gum of *Andropogon* (?), *Salicornia*-alkali, *galbanum, gum of *galbanum, **Ferula communis*, *Asa fatida*, in six *ka* of *kurunnu*-beer until it has become two *ka*, mix therewith half a *ka* of urine, half a *ka* of scented (?) oil, once, twice, thrice, thou shalt pour into his anus: after this thou shalt . . .¹ UD.ŠAR, *šikku*, **Solanum*, *Lolium*, pour into his anus; after this thou shalt boil fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, *Salicornia*-alkali, *galbanum, dates, flour of roast corn, in urine, [add] oil and *kurunnu*-beer thereto, pour [into his anus] and he shall recover.

9. (Similar to AM. 56, 1, rev. 7 and 69, 8, 13.) If ditto (sixth), myrrh, roses, *Asa fatida*, fir-turpentine, *Salicornia*-alkali, chamomile, **Ammi* (?), saffron, in beer and urine in an oven thou shalt heat, take out and dry [the whole], add oil thereto, pour into his anus; after this, thou shalt pour sweet milk into his anus, and he shall recover.

¹ *Ta-pa-har*.

12. . . . [for] his recovery seed of tamarisk, *liquidambar . . . the man, on the fire thou shalt fumigate him (there-with).

Col. II

1. . . . borax (?) . . . thou shalt bind his temples. . . .

3. . . . and talks much . . . the hand of a ghost, **Ammi*, saffron, . . . **Acorus calamus*, oleander (?), **Ferula communis*, a basket (?)¹ of aromatics . . . thou shalt boil in *kurunnu*-beer, add oil thereto, pour into his anus.

7. If ditto (second), nettles, poppy, hellebore, pine-turpentine, gum of *Aleppo pine, *styrax, alum, together thou shalt pound, strain, mix in fat, make a suppository, put it to his anus, with gum of *Andropogon* (?) (and) *galbanum thou shalt fumigate.²

(No horizontal line on tablet.)

9. If ditto (third), fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, **Ferula communis*, shell of crab,³ *Salicornia*-alkali, *styrax, *Ricinus*,

¹ Text as given here, but *šu-tuk(lut)* ("basket") in l. 11.

² *Tak-ti-ru*, one of the curious forms in *AM*.

³ *BAL.GI.ĦA*, a well-known "fish", occurring with *ŠA.KA + IM* (= *ILLAMMA*).*NA.ĦA* (e.g. Bavian, Pognon, 63, l. 28). For literature on this latter cf. Dennefeld, *Geburta.*, 28, 55; Hunger, *Tieromina*, 160, *SAI.* 9236; *MA.* and *HWB.*, s.v. *KAR.* 91, r. 11, *BAR BAL.GI.ĦA BAR ŠA.KA + IM.NA* shows at once that these are water animals with a shell or carapace, *BAR* being *kuliptu* ("bark" of tamarisk, *JRAS.* 1924, 454, "rind" of pomegranate, *PRSM.* 1926, 44, n. 1).

Additional evidence is *LA ŠA.KA + IM.NA.ĦA* for the latter (*AM.* 94, 2, r. 9), *LA* being used of the shell of an ostrich-egg (*AH.* 279), as well as for pomegranate-"rind".

Equally interesting is *KAR.* 61, r. 15: "Incantation. From one *bêru* of *IM TUM* (= *tit tabali*, mud of the dry land, i.e. the dry bank) of the Tigris, two *bêru* of the dry mud of the Euphrates, *BAL.GI.Ħapl-ša* ditto ('its *BAL.GI.*-fish, ditto'), *KA + II* (?) *Ħapl-ša* ditto ('its *KA + II* (?) -fish, ditto'). In other words the *BAL.GI.* (and *KA + II* (?) "fishes" are water-beasts which inhabit dry land.

We have therefore only to settle which is the tortoise (turtle) and which the crab, which are the only two freshwater animals of Mesopotamia

known to me proper to these identifications. They are both common in the rivers. It was Boissier who first suggested "tortoise" for *BAL.GI.ĦA* (*Doc. Ass.*, ii, p. v, 4, noted by Hunger, *MDVG.* 1909, 161), but Meissner (*Bab. Ass.*, ii, 308, and *Arch. Keils.*, ii, 24) considers the tortoise *ŠA.KA + IM.NA.ĦA*. But besides the "shell", the *BAL.GI.ĦA* has "feet" and "hands" (if a newborn babe has feet and hands like those of a *BAL.GI.ĦA*, iii, R. 65, 42, 43a: cf. *CT.* xxvii, 17, 42, 43), and what is still more indicative, a penis (*KAR.* 186 r. 18), which at once gives it almost a certain preference for "turtle" (the tail contains the "large copulatory organ", *EB.* xxvii, 66).

We find *ŠA.IM + KA.NA.ĦA* thus in vocabularies, after *šuriru* and *anduhallatu* (lizards):—

[*IĦ ?*].*ĦA* = *še-li-bu-u*

[*ŠA.KA + IM.NA*].*ĦA* = ditto

[. . .].*ĦA* = *pi-lu* ditto

. . . . = *a-par* ditto

(Scheil, *Rec. de Trav.*, xxxvi, 186).

IĦ = *še-lib-bu-u*

ŠA.KA + IM.NA. [*ĦA*] = ditto

(Weidner, *Rev. d'Assyr.*, xi, 120-1, iv, 9-10).

šeli(b)bû is doubtless connected with *šelibu* "fox". In the above *pilu* = "egg", and *apar* (possibly connected with *apāru* "cover", Meissner) may perhaps be read *ga-par* in Scheil's copy, connected with *šupru* "nail", i.e. the crab's claw. It is possible that *pilu* "egg" refers not to the actual egg of the crab, but to the shell-like body. In our present text in *AM*. we have also the "flesh" mentioned. It may be added that a usual value for *IĦ* is "louse", in which case *šelibbû* with its probable value "crab" would also have the meaning "crab-louse" (i.e. *Phthirus inguinalis*).

The fact that [*ra*]*k-ku* ("tortoise," Meissner, *l.c.*, probably rightly) continues the text in *RA.* xiii, after the last ditto of *šelibû*, surely indicates the beginning of a fresh animal, for which we may perhaps supply *BAL.GI.ĦA* in the Sumerian column.

We may thus accept *BAL.GI.ĦA* = "tortoise" or "turtle" (almost certainly *Trionyx euphratica*) and *ŠA.KA + IM.NA.ĦA* = "crab", the former being suggested by Boissier.

Out of this arises (a) the similarity of the name *BAL.GI.ĦA* ("tortoise") to *p(b)ulukku*, the Cancer of the Babylonian astronomers, who, it must be remembered, represent this sign of the Zodiac on their boundary stones as a tortoise or turtle, the crab not being included; (b) the interesting sign *KA + IM* "breath in mouth" shows the great capacity of the Assyrians for observation; "as a rule, crabs breathe by gills, which are lodged in a pair of cavities at the side of the carapace, but in the true land-crabs the cavities become enlarged and modified so as to act as lungs for breathing air" (*EB.* vii, 356); (c) *𒀭𒄀𒀭𒄀* "tortoise" cannot be accepted as a philological equivalent for *šelibbû* "crab" nor *𒀭𒄀𒀭𒄀* "tortoise" (as Holma, *ZA.* xxviii, 156).

old cedar, myrrh, *galbanum, gum of *galbanum, gum of *Andropogon* (?), **Acorus calamus*, *suadu*, a basket (?) of aromatics in reddish urine in an oven thou shalt heat, take out, and mix therewith oil and beer, wash him and he shall recover.

12. If ditto (fourth), *Cannabis*, *styrrax, oak, *Ricinus*, ***Oenanthe*, linseed, kelp (?), myrrh, wax of honey, *lidruša*-plant, sweet oil, together thou shalt mix, anoint him therewith in oil.

14. If ditto (fifth), **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, thyme, hellebore, *tragacanth, besides its seed, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, lime (?), *Asa* (*fætida*), kelp (?), sulphur, glue (?), human bone, *urim*-plant, *Artemisia*, *balsam, *sagapenum, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, oleander (?), *suadu*, cedar, . . . myrrh, these twenty-five drugs a salve for the hand of a ghost. . . . [This] is a treasure of Medicine.

19. [If ditto] (sixth), sulphate of iron, lime (?), *mil'u* salt, . . . black [*mil'u* salt (?)], magnetic iron ore, *TUR.MI.NA* stone (breccia ?), iron-stone, *Asa* (*fætida*) together (?) [thou shalt bray] (here is *AM.* 96, 8) mix, . . . anoint him, and he shall recover.

21. If . . . a man, as though it were the staff of Sin affects him, and his . . . bends and straightens . . . a ghost which pursues has seized on him in the desert . . . (here is *AM.* 88, 4, *rev.*) fruit of *BAR.HUŠ*, suet of the kidney of an ox, like the *surtu* (?) -cult of a dead man, . . . thou shalt dry, bray; doves' blood, . . . of the river thou shalt dry, bray together, mix in fat . . . a month anoint and he shall recover.

(26) (*Dup. KAR.* 184, 9.) If a ghost seizes on a man and he is hot (and) cold (alternately),¹ his terror approaching²

¹ *I-mi-im i-ka-aš-š[a-a-m]a.*

² *Ha-a-a-(at)-ta-šu kar-bi(t)*, i.e. (sudden) fits of terror coming on him.

(so that) he (can)not rest by day or by night, his voice uttering in [sl]eep (?) like the sound of the wind: it is the hand of a hostile¹ ghost in ruins which has seized on him. For his recovery thou shalt rub² his body (v. his flesh) with *U. SA-beer*, thou shalt let cool; thou shalt dry **Solanum*, bray, in blood of cedar (v. in oil, v. in refined oil) mix, anoint him; with . . . stone, *arzallu*-stone, *ia'ertu*-stone (with seven colours), red carnelian (cinnabar), black iron oxide, . . .,³ *mil'u* (?) -salt, . . . lupins in a skin on his neck thou shalt put, the ghost. . . .

(31) (*Dup. KAR.* 184, 14.) Charm: O Spirit, rest! O Demon, rest! O Ghost, rest! O Devil, rest! O God, rest! O Fiend, rest! O Hag-demon, rest! O Ghoul, rest! O Robber-sprite, rest! The incantation is of Ea, the warrior Marduk, the son of Eridu; the speech is of Nin-aḥa-kuddu, the Lady of Incantation. By earth be ye exorcised, by Heaven be ye exorcised!

This Charm thou shalt recite over salve and potion.

Col. III. (Here is *AM.* 88, 4, obverse.)

(1) (*Dup. AM.* 99, 3, 14, and 33, 3, 16 (?).) *Artemisia*, *šašumtu*-plant, **Ammi*, saffron, [**Calendula* (?), **Corn-marigold* (?)], *šumuttu*-plant, total seven fumigations for the hand of [a ghost (?)].

3. (*Dup. AM.* 99, 3, 16.) Fir-turpentine, pine-turpentine, roses, **Ferula communis*, in . . .

4. (*Dup. AM.* 99, 3, 17.) Ten shekels *Nigella*, ten shekels *Salicornia*-alkali. . . .

5. (*Dup. AM.* 99, 3, 18.) Sulphur, borax (?), glue (?) . . . **Ammi*, *Salicornia*-alkali, ox-skin: . . .

¹ *Aḥi* (foreign), v. *aḥi*.

² *Tukar*, *PRSM.* 1924, 18, n. 2.

³ *KAR.* Sulphate of iron (?), ending the prescription here.

7. (*Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 1.*) Ox-fat, lion-fat, *acacia* which on [a grave grows (?)], *Kursuti* (?) -plant, snake-skin together thou shalt bray. . . .

8. (*Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 3.*) Hellebore, *liquidambar, . . .

(9) (*Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 4.*) Fruit of *BAR.HUŠ*, *Cannabis*, **Ammi*, saffron . . . *DUM.KID*¹. . . .

(10) (*Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 6. Here is joined AM. 95, 2, iii, 1, to AM. 88, 4, obverse.*) Seed of tamarisk, ash of skull, *acacia*, hart's-horn . . .

2. (*Dup. AM. 99, 3, rev. 7.*) Total ten fumigations for the hand of a ghost: Charm: "Remove the evil." Charm: "Delivering." . . .

3. If a man is sick with the hand of a ghost, half a *ka* each of urine of a *sahiru*² and a female *sahiru* (*v.* "water of the river"). . . .

4. (*Cf. AM. 97, 1, 1.*) If the hand of a ghost is oppressive in a man's body, and is not loosed, . . .

5. If ditto, reddish urine thou shalt heat in an oven, on an "evil day" at the cross-roads he shall wash himself therein and [recover].

6. To remove and free the hand of a ghost; flesh of an owl thou shalt give him to eat, and he shall recover (?). *DUM.KID*³ in fire thou shalt reduce, mix with cedar blood, recite the charm "Evil finger"⁴ over it, touch his temples (therewith), and it shall not return, nor touch [him].

8. (*Dup. of KAR. 184, 19.*) If the hand of a ghost seizes

¹ See *PRSM.* 1924, 10, n. 2.

² *Sahiru* may be a kind of cattle; see *MA.* s.v., and cf. *AM.* 103, 6.

³ See *PRSM.* 1924, 10, n. 2.

⁴ See *AM.* 102, 7.

on a man and the sorcerer¹ cannot remove it, *LAL*-plant, ***Oenanthe*, *Asa (dulcis)*,² *Asa (foetida)*, yellow saffron, fruit of *BAR.HUŠ*, fruit of caper, *Crataegus Azarolus* (?), lupins, *EL.KUL.LA*-plant, seed of tamarisk, human bone, together in oil (v. oil of cedar), thou shalt anoint him, thou shalt make it into a purse, put (it) on his neck (and he shall recover).

12. (*Dup. of AM. 97, 1, 1.*) If the hand of a ghost is oppressive in a man's body, and is not loosed, for his recovery basic sulphate of iron,³ kelp (?), a newt (??),⁴ carob, in fire thou shalt reduce, grind, mix in blood of cedar, recite the charm seven times: Charm: *Ka.Kib Ka.Kib*, O King; *Ka.Kib*, O king; *Ka.na.kib*, O king, thou dost conjure (*repeated, AM. 97, 1*), O Lord eminent (and) mighty, king of the gods, Ninurta,⁵ thou dost conjure, free the evil that it approach not. Recital of the Charm.

Charm (*Dup. of AM. 86, 1, iii, 5, and 97, 1, 8, and cf. the quotation of it in 85, 1, "vi," 14*): O thou who art angry, wrathful, raging, murderous, stubborn, powerful, hard, evil, hostile! except Ea, who shall appease thee, except Marduk, who shall calm, thee? May Ea appease thee, may Marduk calm thee! Recital of the Charm.

19. (*Dup. AM. 97, 1, 14.*) This charm seven times over the salve thou shalt recite, and, when it troubles him, anoint and he shall be assuaged.

(*Ll. 20-5 mutilated: AM. 97, 1, which has provided duplicate paragraphs for ll. 12-19, follows on with a text different from that on AM. 95, 1*):—

¹ V. *am* *MAŠ.MAŠ*.

² *KAR.* omits.

³ *tokTU*: see my *On the Chemistry*, 110.

⁴ *Amittu*, cf. *AM. 40, 5, 17, and 62, 1, iv, 8*; distinct from *amittu* "pestle" (*CT. xiv, 16, K. 240, 9*), but clearly the same drug as in *CT. xiv, 10, 15; 42, K. 4140 B, 12; 43, K. 4419, 5, amitti nāri arki*, "a green *amittu* of the river." Possibly *חֲמַט* is not the equivalent *חֲמַט* and *hulmittu*, but perhaps of *amittu*, but very doubtful.

⁵ Var. Marduk.

16. Charm: O Shamash, this is not [my] sin (?), this is nought of [my] mouth (?), which is in my body, my flesh, and my muscles. My temples ache (?),¹ my eyes roll, my taste is dry (?),² my flesh is poisoned, the right side of my body and the left side of my body are without strength.³ After me they pursue, to cut off⁴ my life they come. O Shamash, in thy sight I seek him,⁵ I turn, . . . creature of flesh. . . .

Col. IV. (From the successive numbers to these receipts, given in the text, it is possible that this Column must be reckoned as AM. 95, 2, iv + 98, 1, 1, dup. of AM. 99, 3, rev. 14 (?) (certainly 20) + 80, 6 + 76, 7):

(1) (AM. 99, 3, r. 14.) If a ghost seizes on a man, thou shalt take a lizard with two tails,⁶ a *pizallurtu*⁷ of various colours (?), alive, and shave (or, skin) (it), thorn which has sprung up on a grave, . . . gazelle-dung, these five drugs together thou shalt bray, in fire his nostrils [thou shalt fumigate, and he shall recover].

(4) If (ditto =) second, thou shalt take the dung of the anus of an ass⁸ from the ri[ght] and left side, wiping the

¹ *I-ḫi-is-su-u.*

² *Ub-ba-[al ?].*

³ *I-tab-ba-[ku], for ittabaku ?*

⁴ *Ana na-kaš.*

⁵ It is doubtful whether "they" in the preceding sentence is correct, or "him" (instead of "it") here.

⁶ Cf. KAR. 182, r. 35.

⁷ Cf. *pizalluru*, Rev. d'Assyr., 1914, 123, and p. *ša ḫēri = ḫumbibittu* (Weidner, *AJSL*. 1922, 198).

⁸ *MI ša ḫal-la imeri ša imitti(?) u šumeli telikēki(ḫi)-ma.* A suggestion comes from AM. 2, 1, obv. 1 + K. 2354 (= No. 285): "Practical prescription for this: a dung-cake(?) (*ḫallutanā*) which the foot of a [pure] woman [hath trodden?]," etc. This word *ḫallutan[ā]* = *MI.PAP.ḪAL. ANŠU* (CT. xiv, 45, 16; cf. 43, 11). *MI* = *pitū* (Brünnow, 8921) and as both *ḫallu* and *PAP.ḪAL* (= *puridu*), meaning "anus", are used in conjunction with *pitū* (*pit ḫalla* and *pit puridi*), *pitū* is obviously the value for *MI* here. But *pitū* would seem certainly to mean "dung" in

excrement with wool; glue (?), hair of the tail (*here is joined* AM. 80, 6) of a black dog . . . a dog; (*here begins* AM. 95, 2, iv, 2) these drugs together thou shalt mix, in fire his . . . together thou shalt fumigate [and] he shall recover.

6. (*Here is* AM. 98, 1, 2, *joined to* AM. 95, 2, iv, 4, *dup. of* AM. 99, 3, *rev.* 20 + 80, 6, 3.) [If (ditto =) third] *Salicornia*-alkali . . . (?),¹ sulphur, hart's horn, glue (?), human bone, gum (skin of the jaw)² of a male pig together thou shalt mix,³ in fire fumigate [him (therewith), and] he shall recover.

(8) (*Dup.* AM. 76, 7.) If (ditto =) fourth, human skull, *Andropogon* (?), turmeric, like bread cooked in ashes thou shalt . . . (?),⁴ together in ox-fat thou shalt mix, in fire fumigate him (therewith) and he shall recover.

(10) If (ditto =) fifth, **Ricinus*, *kallu* (?) of a human skull, gazelle-dung thou shalt pound, together in ox-fat thou shalt mix, in fire fumigate him (therewith), and he shall recover.

(12) If (ditto =) sixth, . . . (?)⁵ of a human being, fat

AM. 73, 2, 4 (No. 182), *pi-ti* of a *sudiunu*-bird, just as *hallu* must mean the same in JRAS. 1924, 454, where a plant is described as "like the *halla* (dung, rather than vent) of the raven", and *asa foetida* as like *halla* of a dove. Both *piti* and *hallu* therefore would seem to have transferred meanings. *Hallutanû*, presumably derived from *hallu*, must surely have some more special meaning than merely that of *hallu*, and as in the text quoted it is described as "which the foot of a woman . . ." the probability is that it means the round cake of dung for fuel, which the women in Mesopotamia tread out with their feet before plastering on the wall to dry. *Hipêti* will be the pieces of the dried cake.

¹ ŠAR, v. ŠAR.A.

² *La-aš-ši*.

³ AM. 80, 6, omits.

⁴ *Kima* GAR.HAR.RA *tu-sa-mu-ud*(t). GAR.HAR.RA = *akal tumri* "bread cooked in ashes" (see my CT. xvii, 6, 7, and *Devils*, ii, 18); also probably *ripen* (SAI. 9337). If *ripen* is also "bread cooked in ashes", it is quite possibly Syr. ܠܒܢܐ (= ܠܒܢܐ) "bread baked in ashes", the metathesis being similar to *dišpu* = ܕܝܫܦܐ. *Samâdu* is unknown to me; cf. ܣܡܕܐ (said to be σεμδαλις) "fine meal".

⁵ *Ki-im zu-ra-am*.

from the left kidney of an ox, fenugreek, [*Lathyrus* ?] thou shalt mix, with human skull in fire thou shalt fumigate him and he shall recover.

(14) (*Here is joined AM. 63, 4, to AM. 98, 1.*) If (ditto =) seventh, jackals' dung, tooth (?) of *assibi* (?), lion-fat, fat from the left kidney of an ox, . . . thou shalt mix together, in thorn-charcoal thou shalt fumigate him (therewith), and he shall recover.

(16) [If (ditto =) eighth ?] . . . human bone, and thigh of ox together thou shalt mix, with human skull [thou shalt fumigate him (therewith)] and he shall recover.

(18) [If (ditto =) ninth ?] . . . of a dead man, oil of a *KIN.TUR* fish, oil of . . . thou shalt anoint. . . .

(20) . . . human penis . . .

No. 262. *AM.* 70, 2 (K. 3420) + 94, 7 (K. 8962) (text of this last in *KMI.* 68).

11. (*Dup. KAR.* 182, rev. 22.) . . . for his recovery *nu-kil-tum* (?) . . . *liquidambar, borax (?), kelp (?), into a purse thou shalt make, put on his neck. [Seed] of tamarisk, seed of laurel, *kazallu*, together thou shalt bray, in oil thou shalt anoint him: with . . . seed of **Arnoglossom*, seed of *ĦAR.ĦUM.BA.ŠIR* plant thou shalt anoint him.

16. (*Dup. of KAR.* 182, rev. 29, and *AM.* 96, 4, 1, *Rm.* ii, 484, and very near to *AM.* 4, 6, 8, *PRSM.* 1924, 15.) [If ditto], the left horn of an ox, (and) hart's horn thou shalt reduce, with the powder of engraving¹ thou shalt mix¹: cadmia

¹ *KU a-ru-uš-te ta-man-za'.* *Arušte* (see *PRSM.* 1924, 15, n. 2) occurs *Sarg. Ann.* 201, *A.BAR munammir aruštišunu* "antimony which brightens their *arušti*". *Arušti* may well be from חרש (= حرت) (in spite of *ḥiršu* ?) "engrave", and consequently the "antimony" here will be plumbago, as Dr. B. Lambert, F.R.S., has suggested to me, to make the characters stand out in the stone. It is the same idea as in *Job* xix, 24, where his wish is that his words "were graven with an iron pen and lead in the rock for ever"; probably not the usual interpretation that the characters are filled with molten lead, but brightened with plumbago.

(*tuškē*)¹ of the smith, **Ammi*, alum, caper, seed of tamarisk,

¹ *Tuz(š)-ki-e*. I was entirely wrong in *PRSM.* 1924, 28 ff., in reading this word as *KU ka-a* "cornflour". It must be the same word as the *tu-us-ku-u* of the Chemical texts, which in my *On the Chemistry*, 30 ff., I tried to show was oxide of tin, or even cadmia (p. 38), a form of zinc, and possibly the origin of the word tutty. According to Berthelot (*Coll.*, 241) tutty replaced the cadmia of the ancients, which was (ib. 38) an impure oxide of zinc, mixed with oxide of copper, nay, even with oxide of lead, and oxide of antimony, arsenious acid, etc. Cadmia was found in furnaces where copper was smelted (Pliny, Ibn Beithar, Roscoe, see *On the Chemistry*, 38); Pomet gives the method of obtaining tutty as follows (*Hist. of Drugs*, 1712, ii, 341): "Tutty is found sticking to Rolls of Earth, which are hung up and placed on Purpose on the Top of the Furnaces where the Founders cast their mixed and Bell-metal to retain the Fume or Vapour, like the Smoke in Chimnies, and by the Means of these Rolls the Vapour is retained and reduced into a Shell of the same Figure as these Rollers."

In the Chemical Texts one part of *tuskū* to 360 of clear crystal glass renders the glass opaque (*parute aššaki*), and half a part more of *tuskū* gives it a reddish tinge. There is a difficulty about this latter proportion, which is very small, if "oxide of tin" is accepted as correct. But it is one of the essentials in making [red coral], by adding 32 parts with one of gold to 7,200 of *zūkū*-glass (together with 20 of antimony and some *mil'u*-salt), and here oxide of tin would suit this ancient receipt for the "Purple of Cassius" well. In the Medical Texts *tuz(š)-ka-a* or *tu-uš-ka-a* occurs thus: (a) *tuz-ka-a* is one of the ingredients for an eye-salve (*AM.* 9, 1, 34; *PRSM.* 1924, 28); (b) it is to be brayed alone and put into *kurunnu*-beer, boiled, mixed with honey and refined oil, allowed to steam, and then be given "without a meal" to a man with a cough, and the result will be vomiting (*AM.* 80, 7, 7, No. 132); (c) [*tu*]-*uš-ki-e* (*ša*) *amnapahi nipša* (here), probably for a seizure of some kind (*nipša*, see *MA.* s.v., *nipiš erē*, with the same ideogram as *ipri erē* "dust of copper"; cf. also *AM.* 14, 5, 7, No. 287, *ni-ip-ša erē*; the root is 𐎶𐎵 "crush"); (d) *taktu-uš-ka-[a]* with arsenic, etc., for painful eyes (*AM.* 15, 4, 5).

Now every one of these instances is evidence for cadmia: in (a) and (d) the use for eyes (cf. *SM.* ii, for eyes *passim*), with the indication that it is a mineral in (d); in (c) the mention of the "smith", indicating the source (the "furnace" of Pliny, etc.); in (b) particularly its use to make a man with a cough vomit, with which cf. Quain, *Dict. of Medicine*, 1883, 311: "An emetic of ipecacuanha, sulphate of zinc (italics mine), or mustard, may be useful in relieving cough, by expelling secretion when this has accumulated in large quantity." Sulphate of zinc "may be prepared by dissolving the oxide of the metal in dilute sulphuric acid; but it is always procured by acting on the metal itself, which is oxidized by the decomposition of water, with the oxygen of which it combines and evolves the hydrogen" (*Penny Cyclopædia*, 1843, xxvii, 783). The mediaeval method of obtaining tutty is described by Pomet (*Hist. of Drugs*, 1712, ii, 341).

The fact that the word is written *tuskū* or *tuskū* interchangeably is not,

seed of laurel, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, sumach, root of male mandrake, sulphate of iron, *LAL*-plant, borax (?), iron¹ (in oil) thou shalt anoint on him.

20. (*Dup. KAR. 182, rev., 38 (?)*, and *AM. 96, 4, 7.*) If ditto, iron,¹ *kanšam* plant, sulphate of iron, male and [female (?)] *liquidambar thou shalt make into a purse, put on his neck.²

21. . . . sulphate of iron, iron, . . . thou shalt anoint him.

22. (*Dup. of AM. 93, 1, 5.*)

23. (*Dup. of AM. 93, 1, 6.*)

24. (*May perhaps be dup. of AM. 95, 1, 4.*)

No. 263. *AM. 95, 1* (S. 353).

3. If a man is sick of the hand of a ghost. . . .

4. (*For the preamble, cf. AM. 99, 3, r. 11: cf. AM. 70, 2, 24.*) For the result of the oppressive hand of a ghost [which the sorcerer cannot remove] . . . for its removal, mustard. . . .

6. If ditto, root of . . . for anointing,³ the tree *pu* . . . , . . . mustard, hellebore thou shalt take, [these] seven drugs . . . in an oven thou shalt heat, in a small copper pan [thou shalt mix up, (rub on ?)] . . . until his flesh holds sores (?)⁴

I think, of serious importance; it is not a common word, and is found only in specially medical or chemical texts, as far as I know. I propose to take it as *cadmia* or *tutty*.

¹ But note in l. 20 that there are traces of *SIM* as determination (i.e. "liquidambar").

² *KAR* and *AM. 96, 4* include "anoint with oil".

³ *4uZa(?) -sur ana pašāšī*.

⁴ *Ibarrū ukal*, see *AM. 5, 7, 3*, and *98, 3, 5*; and cf. Dennefeld, *Bab. Ass. Geburts.*, s.v. *ibaru*.

. . . *tarhu*-plant, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum* . . .
thou shalt anoint him, and squeezed grapes. . . .

12. If the hand of a ghost is oppressive on a man's body. . . .

13. Potions (and) food. . . .

14. [If] a man at the seizure of the hand of a ghost. . . .
(*Colophon*.)

No. 264. *AM.* 96, 1 (K. 4054).


1. (*Preamble*, *dup.* of *KAR.* 202, iv, 35.) For the cataplasm of a swelling either of the right [or left],¹ dates, squeezed ² *tappi* of *barley, **Ferula communis*, linseed, **Ricinus*, *U.SA*-beer separately thou shalt bray, in *kurunnu*-beer together [thou shalt mix], on the fire thou shalt boil, on a cloth (*v.* on a skin) [thou shalt spread], while it is yet hot thou shalt bind on; as thou takest it off ³ thou shalt wa[sh him] in water of *Vitex*.

8. If ditto, *Lathyrus*, fenugreek, spelt flour, wheaten flour, flour of . . . , flour of *barley, powder of *suadu*, powder of fir-resin, powder of pine-resin, dates, sweet *U.SA*-beer together on the fire thou shalt boil, with oil (*v.* curd) thou shalt anoint the surface of the swelling, spread on a skin, bind on, and [he shall recover].

12. Mustard, roses, *Lathyrus*, thou shalt grind, *Lolium* . . . therein thou shalt add, mix in wine, [bind on] the swelling.

14. If the hand of a ghost has seized on a man, and it turns it to a swelling, *Artemisia*, *balsam, *sagapenum, thou shalt dry, pound, strain, wheaten flour thereto thou shalt

¹ Note *dup.* on *KAR.* 202.

² *Saḥindu* (from *KAR.*)  compressit: cf. *nurmā saḥ-ma* (*AM.* 69, 12, 4) "squeezed pomegranate". Cf. also *AM.* 98, 3, 2.

³ *Tap-ta-[jar]*.

add, either . . . in beer or corn in milk thou shalt mix, spread on a cloth, the surface of the bruise anoint with oil.

17. [If a man] is sick from a swelling of a chariot, and his stomach and his bowels¹ hurt him, into water of *Vitex* thou shalt put him, rub him with . . . , let him drink refined oil, thou shalt pound together pine-turpentine, fir-turpentine, . . . [tops (juice)] of pomegranate, tops (juice) of *Vitex*, strain, mix in fat, bind on.

20. (*Mutilated remedy for a swelling also from a chariot.*)²

No. 265. *AM.* 96, 3 (K. 3284).

1. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man (or) *bennu* (epilepsy?) [seizes on him], or the demon "He that holds his head for evil" seizes on him, or *Lugal-ur*-[*ra*]³ seizes on him], or the hand of a goddess seizes on him, or the "hand" of a tabu [seizes on him] . . . or an evil *alû*-demon envelopes him . . . anger,⁴ wrath . . . his ears sing, . . . with his stomach . . . speaketh and . . . in the night terror . . . in the house strife (?). . . .

No. 266. *AM.* 99, 3 (K. 8867) + *AM.* 80, 6 (K. 6761)

Obverse

3. . . . gold . . . *mušallim*-plant, **Ammi*, to . . .

4. (*Cf. AM.* 96, 4, 9.) If a ghost lies on a man, the fat of *iškippi* male and female (?) . . .

5. (*Dup.* 33, 3, 10.) If ditto, sulphur, hellebore, *liquid-ambar, hart's horn, ash of human skull, gum of

¹ *TU* = *takaltu*.

² Here should be quoted the fragment *AM.* 6, 7, 1. 4, [*INIM. INIM*]. *MA di-kiš*. . . .

³ This is a demon producing the result of squinting right and left (*JRAS.* 1924, 452). There are a large number of receipts for anointing a man on whom this demon has seized in *KAR.* 186, obv. 23 ff. Mentioned *CT.* xiv, 16, No. 93084, rev. 6.

⁴ *Uz-za-nu*.

Andropogon (?), fat of the left kidney of a black ox, *Artemisia*, *balsam, *sagapenum, gazelle-dung, gazelle flesh, human flesh, nitre (or) . . . total fourteen drugs as a fumigation for the hand of a ghost.

10. (*Dup.* 33, 3, 13.) Lupins, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, hellebore, gum of *Aleppo pine, . . . gazelle-skin, carrot, kelp (?), shoot of . . . (?) . . . garlic, pine-turpentine, old fat of an ox, fourteen drugs . . . in cedar blood thou shalt mix together, over the fire (fumigate).

(*For obv. ll. 14-rev. 7, see No. 261, iii, l. 1 ff.*)

8. For the oppressive hand of a ghost. . . .

9. Mane of a white stallion,¹ glue (?), seed of tamarisk, . . . asses' dung, seed of fennel, fruit of *BAR. HUS*, sulphur, borax (?). . . .

11. (*Cf. AM.* 95, 1, 4, and 95, 2, ii, 8.) For the result of the oppressive hand of a ghost which the sorcerer cannot remove, for its removal a human knee-cap (?),² glue (?), . . . seed of tamarisk, womb (?) of a woman who has had intercourse,³ together thou shalt bray, in fire fumigate. . . .

(*For the remainder see No. 261, Col. IV.*)

No. 267. *AM.* 97, 4 (K. 4075)

2. . . . and his . . . side (?) troubles him . . . sumach (?), **Ricinus*, kelp (?) . . . caper [root], acacia-root, oak-galls (?), . . . [together] thou shalt bray, anoint him, and he shall recover.

¹ *Bu-ḥa-li pišl.*

² *Ku-bu-uš kim-ši ameluti.* *Kubšu* is a "turban" or other headgear, and as there is no doubt about *kim-ši* this is the only suggestion I can make for it, unless it means "leg-binding" (puttee).

³ *Rlm sinništi pa-ḥar-ti*, the latter word new, doubtless the equivalent of the Syr. ܦܚܪܬܐ (*Etpa.*) *deflorata est.*

6. [If a man]'s face (?) is distorted, he sinks down upon a bed and lies, it is the hand of a ghost: thou shalt rub his temples with human semen,¹ bray together sulphate of iron (and) *liquidambar, mix in oil, anoint him.

9. If a ghost seizes on a man, *mil'u*-salt, white *mil'u*-salt, black *mil'u*-salt, magnetic iron ore, male sulphate of iron, *šû*-stone, *Asa* (*dulcis*), *akušimanu*(?)-plant, seed of tamarisk, *EL.KUL.LA*-plant, *MUH.KUL.LA*-plant, fennel-root in refined oil and cedar-blood thou shalt mix, anoint him, and the hand of the ghost shall be removed.

14. If the hand of a ghost seizes on a man, for his recovery thou shalt [anoint him] with lupins, *liquidambar, kelp (?), *EL.KUL.LA*-plant, *LAL*-plant, in oil.

16. If a ghost seizes on a man, with human skull, *Andropogon* (?), turmeric, in oil thou shalt anoint him.

18. If the muscle of a man's neck hurts him, it is the hand of a ghost: thou shalt put (?) . . . the dust of the cross-roads, encircle his neck therewith; oil, water, and *kurunnu*-beer thou shalt beat up together and let it stand under the stars (?): in the morning before anyone has spoken to him, let him rub his neck and his body and [he shall recover].

22. Thou shalt bray **Solanum*, **Arnoglosson*, anoint in oil.

23. Thou shalt anoint his temples with the dust of a fallen ruin (and) *Crataegus Azarolus* (?) in cedar oil.

25. (*Dup. CT. xxiii*, 44, *iii*, 3; *KAR.* 182, 10.) If a man at the seizure of a ghost his temples hurt him, sulphate of iron, lime (?),² *mil'u*-salt, black *mil'u*-salt, magnetic iron ore, iron-stone, these six drugs³ thou shalt bray together, mix in cedar-blood, anoint his temples, his eyes, and his neck,⁴ and he shall recover.

¹ = **Tragacanth* (*JRAS.* 1924, 452).

² Omitted in *CT. xxiii*, which adds instead **AŠ, Asa (dulcis)* at the end.

³ *KAR* "Seven drugs," adding **AŠ, Asa (dulcis)*.

⁴ Different order on *AM*.

30. (*Apparently dup. of KAR. 184, 33.*) If a man has an ache of the temples, his ears singing, his eyes glittering,¹ the muscle of his neck hurts him, his side holds poison, his kidney "strikes" him, his stomach is troubled, his feet are weak,² that man a ghost of the roads³ pursues him. For his recovery:

(37) On the fifteenth day (of the month) when the moon and sun stand (visible) together, that man thou shalt wrap in a cloth,⁴ thou shalt spread red iron oxide on his temples, letting its "blood" exude: thou shalt let him sit down in a reed hut: thou shalt set his face to the north: unto the moon in the west thou shalt offer a censer of pine gum, (and) thou shalt make a libation of cow's milk; to the sun in the east thou shalt offer a censer of cypress, (and) thou shalt pour a libation of *kurunnu*-beer: that man shall say as follows:—

(43) "On my left is the Moon, the crescent⁵ of the wide heaven: on my right is the father of the black-headed race,

¹ *Ibarrura*. Cf. *CT. xxiii, 23, i, 1* (dup. *KAR. 202, 1, 1*, and *TCP. 1*, my No. 285), *i, birratu*, and for *barāru*, *PRSM. 1924, 18*.

² *Rimutu*, from *ramū* "be loosed". Cf. *AM. 20, 1, 36* (dup. of *KAR. 188, r. 14*), and 38 (dups. of *CT. xxiii, 40, 4* and 6), "if a man has *tib* (v. *tib* (*ib*)) *ŠAK.KI* and has *rimutu*"; 52, 5, 4, "[H] . . . his flesh has *šimmutu* and *rimutu*"; 82, 2, 7, "To ease a man of *šipir mišitti*, and *rimute* . . ."; *KAR. 185, iv, 5*, *Ana šimmatim u rimutim*; *AM. 5, 6, 7*, "to ease a man of . . . and *rimutu*." Cf. *KAR. 157, 18*, and Langdon, *Bab. Wisdom, 45, 10, kal pagri-ia itahaz rimutu*.

³ *Ridati* (v. *ridāti*, l. 45); cf. *Maqlu, iii, 147, edimmu* (v. *utukku*) *ri-da-a-ti ḥarrani-ki u-ša-as-* []. The parallel *ḥar-ba-ti* "ruins" in *AM. 88, 4, 6*, shows that we probably have here a word from *ridā* "tread", i.e. roadways, or perhaps (forgotten) tracks haunted by ghosts. The addition of the phrase "an evil wind hath blown on me" (*išipanni, eṭēpu*) as concomitant, indicates the idea of the ghostly visitant coming with the wind. The patient is set with his face to the north (= *IM.SI.SA*, the direction of the "right" wind) to counteract this.

⁴ *kušahhā*, a cloth. For *tukKA* "red iron oxide", see my *On the Chemistry*, 123, and note the quotations on pp. 122, 123, for the quality of the oxides in giving a blood-red colour. The use here is obviously magical to symbolize blood.

⁵ It must be the full moon, or nearly, not the crescent.

the sun, the judge; the gods on either hand, the fathers of the great gods, make decisions of wide-spread mankind. An evil wind hath blown¹ upon me, and a ghost of the roads¹ pursueth me. So am I perturbed,² distressed, and troubled: rescue me by your judgment that I be not overwhelmed." Seven times he shall say (this) and come forth from the reed hut, and (then) change his clothes, putting on clean ones.³ He shall say as follows:—

(48) Charm: "O Nannar, 'marble' of heaven and earth, remove the evil sickness in my body" seven times he shall say; and unto the Sun he shall say as follows:—

(50) "O Sun, judge of the black-headed race, let the evil wind which hath settled on me go forth like smoke to heaven: I pay thee my devotion" three times he shall say: (*not complete*?).

No. 266. *AM.* 96, 7, (K. 6413)

1. If there is on a man the hand of a tabu, the hand of a ghost, the hand of a man . . . , the hand of a goddess, he speaking and not . . . behind him it is bound on, a god or goddess is angry with him . . . his [sleep] oppresses him, his dreams being evil . . . he seeing . . . not good, terror of . . . he has anger of heart, trouble⁴ of heart . . . hatred in the mouth of men . . . the prince his advancement⁵ will promise him but will not give him . . . his flesh holds poison . . . yellow, red, and black his body changes . . . his [words] he forgets, a woman his heart does not lo[ve] . . .⁶

¹ See note 3 on previous page.

² *Assaku*, presumably for *aššaku*, parallel in meaning to the other two verbs.

³ Symbolic for the cleansing, but also perhaps that the ghost should not recognize the patient.

⁴ *Nullate*, see *PRSM.* 1926, 73, n. 8.

⁵ *Da-riḫ-šu*. The root *darāku*, comparable to 𐎠𐎼𐎫𐎠𐎵 "tread, march", occurs in *dirkatu*, *darkatu* similar to *ahrdtu* "posterity" (coming afterwards). *Darku* must have the meaning of "step", i.e. "promotion" or "advancement" here. It would be too fanciful to see in this the *dariku* "Doric" of a later period.

⁶ *SAL libbi-šu la ir'-[am]*.

No. 267. *AM.* 94, 1 (82-3-23, 48)

1. If the hand of a ghost . . . s a man . . .

2. Practical prescription for this: *nupūhi* (*nupūti*) of a man . . . , an *IB.LAL*-garment¹ the first day thou shalt . . . (?)² . . . , *kurunnu*-beer, wine . . . three times with water (?) . . .

6. Charm of *E-nu-ru* . . . Directing . . .

No. 268. *AM.* 94, 6 (K. 13387). Fragment "When the hand of a ghost seizes a man", to be compared with *AM.* 97, 6, 1.

No. 269. *AM.* 76, 1 (K. 4609 B). (Text in *KMI.* 73.)

1. . . . "the hand of a ghost lifting its head for evil", lupins, . . . seed of laurel, alum, hellebore, sulphate of iron, . . . , *Asa foetida* (*nuḥurtu*), *mint, *Asa foetida* (*tiātu*), twelve drugs for "the hand of a ghost lifting its head for evil."

4. [If a man's] [ear (?)s] are deaf,³ the roof of his mouth⁴ is dry,⁵ his . . . have poison, water . . . (?), has "fire of his stomach", [his sleep ?] upon him is not good, a woman his heart desires but he sees a woman and his heart is not lifted up, [his voice] in speaking is low,⁶ that man the hand of a ghost pursues⁷ him. For his recovery, [*tarḥu*-plant ?], **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, hellebore, nail of a black dog, *mint, *Asa foetida* (*nuḥurtu*), *Asa foetida* (*tiātu*), powdered alum, . . . thou shalt pound, sift, let him drink in beer or wine, and he shall recover.

11. [If a man in] the seizure of the hand of a ghost his

¹ See *SAI.*, No. 3383.

² *Tah-zib.*

³ *It-te-nim* (?) -*mi-ru*.

⁴ *Ur pi-šu*; cf. "if his tongue and *ur pi-šu*" (*CT.* xxxvii, 37, 13).

⁵ *I-ta-nab-b[al]*.

⁶ . . . [i ?]-*na da-ba-bi ša-pil*.

⁷ *UŠ* (= *ridû*)-*šu*.

epigastrium "blows fire" (or) has "fire of the stomach", his epigastrium "cuts" him, lupins, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, *mint, **Solanum*, *Asa foetida* (*tiātu*), *Asa foetida* (*nuhurtu*), in *kurunnu*-beer let him drink a sample¹ and he shall recover.

15. [If] a man in the seizure of the hand of a ghost his epigastrium "cuts" him, for his recovery *tarhu*-plant, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, tamarisk, water of *mint, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel in beer let him drink.²

17. If a man the hand of a ghost seizes him and pursues³ him, for his recovery *tarhu*-plant, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, hellebore, *mint, **Solanum*, seven drugs to free the hand of a ghost thou shalt bray, in beer let him drink, and he shall recover.

20. If ditto, *tarhu*-plant, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, hellebore, seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, *Cannabis*, *Asa foetida*, root⁴ of *Asa foetida*, *mint, alum, twelve drugs for the hand of a ghost in beer let him drink, and he shall recover.

23. If ditto, **Calendula*, seed of tamarisk, alum, three

¹ *Ma-al-ja-ra*, cf. *ana malfariš* "correspondingly?", A.M. 83, I, r. 17 (No. 135), and Kūchler, *Beitr.*, iii, i, 27 ff., where the patient is (e.g., l. 34) to drink *uṣḥlanu* (alone) in strong wine, if his symptoms are that he neither eats nor drinks, but his stomach *ana parē itenilaṣa ruṣuṣta mādiš ittadi mēina pi-šu malfariš illaku*, etc. Tell-el-Amarna (Bezold-Budge), No. 11, rev. 52, . . . *ṣalI-u-ni aššati-ia li-il-[lik]* . . . *a-na ma-al-ta-ri-iš-ma u ammar-[šipri]* . . . *ṣalI-u-ni aššati-ia a-na* . . . *li-il-li-ku a-na ma-al-ta-[riš]* . . . (section ends). Doubtful.

² *NAK.MEŠ*, obviously equivalent to *NAK.NAK* in the preceding receipt. Cf. also the use of the plural sign in *KAR.* 184, rev. 1, *šumma NA edimmu iṣbat-šu-ma UŠpī-šu*, where *UŠpī* is clearly the equivalent of *UŠ.UŠ* here in l. 17.

³ *UŠ.UŠ-šu*.

⁴ *UR*.

drugs for the hand of a ghost let him drink in beer, and he shall recover.

24. If a man the hand of a ghost seizes him and pursues him, *tarhu*-plant, **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, . . . seed of tamarisk, seed of laurel, seed of *tragacanth, seed of fennel, *Cratægus azarolus* (?), ten drugs for the hand of a ghost in beer let him drink and he shall recover.

27. [If ditto] . . . **Calendula*, **Chrysanthemum segetum*, mustard, hellebore, seed of laurel . . . , alum, human bone . . . let him [dri]nk and he shall recover.

No. 270. *AM.* 94, 5 (K. 11772)

1. If a man a ghost seizes him and pursues (*UŠ.UŠ*) [him] . . . from the middle of his brain . . . his cheek . . .

No. 271. *AM.* 100, 2 (K. 7846) (text in *KMI.* 74)

(Section 1, an ointment; 2, fourteen drugs including *Andropogon* (?), **Ferula Persica*, gazelle-dung, flesh of gazelle, hart's-horn, etc. 3, 4, for the hand of a ghost.)

Bhāmaha, Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti

By H. R. DIWEKAR

THE relation between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi is very interesting. It was once¹ believed that Bhāmaha preceded Bhaṭṭi. But Dr. Jacobi's discovery² that he has borrowed Dharmakīrti's doctrines and phraseology has changed his relation to Bhaṭṭi. Not only is it now presumed that "Bhāmaha probably knew Bhaṭṭi's work",³ but that he even "clumsily repeats in almost identical terms"⁴ a verse of Bhaṭṭi. The point, however, does not appear to have been definitely settled, and a few remarks will not be deemed unnecessary in reviewing the entire question.

It must first be seen in what connection Bhāmaha wrote the verse in question. It occurs in the second *pariccheda* of his *Kāvyaḷaṅkāra*. Bhāmaha describes *Alaṅkāras* in this and the next *pariccheda*. He first considers the question of long compounds, and emphasizes the two qualities of a poem, *prasāda* and *mādhurya*. He then mentions the five *Alaṅkāras*

*Anuprāsaḥ sayamako rūpakam dīpakopame*⁵

and treats the first two in verses 5 to 18. In verse No. 19 he incidentally mentions *prahelikā* as *nānā-dhātvartha-gambhīrā yamaka-vyapadeśinī*, and then writes the verse in question, i.e. :

*kāvyaṅy api yadīmāni
vyākhyāgamyāni śāstravat
utsavaḥ sudhiyām eva
hanta durmedhaso hatāḥ.*

"Even if these, which, like scientific treatises, can be understood only by commentaries, be poems, it is only a festival

¹ Jacobi, *ZDMG*. lxiv.

² Jacobi, *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.*, 1922, pp. 210-13.

³ S. K. De, *Sanskrit Poetics*, p. 51.

⁴ Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 116.

⁵ Bhāmaha, *Kavyaḷaṅkāra*, ii, 4.

to those who have a fine intellect, but alas ! undone are the dull-witted." It is quite clear from the context that Bhāmaha, in his usual ironical style,¹ criticizes here not a *sargabandha mahākāvya*, but detached verses like *prahelikās*, which come under his fifth species, *anibaddha kāvya*,² and which are not only *vyākhyāgamya*, but *śāstravat vyākhyāgamya*. That a *sargabandha mahākāvya* cannot but be *vyākhyāgamya* appears to be a fact tacitly accepted by Bhāmaha from the verse i, 20, where he says that a *mahākāvya* should be

nātivyākhyeyam rddhimat,

and not

avyākhyeyam samrddhimat.

The butt of his irony, therefore, appears to be not *vyākhyāgamyatva* or *vyākhyeyatva*, but *śāstravat vyākhyāgamyatva* or *ativyākhyeyatva*.

But the idea that Bhāmaha criticizes Bhaṭṭi seems to be so strong in Dr. Jacobi's mind that it makes him unhappily improve³ the reading of one of Bhāmaha's verses, and see in it the same irony. In verse i, 36, of Bhāmaha the word *nitāntādi* appears to him "sinnlose", and he is tempted to read *tināntādi* instead. It must be here explained why the reading *nitāntādi* is not senseless, but, on the contrary, wholly in consonance with the sense and that the reading *tināntādi* is quite unwarranted and inadmissible. It must be remembered that in verses i, 35, 36, Bhāmaha is expressing his view, which is neither wholly in favour of Gauḍīya nor wholly in favour of Vaidarbha. In i, 35, he says :—

*alaṅkāravat agrāmyam
arthyam nyāyīyam anākulam
Gauḍīyam api sādhyo ;
Vaidarbham iti nānyathā,*

and it is to illustrate the last line of this verse that he writes
na nitāntādimātreṇa jāyate cārutā girām,

¹ Cf. *ibid.*, iv, 7 ; vi, 12, 14.

² *Ibid.*, i, 18.

³ *Sb. der Preuss. Akad.*, 1928, pp. 663-4.

which means "mere words like *nītānta*, etc., do not beautify the speech". Bhāmaha, who writes "after seeing various works of others and after drawing his own inferences",¹ has here very aptly chosen the word *nītānta* to illustrate the tendency of the poets to use such words to beautify their verses. The word is rarely used by writers other than poets, with whom it appears to be a favourite word. To leave other poets aside, Kālidāsa alone has used it not less than ten times.² The word is formed of syllables which suggest³ *mādhurya*, and has, moreover, a sense which makes it so easily applicable. Bhāmaha himself has it in ii, 5:—

kiṃ tayā cintaya kānte
nītānteti yathoditam.

On the other hand, the word *tināntādi* will be quite out of place, as the verbal forms are not supposed to adorn the style. Even in the parallel passage of Vāmana,⁴ cited by Dr. Jacobi, we have:—

suptinsamskāramātram yat
kṣīṭavastuguṇam bhavet.

It is not at all therefore necessary to emend *nītāntādi* into *tināntādi*, and to see Bhāmaha's irony directed against Bhaṭṭi.

Let us now see how far it is possible for Bhāmaha to make Bhaṭṭi a butt of his ironical remarks. That Bhāmaha assigns a great importance to grammatically correct forms is quite manifest from his sixth *pariccheda*, where, after metaphorically describing the science of grammar as like an ocean, he says:—

nāpārayitvā durgādham
amum vyākaraṇārṇavam
śabda-ratnam svayamgamam
alankartum ayaṃ janaḥ | (3) |

¹ Ibid., v, 69.

² Böhtlingk and Roth, St. Petersburg Dictionary.

³ *Kāvya-prakāśa*, viii, 9.

⁴ Vāmana, iii, 2-15.

He knows that the unintelligent are afraid of learning sciences because they are difficult to understand, and himself advises the writing of treatises on scientific subjects sweet-seasoned with poetry.¹ He has also illustrated his method by giving some of Pāṇini's rules in verses 32 to 60 of his sixth *pariccheda*. He has as far as possible followed the order of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, as can be easily seen from the following table :

<i>Verse</i>	<i>Sūtra</i>	<i>Verse</i>	<i>Sūtra</i>
32	1-2-67	52	4-2-87
34	2-4-83, 84		4-4-2
35	2-1-17	53	5-1-5
36	2-2-15		5-1-10
37	2-2-16	54	5-3-57, 61, 64
38	2-4-17, 23	55	5-2-37
42	3-2-107	56	5-2-94, 114, 121
48	3-2-134, 136, 148, 162, 175	57	5-2-115, 116
49	3-3-94, 98, 101	58	7-1-4
50	3-3-107		7-2-76
51	4-1-15	59	7-1-78, 79
	4-2-2		

Bhaṭṭi, on his part, does the same. He also holds grammar in high esteem, makes a nice combination of pleasure and profit, and tries to illustrate in order the rules of grammar. Can there be then any reason whatsoever for Bhāmaha to criticize Bhaṭṭi, whose views seem to be completely in accord with those of Bhāmaha ?

On the other hand, there is at least one verse of Bhāmaha which raises strong doubts in the readers' minds as to the pre-existence of the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*. The verse is vi, 62.

*Sālāturiya-matam etad anukrameṇa
ko vakṣyatīti virato' ham ato vicārāt
śabdārṇavasya yadi kaścīd upaiti pāram
bhīmāmbhasaś ca jaladher iti vismayo' sau.*

¹ Ibid., v, 3.

"The thought, 'who can possibly describe these views of Sālāturiya in order?' makes me desist from this. It will be equally wonderful if one goes to the other side of this ocean of words or of the ocean itself full of frightful waters." Does this verse not show that a work like the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya* could not have been in existence when Bhāmaha wrote? Does it not appear more likely that these lines of Bhāmaha may have incited Bhaṭṭi in the first place, and Bhaumaka in the second, to write poems illustrating the rules of Pāṇini in a regular order?

But what has Bhaṭṭi himself to say about his poem? He expresses his opinion in the last verse but three of his work. In xxii, 32, he calls the poem "wonderful owing to ways of expression", "well-composed", and "leading those to success who either speak or have a desire to speak (Sanskrit)". In verse No. 33 he says: "This composition is like a lamp to those who have an eye to the characteristics of words, and is like the touch of a hand to those who are without grammar, blind." What he means to say is that those who have already mastered the science of grammar will be able to perceive with the help of this work many similar forms, but those who do not know grammar will be able to recognize at least the forms which actually occur in his poem, just like the blind, who, even when they are unable to see other things, at least recognize those things which they can feel by their hands. It is thus useful for both—those who have studied the science of grammar and are speaking Sanskrit; as well as those who have not learnt grammar, but have a desire to speak Sanskrit.

But still Bhaṭṭi seems to be conscious of one thing, and that is that his poem is not sufficiently lucid. The very fact that he calls that part of his work which illustrates the science of rhetorics *prasanna-kāṇḍa*,¹ clearly shows the importance which he assigns to lucidity or *prasāda-guṇa* in a poem. It is under this *prasanna-kāṇḍa* that he illustrates *Alaṅkāras*,

¹ *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, Colophon to Cantos x, xii, xiii.

Mādhurya, *Bhāvikatva*, and *Bhāṣā-sama*.¹ It was therefore quite likely that an objection might be raised against his work, as being *aprasanna* or *vyākhyāgamya*. And it is in anticipation of this objection that Bhaṭṭi writes the verse No. 34 :—

vyākhyāgamyam idam kāvyam
utsavaḥ sudhiyām alam
hatā durmedhasaś cāsmiṇ
vidvat-priyatayā mayā.

“ This poem is explicable by a commentary ! It is, however, sufficient that it will be a festival for the intelligent, and it is because I like the wise, that I have not thought much of the dull-witted.” It is not thus a boast, but rather an excuse. If a poet is to boast of his poem as being a hard nut to crack, he will boast that the learned and not the dull-witted will find it difficult. To puzzle the dull-witted is not a thing to be proud of, and this is why Bhaṭṭi gives *vidvatpriyatā* as an excuse for that. It will, therefore, not be wrong if it is said that the verse of Bhāmaha, whose conception of a poem is

*āvidvadaṅganābālpratītārtham prasādat,*²

must be the original, and the verse of Bhaṭṭi, who also accepts that conception, is based on Bhāmaha's words. The word *alam* which signifies a *pratiṣedha* (contradiction), and the reason *vidvatpriyatā* put forward, makes this position quite clear in the minds of the readers.

Another point of importance in connection with Bhaṭṭi is his illustration of *Alaṅkāras* in the tenth canto of his poem. So much has been made of this canto by writers on the history of Sanskrit literature that a few remarks will not be out of place in this connection. The canto is written particularly to illustrate the *Alaṅkāras*, but Bhaṭṭi himself does not give the names of the *Alaṅkāras*, which are afterwards indicated by the *Jayamaṅgalā*. But to infer from these names that they were the only *Alaṅkāras* known to Bhaṭṭi is going too far. One or two striking examples must

¹ *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, Colophon to Canto xiii.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 3.

be first given in support of my view. In case of *Arthālankāra* it is not easy to declare whether the poet purposely used that *Alankāra* or whether it was unconsciously used by the poet and was afterwards observed by readers. But with reference to *Sabdālankāra*, it can be safely decided whether the poet intended or not to use it. Let us take for example the verse x, 36—

*ahṛta dhaneśvarasya yudhi yaḥ sametamāyo dhanam
tam aham ito vilokya vibudhaiḥ kṛtottamāyodhanam
vibhavamadena nihnutahriyā ' timātra saṁpannakam
vyathayati satpathād adhigatā ' thaveha sampan na kam.*

The *Jayamaṅgalā* notes this as an example of *Arthāntara-nyāsa*, but that the verse illustrates a subspecies of *Yamaka*, in which the first line is rhymed with the second and the third with the fourth—a subspecies rarely noted and followed by Sanskrit rhetoricians and poets—is a fact which, though unperceived by the *Jayamaṅgalā*, cannot escape the notice of others. Is it to be supposed that this exceptional subspecies of *Yamaka*, which is invariably followed by Marāṭhī and other vernacular poets, was unconsciously used by Bhaṭṭi? The same may be asked concerning the verse ii, 19—

*na taj jalam yan na sucārupaṅkajam
na paṅkajam tad yad alīnaṣaṭpadam
na ṣaṭpado ' sau na juguṅja yaḥ kalam
na guṅjitaṁ tan na jahāra yan manaḥ.*

It cannot be said that the idea of a chain, in the form of a connection between *jala*, *paṅkaja*, *ṣaṭpada*, *guṅjana*, and *manohara*, was not present in Bhaṭṭi's mind at the time of composing this verse.

Mallinātha, in his commentary on the *Bhaṭṭi-kāvya*, has noted therein the following *Alaṅkāras* :—

1. *Atiśayokti*, viii, 2, 71 ; ix, 62 ; x, 27, 41, 45 ; xii, 19.
2. *Ananvaya*, x, 68.
3. *Anuprāsa*, x, 1.
4. *Apahnuṭi*, x, 57.

5. *Arthāntaranyāsa*, ii, 6 ; vi, 24 ; x, 36, 66 ; xi, 11 ; xii, 74 ; xiii, 9.
6. *Ākṣepa*, x, 38.
7. *Utprekṣā*, i, 6 ; ii, 3, 4, 12, 25, 47 ; vi, 13 ; vii, 97, 98, 106, 107, 108, 109 ; viii, 15, 35, 39, 49, 50, 67 ; ix, 25, 34, 55, 56, 64 ; x, 26, 34, 44, 47, 60, 62, 69 ; xi, 2, 3, 7, 20, 28 ; xii, 3, 6.
8. *Udātta*, v, 27 ; x, 52, 53.
9. *Upamā*, i, 4, 7, 8 ; ii, 2, 8 ; iii, 19 ; iv, 16, 44 (*māloṣamā*) ; x, 28, 30, 31, 33, 35, 59 ; ix, 5, 6, 134 ; xi, 15, 16, 37 ; xii, 84.
10. *Upameyopamā*, x, 64.
11. **Ekāvalī*, ii, 19.
12. **Kāraṇamālā*, x, 22.
13. **Kāvyaṅga*, v, 42, 43 ; x, 23, 24, 37, 40, 48, 71 ; xii, 14 ; xiii, 11.
14. *Tulyayogitā*, x, 54, 56.
15. **Drṣṭānta*, x, 72 ; xii, 82.
16. *Nidarśanā*, viii, 82, 92 ; xii, 77 ; xiii, 43 ; xvi, 16, 17, 18.
17. *Parikara*, xii, 49 ; xiv, 38.
18. *Paryāyokti*, xi, 43.
19. **Pratīpa*, x, 46.
20. *Prēyas*, x, 73.
21. **Bhrāntimat*, ii, 9 ; x, 49 ; xiii, 42.
22. *Yathāsaṅkhyā*, ii, 5 ; ix, 120 ; x, 43 ; xi, 1 ; xii, 5 ; xv, 92.
23. *Yamaka*, viii, 132 ; x, 2 to 21, 36 ; xxi, 21.
24. *Rūpaka*, ii, 28 ; vi, 104 ; viii, 51 ; ix, 8 ; x, 25, 29 ; xi, 26.
25. *Virodhābhāsa*, i, 1, 16 ; x, 58, 63 ; xi, 24.
26. *Viśeṣokti*, ii, 7.
27. **Viśama*, xi, 31.
28. *Vyatireka*, v, 65 ; x, 39.
29. *Śleṣa*, x, 55.
30. **Sama*, i, 5 ; x, 61.
31. *Samāsokti*, xi, 14.

32. **Samuccaya*, i, 2 ; iii, 22 ; v, 1 ; xii, 81 ; xvii, 1.
 33. *Sasandeha*, ii, 18, 41 ; x, 67 ; xi, 10.
 34. **Sahokti*, x, 32, 65.
 35. *Samsṛṣṭi*, i, 3 ; x, 70 ; xi, 36 ; xii, 10 ; xx, 37.
 36. **Svabhāvokti*, ii, 13, 16, 17 ; x, 42, 50, 51.

The list is by no means exhaustive, and it will be hard to think, in presence of these examples, that all the *Alaṅkāras* in the above list marked with an asterisk and not mentioned by the *Jayamaṅgalā* were unknown to and unconsciously employed by Bhaṭṭi.

It must be well borne in mind that Bhaṭṭi was no theorist. He writes his poem to illustrate the rules of grammar and rhetoric. Nowhere does he say that he follows a particular work or illustrates according to a particular order. He is thus quite free to base his illustrations on more than one work and to make changes, add, or omit where he thinks necessary. The names given to the *sargas* or *kāṇḍas* simply follow the well-known Sanskrit maxim, "*prādhānyena vyapadeśā bhavanti*," and indicate principally the topics illustrated. But it will be far from right to infer therefrom that each verse of the tenth canto must illustrate an *Alaṅkāra*, and that no *Alaṅkāra* not illustrated therein was known to him. Even the tradition naming the *Alaṅkāras* in canto x points no *Alaṅkāra* in the last verse, whereas we do find in other cantos some *Alaṅkāras* unmentioned in this canto. It would have been surely a different case if Bhaṭṭi himself had indicated the names of the *Alaṅkāras*. But there is no proof that he gives the names, and the above discussion will show that he does not follow rigorously any work either in the order or the number of *Alaṅkāras*.

Let us now closely examine the commentary *Jayamaṅgalā*, which indicates the names of these *Alaṅkāras*. From the commentator's way of giving the name of the *Alaṅkāra* ending with *iti*, like a *pratīka*, it can be safely said that the commentator does not himself name the *Alaṅkāras*, but is commenting on the words as given in the manuscript before

him. But, when we look to the details furnished by him in explanation of those words, we can clearly see that he follows no author but Bhāmaha. In thirty cases out of thirty-eight *Alaṅkāras* he quotes Bhāmaha's definitions in verses. In case of *Dīpaka*, instead of quoting Bhāmaha's line

amūni kurvate ' nvarthām

*asyākhyām ārthadīpanāt*¹

the *Jayamaṅgalā* simply says : *vākyārtha - prakāśanād dīpakam ucyate* ; whereas in the cases of *Vārttā*, *Preyas*, *Ūrjasvin*, *Samāhita*, *Udāra* (*Udātta*), *Hetu*, and *Nipuṇa* he gives a short explanation for each. Coming to subspecies of the *Alaṅkāras*, we also find that the *Jayamaṅgalā* gives similar explanatory notes on the names of the *Alaṅkāras*, the only new quotation given by him being in the case of *Cakravāla-yamaka*² as

padānām avasāne tu

vākye syāt tulyavarṇatā |

pratipādam bhaved yatra

cakravālam tad ucyate ||

In two cases more he gives the opinion of others, once as

yamakeṣu kriyāpadasya abhidheyatvaṃ na duṣyati,³

and then once as

tad eva anyaiḥ khaṇḍarūpakam iti ucyate.⁴

In all other cases the *Jayamaṅgalā* has nothing to say but what Bhāmaha says in his work. We shall thus be not far from right if we say that the commentator knows particularly Bhāmaha, and tries to conciliate the names of the *Alaṅkāras* recorded in the manuscript before him with the definitions of Bhāmaha. How far he has succeeded in doing so need not be said. But, to be fair to him, it must be admitted that he has tried his best to explain the names indicated in his text.

¹ Ibid., ii, 26.

² *Jayamaṅgalā*, on x, 6.

³ *Jayamaṅgalā* on x, 19.

⁴ *Jayamaṅgalā* on x, 27.

But can the names in the text before the *Jayamaṅgalā* be supported? We see that in case of *Dīpaka* in verses 22 to 24 the commentator has not been successful. The three sub-species of *Dīpaka* are explained by him as based on the position of the verb: *Kriyāpadasya ādau śrūyamāṇatvāt, ante nirdiṣṭatvat, and madhye nirdiṣṭatvat*, which is not clear at all. Verses Nos. 32 and 65 are exactly similar and cannot be examples of two different *Alaṅkāras*. One is unable to understand how he illustrates *Vārttā* in verse 45 and *paryāyokti* in verse 49. He takes the name *Udāra* to mean *Udātta*, and says that *Nipuṇam* in verse 73 is also to be counted under *Udātta*. I see, therefore, no reason to support the names accepted by the *Jayamaṅgalā* in this canto. That the text before the *Jayamaṅgalā* was not free from corruption is plain from the reading of the second line of the last verse:—

Śrīdharasūnu-narendra-pālītāyām,

which has been explained by the *Jayamaṅgalā* as:—

*Śrīdharasūnūnā Narendra-nāmna nṛpeṇa pālītāyām
rakṣitāyām,*

where the correct reading appears to be

Śrīdharasena-narendra-pālītāyām.

It seems, therefore, quite reasonable to think (1) that Bhaṭṭi himself followed no one author rigorously to illustrate the *Alaṅkāras*, (2) that the names indicated in the manuscript before the *Jayamaṅgalā* might have been written by someone who tried to find out the *Alaṅkāras* illustrated by Bhaṭṭi.

But even if the commentary of *Jayamaṅgalā* is set aside, the parallelism between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi is no doubt very remarkable. In addition to the resemblance noted between Bhāmaha, ii, 20, and Bhaṭṭi, xxii, 34, the following may be pointed out. In Bhāmaha, ii, 70, one reads:—

*svavikramākrāntabhuvaś
citram yan na tavoddhatiḥ |
ko vā setur alaṁ sindhor
vikāra-karaṇaṁ prati ||*

Compare with this Bhaṭṭi, x, 37 :—

*ṛddhimān rākṣaso mūdhaś
citram na asau yad uddhataḥ |
ko vā hetur anāryāṇām
dharmye vartmani vartitum ||*

The *gato* ' *stam arko* of Bhāmaha, ii, 87, may be compared with *gato* ' *stam induḥ* of Bhaṭṭi, xi, 3. Single words having some grammatical peculiarities are naturally common to both and need not be pointed out.¹ But the following cannot be disregarded. In Bhāmaha, ii, 31, we read :—

*yatheva śabdau sādṛśyam
āhatur vyatirekiṇoḥ |
dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyamaṃ
tanvī śyāmā latā yathā ||*

Bhaṭṭi makes Śūrpaṇakhā describe the beauty of Sitā to Rāvaṇa in the following words :—

*yoṣid vṛndārikā tasya
dayitā hamsagāminī |
dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā
nyagrodha-parimaṇḍalā || (v, 18)*

Jayamaṅgalā simply explains :—

dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā, dūrvāstambam, tad iva śyāmā.

But Mallinātha and other commentators really find it difficult to explain. Mallinātha says: *Dūrvā-kāṇḍam iva śyāmā | Etac ca purāṇāntare draṣṭavyaṃ kalpabhedena vā | anyathā Rāmāyaṇa-virodhat.* In *Rāmāyaṇa*, ii, 62, 8, we find the words *śyāmā padmadalekṣaṇā*. Will it be, therefore, far from the truth that the word in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, on which work is based the poem of Bhaṭṭi, with the stock example of *Upamā* quoted by Bhāmaha, may have given Bhaṭṭi's phrase :—

Dūrvākāṇḍam iva śyāmā ?

¹ The common particular works like *aranyānī*, *jāgarā*, *pinḍīśūra*, etc., may be, however, noted.

It may be thus seen that the internal evidence inclines more to the suppositions that Bhāmaha existed before Bhaṭṭi, that the remark of Bhāmaha in vi, 62, may have incited Bhaṭṭi to write his poem, and that this explains better the parallelism between Bhāmaha and Bhaṭṭi. The only point to be considered further is the relation between Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti. The publication of Diñnāga's *Nyāya-praveśa*¹ helps us better now to decide the question.

Bhāmaha commences his treatment of logic in v, 5, which runs thus :—

*sattvād a(rtha)ḥ pramāṇābhyām
pratyakṣam anumā ca te
asādhāraṇasāmānya-
viśayatvam tayoh kila.*

The reading *sattvādayaḥ* has been emended on comparison with the beginning of the *Nyāya-bhāṣya*—

pramāṇam antareṇa na arthapratipattiḥ.

Bhāmaha clearly mentions here two *pramāṇas*, in opposition to the ancient school of logic, and thus shows his preference for the Buddhist school of logic, which rejects the other two *pramāṇas*, *Upamāna* and *Śabda*. He apparently follows here Diñnāga's *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 53. It must be noted here that Dharmakīrti, in his *Nyāya-bindu* does not consider *Pratyakṣa* and *Anumāna* as *pramāṇas*, but as *śamyag-jñānas*.² The second line may be compared with the sūtras :—

- (12) *Tasya (pratyakṣasya) viśayaḥ svalakṣaṇam.*
- (16) *Anyat sāmānya-lakṣaṇam.*
- (17) *So 'numānasya viśayaḥ.*

And the *ṭīkā* on the (12) :—

*Svam asādhāraṇam lakṣaṇam tattvam svalakṣaṇam |
vastuno hy asādhāraṇam ca tattvam asti sāmānyam ca.*

¹ Gaikvad Oriental Series, No. xxxix (Tibetan text).

² *Nyāya-bindu*, sūtras i, 2, 3.

But even here Dharmakīrti owes his sūtra 12 to the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 59 :—

. . . rañ . gi . mtshan . ñid . kyī . yul . ñid . las . . .

In verse v, 6, Bhāmaha states two definitions, the first of which is found in the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 54, and the second is mentioned as that of Vasubandhu by Vācaspati Miśra.¹ Dharmakīrti improves this definition of Diñnāga by adding the adjective *abhrāntam* to it, while his definition of *kalpanā* in *Nyāya-bindu*, sūtra v, is worded quite differently from that of Diñnāga, which latter seems to be quoted by Bhāmaha. Verses 7 to 10 simply comment on these two definitions of *Pratyakṣa*, and verse 11 gives us again two definitions of *Anumāna*.

The second of these, viz. *tadvido nāntarīyārthadarśanam*, is supposed to be that of Diñnāga by Vācaspati Miśra.² Dr. Jacobi supposes the first definition, *Trirūpāl līngato jñānam anumānam*, to be based on that of Dharmakīrti, viz. :

Tatra trirupal līngad yad anumeye jñānam, tad anumānam, Nyāya-bindu, ii, 3.

But Dr. Jacobi appears here to have overlooked the difference made by Dharmakīrti between *Svārthānumāna* and *Parārthānumāna*. After the sūtras

Anumānam dvidhā, ii, 1,

and

Svārtham Parārtham ca, ii, 2,

Dharmakīrti gives the above definition, which, as explained by the *Nyāya-bindu-ṭīkā*, is not the definition of the general *anumāna*, but that of the particular *svārthānumāna*. This fact is quite clear from the definition of *Parārthānumāna* given in the *Nyāya-bindu* as *Trirūpa-līngākhyānam parārthānumānam*, iii, 1. Bhāmaha's definition should not be supposed

¹ *Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā* (Vizianagaram Sk. Series, Benares), p. 99.

² *Nyāya-Vārtika-tātparyā-ṭīkā* (Vizianagaram Sk. Series, Benares), p. 127.

to be based therefore on that of Dharmakīrti; it appears to be rather based on that of Diñnāga in the *Nyāya-praveśa*.

55. *rjes . su . dpag . pa . ni . rtags . las . don . mthoñ . bañ*, and

56. *rtags . ni . tshul . gsum . . .*

And the second line of verse v, 11, need not, therefore, be read as . . . *cā' pare viduḥ*, but should be kept as it is— . . . *cā' param viduḥ*, meaning that this is the second definition of *anumāna* according to some.

Verses v, 12 to 20, treat of *Pakṣa*, *Pratijñā*, and *Pratijñā-doṣas*. And here we are faced with a still greater difference between the views of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti. The definition of *pakṣa*¹ is based on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 3:—

. . . *Phyogs . ni . rab . tu . grags . pañi . chos . can . rab . tu . grags . pañi . khyad . par . gyis . khyad . par . du . byas . pa . . .*

while the definition of *pakṣa* given by Dharmakīrti is quite different, as mentioned in *Nyāya-bindu*, iii, 40,

Scarūpeṇaiva svayam iṣṭo' nirākṛtaḥ pakṣa iti.

This definition is clearly erudite, and Dharmakīrti himself has to write sixteen sūtras to explain it. As to *Pakṣābhāsa*, Diñnāga² gives nine varieties of them, Bhāmaha mentions only six, while Dharmakīrti gives importance only to four.³ The examples given by Bhāmaha also appear to be suggested by the *Nyāya-praveśa*. For example, instead of saying: *mātā me vandhyā*, Bhāmaha says: *yatir mama pitā*,⁴ and then, to avoid the different possibilities of the father's being an ascetic, goes on adding adjectives: *bālyāt* and *sūnur yasya aham* and *aurasaḥ*. Instead of *śuci śiraḥ-kapālam* of the *Nyāya-praveśa*,⁵ Bhāmaha has *śucis tanuḥ*.

Verse 21 defines *hetu*. When compared with the sūtras of Dharmakīrti, *Nyāya-bindu*, ii, 5, 6, 7, we can clearly see

¹ Ibid., v, 12.

² *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 6.

³ *Nyāya-bindu*, sūtra iii, 55.

⁴ Ibid., v, 14.

⁵ *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 14.

that Bhāmaha's definition lacks the words showing certainty, viz. *eva, eva*, and *eva niścitam*, and thus appears to be more in consonance with the Sanskrit reading of the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 4, supposed to be the original by Vidhuśekhara Bhaṭṭa-cārya.¹ Bhāmaha thus seems to have written his definition before the improvement was made in the definition of the *Nyāya-praveśa*, either by Dharmakīrti or by other contemporary scholars with whom Hiuen-tsang may have studied.

Verses 26, 27 describe *dr̥ṣṭānta*. Its two-fold character, given in verse 27, clearly appears to be based on the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 7. It is to be noted in this connection that Dharmakīrti does not consider *dr̥ṣṭānta* as a separate *sādhana-vayava*. In *Nyāya-bindu*, iii, 122, he says :—

*Trirūpo hetur uktāḥ | Tāvataivārthapratītir iti na prthag
dr̥ṣṭānto nāma sādhana-vayavaḥ kaścit | Tena nāsya
lakṣaṇam prthag ucyate gatārthatvāt |*

Lastly come *Dūṣaṇa* and *dūṣaṇābhāsa*s. Bhāmaha defines *dūṣaṇa*[m] *nyūnatādyuktiḥ*,² and Dr. Jacobi supposes this definition to be derived from Dharmakīrti's *Nyāya-bindu*, sūtra iii, 138 :—

Dūṣaṇāni nyūnatādyuktiḥ.

But a little consideration will show that this is not the case. We cannot suppose that Dharmakīrti framed this definition, for nowhere in his *Nyāya-bindu* has he said *Nyūnatā*, etc. Even after reading the explanatory sūtra iii, 139, *ye pūrvam nyūnatādayaḥ sādhanadoṣā uktāḥ teṣāṃ udbhāvanam dūṣaṇam | tena pareṣṭārthasiddhi-pratibandhāt*, we cannot understand what is *nyūnatvādi* and why *sādhanadoṣa*s are so called. Dharmottara, in his commentary on sūtra iii, 57, explains—

Trayāṇāṃ rūpāṇāṃ nyūnatā nāma sādhanadoṣaḥ,
and on sūtra iii, 139, says :—

nyūnatādayo' siddhaviruddhānaikāntikāḥ,

¹ *Nyāya-praveśa*, Gaikwad Oriental Series, No. xxxix, p. xx, Intro.

² *Ibid.*, v, 28.

but even he has not tried to explain the word *ādi*. It is therefore quite evident that the term *nyūnatādyukti* was quite current in the time of Dharmakīrti, and that, just as in some other cases, the original is to be found somewhere else. The word *nyūnatokti*, *ma . tshañ . ba . ñid . brjod . pa*, is found in the *Nyāya-praveśa*, sūtra 64, where it is followed by other four *uktis*: *pakṣadoṣokti*, *asiddhahetukokti*, *anekāntahetukokti*, and *viruddhahetukokti*, and the word *nyūnatādyukti* unmistakably refers to these *dūṣaṇas*, beginning with *nyūnatokti*.

There remain now only the words *jātayo dūṣaṇābhāsās*,¹ which correspond to those of Dharmakīrti in sūtra iii, 140, *dūṣaṇābhāsās tu jātayaḥ*. But when one notices so many differences between the opinions of Bhāmaha and Dharmakīrti, one cannot admit that Bhāmaha has taken this definition from the *Nyāya-bindu*. Both the words *jāti* and *dūṣaṇābhāsa* existed long before Dharmakīrti and the mere fact of equating them does not prove the one's borrowing from the other. Then again it may be pointed out that Bhāmaha makes no mention of *jātyuttaras* as Dharmakīrti does, but the last portion² of his treatment of logic refers to the twenty-four *jātis*, mentioned in *Nyāya-sūtras*, v, 1.

The internal evidence shown above makes it difficult to believe that Bhāmaha wrote after Bhaṭṭi and Dharmakīrti. It rather makes one conclude that he must have lived before Bhaṭṭi and in a period between Diñnāga and the visit of Hiuen Tsang. I need not add that the suggestion as to the word *guru* in *gurubhiḥ kim vivādena*,³ referring to Prabhākara, is not at all convincing.

¹ Ibid., v, 29.

² Ibid., v, 29.

³ Ibid., iv, 7.

On the phonetic value of the Tibetan characters ཨ and ར and the equivalent characters in the *hPhags.pa* alphabet

BY G. L. M. CLAUSON AND S. YOSHITAKE

IT is one of the curses of Central Asiatic linguistic research that no language of this meeting-place of nations can be studied without reference to the history of its neighbours and predecessors, which often belong to entirely different linguistic families. It is therefore only persons of singular erudition, or, like ourselves, of that hardihood which is bred of ignorance, who venture to dogmatize on any really difficult question of Central Asiatic phonetics or lexicography.

In the course of the study of the history of the Mongol language, on which we are at present engaged, we were recently confronted by the problem of the exact phonetic value of that character of the *hPhags.pa* alphabet which corresponds to the Tibetan ར, and this in its turn raised the problem of the phonetic value of ཨ. As the problem in isolation seemed practically insoluble, we felt compelled to sally out into the unfamiliar fields of Tibetan and Chinese phonetics. To the experts in those subjects we hasten to express our apologies for any mistakes which we may unwittingly have committed, urging in self-defence that we would never have trespassed if we had not been compelled to.

The evidence which is marshalled and discussed in this paper falls into four classes:—

- (1) The prehistory of the Tibetan character ར.
- (2) The purely Tibetan evidence, especially the statements of the native grammarians and the modern practice.
- (3) The early (? eighth to tenth centuries A.D.) transcriptions in Tibetan characters of Chinese Buddhist religious texts of which three specimens have been published in recent years by one of ourselves in collaboration with Dr. F. W. Thomas.
- (4) The *hPhags.pa* texts in the Mongol and Chinese languages.

(1) THE PREHISTORY OF ཨ

The earlier European students of Tibetan recognized the derivation of the Tibetan alphabet from an Indian prototype and produced various theories more or less correct regarding its history and evolution, but as far as we are aware it was reserved to Dr. A. H. Francke and the late Dr. A. F. R. Hoernle to tell the whole story and to clear up the doubtful points. Dr. Francke's work is contained in his article "The Tibetan Alphabet" in vol. xi, p. 266 ff., of *Epigraphia Indica*; Dr. Hoernle's in his Introduction to the *Manuscript Remains of Buddhist Literature found in Eastern Turkestan*, published under his editorship in 1916 by the Oxford University Press.

These two scholars are not in agreement on some points and on these we accept the conclusions of Dr. Hoernle, who had the advantage of following Dr. Francke and having access to some evidence not available to his predecessor.

For the purposes of our present inquiry the salient points are the following. The Tibetan alphabet was invented by the great Tibetan scholar Thonmi Sambhoṭa on the basis of that Central Asiatic derivative of the Indian Gupta alphabet, which was used in the Khotan district in the sixth and seventh centuries A.D. to write the local contemporary Iranian dialect which is known *inter alia nomina* as "Khotanese" in English scientific works and as "Nordarisch" in German.

The Khotanese alphabet, whether under the influence of the descendants (especially Soghdian) of the Aramaic alphabet which were current in Central Asia before the arrival of the Indian scripts, or for genuine phonetic reasons, or perhaps even simply for the sake of simplicity, had dropped the old Indian characters for initial *i*, *u*, *e*, *o* and wrote those vowels with the initial character for *a* supplemented by the attachment of the vowel signs which were used to indicate the attachment of such vowels to an initial or medial consonant.

Thonmi Sambhoṭa accepted this principle for the alphabet

invented by him, and the character for *a* ཨ is one of the twenty-four characters taken direct from the Khotanese alphabet.

To these twenty-four characters, which were common to the Khotanese and Indian alphabets, Thonmi Sambhoṭa added six new characters to represent sounds not hitherto written. Three of these, *ts*, *tsh*, *dz*, are derived direct from the characters *c*, *ch*, *j* by the addition of a diacritic mark, and there can be no doubt regarding their phonetic value. *Z*, a reversed *j*, is as easily explicable and its value is certain. *Ṣ* is less easily explicable since it was created by adding a diacritical mark to the dental nasal *n*, but its value (the sound of the French *j* in *jour* and *jardin*) is quite certain.

There remains ར. Hoernle is no doubt right in suggesting that the form of this character is derived from the curved line which was probably first used in the Khotanese alphabet to represent *ā*, and was subsequently attached also to characters bearing other vowel signs to indicate a lengthening of the vowel.

To sum up its early history, ར was invented by Thonmi Sambhoṭa to represent a sound which did not exist, or, at any rate, was not represented graphically, in the Indian languages or Khotanese, and which was sufficiently weak and indistinctive in nature to justify its representation by an adapted long vowel sign. At the same time the sound was of such a nature that it could not correctly, or at any rate conveniently, be represented by the existing character ཨ, possibly, of course, because the latter character had been given a value which was not necessarily absolutely identical with the value which it had possessed in Khotanese and the Indian dialects.

(2) THE TIBETAN EVIDENCE

In considering this aspect of the question we cannot do better than consult the mnemonic verses (*ślokas*) in which Thonmi Sambhoṭa himself laid down the rules of spelling and

grammar and their commentaries, more particularly since these have recently been edited and translated with copious notes by that distinguished Tibetan scholar M. Jacques Bacot. ("Une Grammaire Tibétaine du Tibétain Classique—Les Ślokas Grammaticaux de Thonmi Sambhoṭa avec leurs Commentaires." Traduits du Tibétain et annotés par Jacques Bacot, Ministère de l'Instruction et des Beaux Arts. Annales du Musée Guimet. *Bibliothèque d'Études*, tome xxxvii, Paris, Geuthner, 1928.)

Before considering this evidence, however, it is necessary to mention one value of the character, which is the most primitive but yet is not used in writing pure Tibetan words and is therefore not mentioned in the Ślokas. Tibetan contains no long vowels, and no provision, therefore, is made for their representation. In writing Sanskrit and other Indian words containing long vowels, however, ར is used as a subscript letter in its original function, that is to indicate the presence of a long vowel. Thus, while *a*, *i*, *u*, etc., are written ཨ, ཨི, ཨུ, *ā*, *ī*, *ū*, etc., are ཨཱ, ཨཱི, ཨཱུ, and so on.

Coming now to Tibetan itself, it is first necessary to recall the fact that Tibetan is a monosyllabic language, that the centre of each monosyllable is the radical, and that (leaving out the question of superscript and subscript letters as irrelevant to the present discussion) that radical may be preceded by one of five prefixes, and must, at any rate theoretically, be followed by one, or sometimes two, of ten suffixes. ར may fulfil each of these three functions, i.e. it may be a radical, a prefix, or a suffix. The suffix is an important feature of the language, since the form of the postpositions which indicate the cases of nouns and other shades of meaning in many cases depends on the identity of the suffix of the monosyllable to which they are attached.

As there is reason to believe that the exact phonetic value of ར varies to some extent according as it is used as a radical, prefix, or suffix, it is necessary to consider the three cases separately.

As a preliminary to this consideration we must quote what the commentary on the Ślokas has to say on the subject of pronunciation, using M. Bacot's translation (pp. 47-8):—

“ Si on applique aux lettres simples les trois éléments de la phonation, localization, articulation et effort, nous aurons :

“ 1. (Localization.) K, kh, g, ṅ, ཐ, h, and ཨ viennent de la gorge

ཨ, ཐ viennent du palais

ཐ, ཨ viennent des lèvres

“ 2. (Articulation.) Les gutturales et les labiales sont articulées par leur propre organe émetteur. Les palatales sont articulées par le milieu de la langue.

“ 3. (Intensité.) Quant à l'effort, de l'effort externe ou interne (expiration et inspiration), l'expiration, qui ressemble à la propulsion d'un sons au dehors, est le plus intense.

“ C'est pourquoi [various letters including] ཐ . . . ཨ et les quatres voyelles, demandant un effort de propulsion au dehors, sont appelées *sonores*.

“ [Various other letters] ne demandant pas une propulsion au dehors, sont appelées *sourdes*.

“ ཨ et les quatre voyelles, demandant un grand souffle, sont appelées *très vivantes*. En dehors de ces lettres-ci, toutes les autres lettres sont *peu vivantes*.

“ Les inspirées devant être prononcées après que le gosier s'est ouvert, à l'exception de ཨ, sont appelées *très vivantes à gosier ouvert*. Quant à ཨ, qui se prononce avec le gosier fermé, il est dit *fermé*.

“ Un phonème préfixé par *g* est émis du palais. Un phonème préfixé par *d* est émis avec un amollissement de la pointe de

la langue. Un phonème préfixé par *b* ou *m* est prononcé avec occlusion des lèvres et principalement par le nez. Un phonème préfixé par ར est émis du fond de la gorge."

It will be observed that nothing is said about suffixes here. On this subject the following passage (Bacot, pp. 44-5), of which the first sentence is part of a *śloka*, while the remainder is commentary, is in point:—

"... sans l'adjonction de l'un des dix suffixes il sera impossible de mettre (un) mot en relation avec les autres mots.

"Exemples pour illustrer la pensée exprimée par le maître dans la règle ci-dessus :

འདིར ; དེར ; བདེར ; ཀའར་བའ་ ; ཀམའར་བའ་མ་རོ ; ཉའར

"Bien que dans ces exemples les lettres simples ne puissent pas ne pas être suivies de suffixes, les *Lotsavas*, qui vinrent après (Thonmi Sambhoṭa) et traduisirent la Parole et les Commentaires, supprimèrent la plupart des lettres ར qui auraient été trop nombreuses. (Note. La suppression du suffixe eut lieu longtemps après Thonmi Sambhoṭa, vers le Xe. siècle. Les manuscrits de Touen-houang l'ont encore le plus souvent. On y rencontre des formes telles que *bka*ར་ ; *bca*ར་.) Bien que, sauf quelques ར exceptés par nécessité comme dans *dga*ར་ ; *ada*ར་ (i.e. to distinguish these words from *dag* ; *ad*), les ར ne figurent plus aujourd'hui comme suffixes par abréviation pour économiser la place ; conformément à ce qui a été expliqué plus haut de la détermination par le sens, des cas et des particules . . ., sans un suffixe quelconque on ne peut chercher à employer aucun mot. (Note : Ou ' (Le maître) n'a pas voulu qu'on employât aucun mot'. Il serait important de pouvoir déterminer le sens exact de *adod*. S'il s'applique au maître comme au *śloka*, cela voudrait dire que le rôle flexionnel des suffixes serait artificiel.)"

So far as the use of ར as a radical is concerned, the meaning of the passages quoted above is pretty clear. The commentator clearly regards ར as a sign indicating a smooth

vocalic ingress, that is as implying that the vowel attached to it is to be pronounced without the slight initial movement in the throat which is known as a glottal stop, while ཨ represents the glottal stop, an audible opening of the throat (Thonmi Sambhoṭa's "gosier fermé"), similar presumably to that represented by the Arabic ʾ (*hamza*).

We refrain from discussing here whether this glottal stop existed, and was represented by the ancestor of ཨ, in the Indian dialects and Khotanese, partly because we do not feel competent to do so and partly because such a discussion would not be strictly relevant to our subject.

It is also pretty clear that in the commentator's view, the rôle of འ as a suffix, whether a final suffix, as in *kaṛ*, or a penultimate suffix, as in *baṛm*, was conventional rather than phonetic, i.e. that it had no phonetic value but was merely intended to indicate the position of the vowel in the monosyllable and, where final, to call attention to the fact that the syllable was an open one and therefore required the attachment of those postpositions appropriate to monosyllables of this form.

The meaning of the description of the phonetic value of འ as a prefix is less clear, but the best explanation seems to be that monosyllables carrying this prefix are to be pronounced as if preceded by a very short vowel, like the Hebrew *sh'va*, presumably, since འ and not ཨ is employed, without glottal stop, i.e. *ṛda* is to be pronounced *'da*, and so on.

The description, since it specifically mentions nasalization in the case of prefixed *b* and *m*, must be taken to exclude any such element in the case of འ. At the same time, in practice, it will be found very difficult to pronounce this sound without some of the breath escaping through the nose and giving a nasal element to it, particularly if the monosyllable in which it occurs is in the middle, and not at the beginning of the sentence, and if care is taken to avoid introducing the glottal stop. This fact will be found of significance later.

To make the account complete, it should be added that ར may be attached as a prefix only to the following radicals: *kh, g, ch, j, th, d, ph, b, tsh, dz* (whether in their simple form or, where permissible, when compounded with subscript letters, e.g. *khy, khr*, etc.), but to no others.

So much for the grammatical theories of the early Tibetan grammarians themselves. For modern practice we have consulted H. A. Jäschke's *Tibetan Grammar* (London, Trübner and Co., 1883) and C. A. Bell's *Manual of Colloquial Tibetan* (Calcutta, Baptist Mission Press, 1905).

These bear out what has been stated above. According to Jäschke (section 4), the distinction between ར and ཨ as radicals, while it has disappeared in Western Tibet, is still strictly preserved in Eastern Tibet, so much so that in the case of ར and ར the effort to avoid the glottal stop produces a sound which resembles *wo* or *wu*, as the case may be. This information is repeated by Bell.

Jäschke says nothing of ར as a suffix. Bell (section 5) says " ར [as a suffix] is not itself pronounced but lengthens the sound of the vowel preceding it. No vowel except the indirect *a* precedes it, e.g. ནམ་མཁའ་ = *nam.khā* ".

According to both Jäschke (section 8) and Bell (sections 22 and 26) prefixed ར is normally not pronounced, but in some cases has a nasal value, particularly in compound expressions of which the first member ends in an open vowel, e.g. *dge.འདུན*, often pronounced *gen-dun*. In some cases, too, prefixed ར apparently alters the tone of the word.

To sum up the Tibetan evidence, therefore, the primary phonetic value of ར as a radical is the smooth vocalic ingress, as opposed to ཨ which represents the glottal stop or *hamza*. As a suffix it is a mere conventional scription with a reminiscence of its original function (also preserved when it is used in non-Tibetan words as a subscript) of lengthening the vowel. As a prefix it was originally probably a very short vowel, which has since disappeared, and in some cases it has a slight nasal value. This evidence seems to justify the usual

British system of transliterating འ as *h*, i.e. a silent *h* like the *h* in the French word *heure*, and ཨ as ' , the usual sign for *hamza*, as against the continental system of using ' for འ and leaving ཨ untransliterated.

(3) THE SINO-TIBETAN EVIDENCE

The texts which we have consulted in this part of our paper are the two texts of Chinese Buddhist works in Tibetan transcription published by Thomas and Clauson ("A Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Writing," *JRAS.*, 1926, p. 508 ff.; "A Second Chinese Buddhist Text in Tibetan Characters," *JRAS.*, 1927, p. 281 ff.) and the Chinese Buddhist text with interlinear Tibetan transcription published by Thomas, Miyamoto, and Clauson ("A Chinese Mahāyāna Catechism in Tibetan and Chinese Characters," *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 37 ff.). These texts were discovered at Tunhuang by Sir Aurel Stein and date presumably from about the eighth to tenth centuries. The second of them contains forms which seem to indicate that it is somewhat earlier than the other two.

As these texts date from so early a period they should contain valuable evidence regarding both Tibetan and Chinese phonetics, if used with proper discretion. Unfortunately, the value of this evidence is to some extent impaired by the fact that the Tibetan transcription is by no means systematic or scientific and in some cases frankly careless. This is very much to be regretted.

The rules of Tibetan orthography do not, of course, apply to these transcriptions. འ is the only letter employed as a prefix, and as such is prefixed to several letters to which it could not grammatically be prefixed in Tibetan. It is also used as a radical, but hardly ever as a suffix. It is, however, used comparatively frequently as the character bearing the second vowel of a diphthong (a usage also occurring in certain circumstances in Tibetan). ཨ is used freely as a radical, but as in Tibetan is never used internally in diphthongs.

In considering the question of Chinese phonetics we are

now fortunate in being able to consult the works of Professor Bernhard Karlgren. This scholar has pointed out in the Introduction (p. 20) to his *Analytic Dictionary of Chinese* (Paris, Geuthner, 1923) that in Ancient Chinese, i.e. the language of the sixth century A.D., precisely the same distinction as in Tibetan existed between the smooth vocalic ingress known to the Chinese themselves as 喻 *ü* and the glottal stop known to the Chinese as 影 *jing*, indicated by Karlgren by means of a raised dot placed before the vowel.

These two series are distinguished carefully by Karlgren in his *Analytic Dictionary*, and it is exceedingly interesting to find that in the overwhelming majority of cases the distinction between the use of ㄅ and ㄆ corresponds to Karlgren's conclusions regarding the phonetic value of the Chinese sign.

In the following tables the first column contains the Chinese character, the second the number of its group in Karlgren's *Dictionary*, the third the transcription of the character in the texts under review, the fourth the text (numbered I, II, or III as the case may be) or texts in which it occurs, and the fifth Karlgren's "Ancient Chinese" phonetic value.

Table I. Cases in which ㄅ represents a Glottal Stop in Ancient Chinese.

阿	414	'a, 'an	I	·á
		'a, 'an, 'ar	II	
惡	209	'ag	I, III	·ák
		h'ag (sic!)	II	
愛	3	'e, 'ih̄i	III	·ái
一	175	'i, 'ir	I, II, III	·iēt
意	203	'i	I, II, III	·i
於	1323	'i, 'u	I, II, III	·i ^{uo} , ·uo
依	185	'i	III	·ei
億	203	'ig	I	·iək
益	197	'ihu	III	·iāk
音	277	'im	II	·iəm
蔭	274	'im	III	·iəm

因	273	'in	II, III	·iēn
應	287	'in	I, II	·iəng
污	1317	'o	III	·uo
溫	1316	'on	III	·uən
畏	1310	'u	III	·uēi
溫	(1316)	'un	III	·uən
		hun (sic!)	III	

Total seventeen cases, of which one belongs also to Table IV ('un/hun).

Table II. Cases in which 𐑖 represents a Smooth Vocalic Ingress in Ancient Chinese.

藥	568	'ag	III	iak
免	1132	'en	III	iēt'
(? for 逸)				
又	249	'ihu	II	jīu
有	251	'ihu, 'ehu	I, II, III	jīu
由	253	'ihu	III	iū
引	271	'in	III	iən

Total six cases, of which one is uncertain ('en). It is perhaps significant that four others come from III, which is one of the later texts. There is also the possibility in these cases of a confusion between the very similar characters 𐑖 ' and 𐑖 y.

Table III. Cases in which 𐑖 represents a Smooth Vocalic Ingress in Ancient Chinese.

以	182	{ hi (ye, yi)	III I, II)	i
圍	1308	hu	I	j ^w ei
達	1308	hu	III	j ^w ei
爲	1313	hu	I, II, III	j ^w ei
謂	1309	hu	III	j ^w ei
云	291	{ hun (hu, hun	I, III I)	jīuən

Total six cases, of which two have alternative transcriptions.

Table IV. Case in which 𐌇 represents a Glottal Stop in Ancient Chinese.

𐌇 *hun* cf. 'un in Table I.

The form 向, 137, *hon*, III, *xiang* is totally irregular and possibly an error of transcription. Cases in which *h* is used medially to carry the second vowel of a diphthong are frequent. Examples are :—

照	1181	<i>cihu</i>	II	<i>t'siäu</i>
大	952	<i>dehi</i>	I	<i>d'ai</i>
		<i>de</i>	II, III	

The only examples which we have found in these texts of *h* as a suffix are such alternative readings as *hah* for *ha* 何, and *hgih* for *gi*, *hgi* 義, and the reading *hdah* for 那.

As stated above, *h* is the only character which is used as a prefix in these texts, and as such it is exceedingly common. As the value to be attributed to it in this position is a question of very great difficulty, we give below a list of all the words in which it occurs. The list is in rough alphabetical order, but the words are arranged in groups according to the phonetic value of the initial consonants in Ancient Chinese as shown in Karlgren's *Dictionary*. To facilitate discussion these groups are numbered.

1. 惡	209	<i>h'ag</i>	II	<i>·ák</i>
		<i>'ag</i>	I, III	
2. 煩	227	<i>hban</i>	II	<i>b'üvn</i>
善	756	<i>hbu</i>	II	<i>b'uo</i>
		<i>bu</i>	I, II	
復	54	<i>hbug</i>	I	<i>b'ük</i>
分	29	<i>hbun</i>	I	<i>b'üən</i>
		<i>pun, phun</i>	I, III	<i>p'üən</i>
佛	47	<i>hbur</i>	II	<i>b'üət</i>
		<i>bur</i>	I	
		<i>phur</i>	III	
比	714	<i>hbyi</i>	II	<i>b'ji</i>

3. 不	37	{ <i>hbu</i>	III	<i>puat</i>
		{ <i>pu, phu</i>	I, II	
弗	47	<i>hbur</i>	II	<i>piuat</i>
方	25	<i>hbvan</i>	II	<i>pi^wang</i>
4. 摩	593	<i>hba</i>	III	<i>ma</i>
	607	<i>hbe</i>	III	<i>muāi</i>
每	1295	<i>hban, hbun</i>	I	<i>mi^wan</i>
萬	1303	<i>hbar</i>	I	<i>mj^wei</i>
未	640	<i>hbu</i>	I, II	<i>miēu</i>
牟	1289	<i>hbu</i>	I, II, III	<i>miu</i>
無	1276	<i>hbu</i>	III	<i>miu</i>
无		{ <i>hbun, hbvun</i>	I, II	<i>miuən</i>
		{ <i>bun</i>	III	
聞	609			
妙	861	<i>hbyehi, hbyehu</i>	III	<i>miāu</i>
滅	621	<i>hbyer</i>	I, II	<i>miāt</i>
彌	13	<i>hbyi, myi</i>	II	<i>mjiē</i>
蜜	617	<i>hbyir</i>	III	<i>miēt</i>
5. 往	1298	<i>hbvan</i>	II	<i>ji^wang</i>
				<i>t' sⁱwo</i>
6. 諸	1187	{ <i>hcu</i>	II	
		{ (<i>ci, chi</i>	II	
		<i>cu</i>	III)	
7. 隨	1011	<i>hda</i>	II	<i>d'ā</i>
提	890	{ <i>hda, hde</i>	II	<i>d'iei</i>
		{ (<i>de, dehi</i>	I)	
達	956	<i>hdar</i>	II	<i>d'āt</i>
8. 納	654	<i>hdab</i>	III	<i>nāp</i>
	647	<i>hda^h</i>	I	<i>nā</i>
那		{ <i>hdan</i>	II	<i>nān</i>
難	651	{ <i>hnan</i>	III	
泥	659	<i>hde</i>	III	<i>niei</i>
惱	653	{ <i>hde^h</i>	II	<i>nāu</i>
		{ <i>hde</i>	III	
涅	663	<i>hder</i>	III	<i>niet</i>
尼	659	{ <i>hdi</i>	I	<i>nji</i>
		{ <i>hji</i>	II	
能	656	<i>hdiⁿ</i>	I	<i>nang</i>

		<i>hheñ, hneñ, hñiñ</i>	II	
		<i>do</i> (sic !), <i>nñ</i>	III	
暖	1343	<i>hdvan</i>	III	<i>nuán</i>
內	654	<i>hdve</i>	III	<i>nuái</i>
9. 就	252	<i>{hdzi^hhu</i>	II	<i>dz'iz^u</i>
		<i>{dzi^hhu</i>	I	
10. 我	679	<i>{hga</i>	II, III	<i>nga</i>
		<i>{hgah</i>	I	
礙	205	<i>{hge</i>	III	<i>ngái</i>
		<i>{hgi</i>	II	
業	229	<i>hgeb</i>	I, II	<i>ngi^up</i>
硬	316	<i>hgehu</i>	III	<i>ngung</i>
嚴	248	<i>hgem</i>	I, II	<i>ngi^um</i>
言	234	<i>hgen</i>	I, II, III	<i>ngi^un</i>
眼	312	<i>{hgen</i>	I, III	<i>ngan</i>
		<i>{hgvan</i>	III	
義	204	<i>{hgi</i>	III	<i>ngjié</i>
		<i>{hgi^h</i>	I	
		<i>{gi</i>	II	
議	204	<i>hgi</i>	I	<i>ngjié</i>
語	1281	<i>{hgi</i>	II	<i>ngi^uo</i>
		<i>{hgu</i>	III	
逆	660	<i>hgig</i>	I, III	<i>ngi^uvk</i>
疑	205	<i>hgi^h</i>	I	<i>ngji</i>
五	1280	<i>hgo</i>	II, III	<i>nguo</i>
悟	1281	<i>hgo</i>	III	<i>nguo</i>
愚	1325	<i>hgu</i>	III	<i>ngi^u</i>
願	1344	<i>{hgvan</i>	II	<i>ngi^uon</i>
		<i>{wen</i>	II	
月	1347	<i>hgvar</i>	II	<i>ngi^unt</i>
外	775	<i>hgve</i>	III	<i>nguái</i>
11. 而	10	<i>hgyar</i>	III	<i>ńzi</i>
12. 發	17	<i>{hhad</i>	II	<i>pi^unt</i>
		<i>{hphad</i>	II	
		<i>{hphar</i>	III	
		<i>{phar</i>	III	

13. 行	156	$\begin{cases} \underline{h}he \\ heñ \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{II} \\ \text{III} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \gamma\text{ong} \\ \gamma\text{ang} \end{cases}$
降	351	$\underline{h}heñ$	I	kang, yang
14. 女	675	$\underline{h}ji$	I, II	n ^w o
15. 丘	406	$\underline{h}khye\text{hu}$	II	k'ieu
		$\begin{cases} \underline{h}meg \\ \underline{h}yag \\ meg, myag \\ yag \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{I} \\ \text{I} \\ \text{I, II} \\ \text{I} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \\ \\ \\ mog \end{cases}$
16. 藐	605			
17. 乃	648	$\underline{h}ne\text{hi}$	I	nái
		$\begin{cases} \underline{h}nog \\ nog \\ log \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{I} \\ \text{I, II} \\ \text{II} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} n\dot{a}u \\ \\ \end{cases}$
18. 補	49	$\underline{h}phu$	II	puo
覆	54	$\begin{cases} \underline{h}phu \\ phu \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{II} \\ \text{III} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} p'iuk \\ \\ \end{cases}$
非	27	$\begin{cases} \underline{h}phyi \\ phyi \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{II} \\ \text{I, II, III} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} p\dot{j}^w\text{ei} \\ \\ \end{cases}$
19. 莊	1264	$\begin{cases} \underline{h}tsa \\ tsang, tshang \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{I} \\ \text{I, II} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} t\dot{s}iang \\ \\ \end{cases}$
20. 王	1298	$\begin{cases} \underline{h}wan \\ wan \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} \text{II} \\ \text{II} \end{cases}$	$\begin{cases} j\dot{i}^w\text{ang} \\ \\ \end{cases}$

A superficial examination of this list shows that the groups fall into two classes: (1) those in which the prefixed \underline{h} - has no apparent influence on the pronunciation of the radical; (2) those in which the prefixed \underline{h} - nasalizes the radical.

It will be noticed that in a number of cases two parallel transcriptions occur, one with an initial \underline{h} - and one without it. Of these cases, as might have been expected, the great majority fall in the first class.

The groups belonging to the second or nasalizing class, Nos. 4, 8, 10, 11, and 14, are among the largest in the list, and between them form an overwhelming body of evidence in favour of the nasal value of 𑍈 as a prefix in certain cases.

It is significant that although the letter \dot{n} is used fairly frequently as a final, the initial guttural nasal denoted with

ng- by Karlgren is invariably represented by *hg-*, initial *n*-being unknown in these texts.

The exact value of prefixed *h* in the cases falling in class 1 remains a mystery to us. That it had some value seems to be proved by the fact that it was used with such freedom; on the other hand, that that value was a very slight one seems equally to be proved by the number of cases in which alternative forms *+h-* occur. We have considered whether any question of tones is involved, but there does not seem to be any evidence to show that this is the case, and all things considered we are disposed to think that the most reasonable hypothesis is that in these texts, as in Tibetan, initial *h-*, when no question of nasalization is involved, represents a very short initial vowel.

To sum up, the evidence of the Sino-Tibetan texts confirms the purely Tibetan evidence of the phonetic value of ར.

(4) THE ཨPHAGS-PA EVIDENCE

There is a gap of several centuries between the Sino-Tibetan texts discussed above and those in the ཨPhags-pa alphabet. This alphabet was invented by the famous Tibetan divine ཨPhags-pa in compliance with the orders of the Mongol Emperor Kubilai, to form an official alphabet for the transcription both of Mongol and Chinese, and was introduced by imperial decree in A.D. 1269. Its use was never popular and few specimens of it now survive, but these include a copy of what was no doubt the official alphabet in its proper order, together with the phonetic values of the various letters represented by Chinese characters.

From this alphabet it appears that the first thirty letters of the alphabet were simply the letters of the Tibetan alphabet in their proper order ending with ཨ *a*. There follow four new letters, composed of horizontal lines with the vowel signs for *i*, *u*, *e* (closed *e*), and *o* attached. These letters are apparently inventions of ཨPhags-pa's, possibly under the influence of the mediæval Indian alphabets with which he was probably familiar.

Next follow four letters representing (1) apparently the Chinese sound represented by *hs* in the Wade alphabet, (2) χ , (3) *hw* or, possibly, *f*, (4) γ . The last three letters are not independent letters at all, but are the vowel sign for *e* (open *e*, distinguished in this alphabet from closed *e*) and the subscript signs for *v* and *y*.

In imitation, no doubt, of Chinese the alphabet is written not horizontally but vertically in columns running from left to right.

The method of writing is strictly syllabic not only in Chinese where, the language being monosyllabic, it might have been expected, but also in Mongol. The letters of each syllable are joined to one another, while a gap is left between each syllable even when two or more form a single word.

While, as stated above, the alphabet was designed primarily for Mongol and Chinese, there also exists in the great hexaglott inscription of Chü Yung Kuan a transcription in this alphabet of a Sanskrit *dhāraṇī*.

It is interesting to find that in this text the letter ར is used in the same way as in Tibetan to represent long vowels, but, the method of writing being vertical, the vowel sign, when the vowel is other than *ā*, is written below the ར and not above the radical; for instance, *śrī*, which in Tibetan would be ཨྲི, is written ཨྲི.

This convention in writing long vowels has puzzled some earlier scholars who dealt with the Mongol *hPhags-pa* inscriptions without considering the evidence afforded by this *dhāraṇī*, and did not realize that long and short vowels were distinguished in these inscriptions. It is, however, the case that a number of long vowels are so represented in the Mongol inscriptions, in such words as *γān* "Khan", *ulā* "post-horse", etc.

Apart from its use as a subscript letter, ར is also used at the beginning of syllables, and the question naturally arises whether there is any difference of phonetic value between

𐠝 and 𐠜. After carefully considering the evidence, we are definitely of the opinion that there is no such distinction and that both characters alike represent a smooth vocalic ingress. This is exactly what might have been expected, since, as far as we are aware, it has never been suggested that the glottal stop exists in Mongol side by side with the smooth vocalic ingress, while it is commonly held by Chinese scholars that this sound had disappeared in Chinese before the thirteenth century.

The actual use of the two characters differs in the two languages.

In the Mongol inscriptions 𐠜 is used only at the beginning of words, and never at the beginning of medial syllables. At the beginning of words the special characters referred to above are used for *e-*, *i-*, *o-*, and *u-*. 𐠜 is, of course, used for *a-*, and also, in conjunction with the vowel sign *ε*, for *ō-* and *ū*, which are written *εo-* and *εu-*. For some reason which is unknown to us, perhaps to indicate that it is a loan-word, the word *ertini* or *erdini* "jewel" (Sanskrit *ratna*) is written 𐠜ertini or 𐠜erdini, although all other words beginning with *e-* are written with the special initial character for that sign.

𐠝 is very rare as an initial. It is, in fact, so far as we are aware, only so used on five occasions:—

(1) *ham mew* (Inscription of A.D. 1314, l. 16) "convent", a Chinese loan-word.

(2) *hihēn* (Inscription of A.D. 1314, l. 2) "help", which appears in the form *ihshen* in the Chū Yung Kuan Inscription, East Side, l. 1.

(3) *hügəhu* (C.Y.K., East Side, l. 1), a word of uncertain meaning, perhaps equivalent to or connected with the Classical Mongol word *ügei* "not having", which appears elsewhere in this inscription in the form *ügee*.

(4) *hugulegsen* (C.Y.K., West Side, l. 7), probably derived from the Classical Mongol *ügüle-* "to speak, say, mention".

(5) *hirgenε* (Inscription of A.D. 1321, l. 4) "to the people", Classical *irgen-e*.

On the other hand, it is exceedingly common at the beginning of medial syllables, where a syllable ending in a vowel is followed by one beginning with a vowel, e.g. *arihue* "pure", *ajuhue* "he was", *boluhad* "having been", and many other examples.

In the Chinese inscriptions the practice is somewhat different.

In the first place, the special initial letters *e*-, *i*-, *o*-, *u*- appear not to be used, and in the second place there is, of course, no question of medial syllables. Both ཨ and ར, therefore, are used exclusively as initials. ཨ is used—

(1) To represent *a* in the word 阿 *a*.

(2) In conjunction with the vowel sign for *u* to represent *u*- in such words as: 外, 爲, 位, 謂, 衛, 魏, 韋, 隗, 蔚, all represented by *ue*, modern pronunciation, according to Karlgren, *uei* or *uai*.

(3) In conjunction with the vowel signs for *ε* + *u* to represent *ū*- in such words as: 獄, 雨, 宇, 禹, 虞, 御, 喻, 于, 余, 魚, *ū*, modern pronunciation *ü*, and 永 *ün*, modern pronunciation *yung*.

(4) In conjunction with the subscript sign for *v* to represent *yü*- in such words as: 元, 員, 原, 源, 表, 阮, 'ven, modern pronunciation *üan*; 月, 越, 've, modern pronunciation *üe*; and to represent *w*- in such words as: 王, 往, 'van, modern pronunciation *wang*.

ར, on the other hand, is used—

(1) To represent *a*- in such words as: 安 *han*, mod. pron. *an*; 敖 *haw*, mod. pron. *au*; and 惡 *haw*, mod. pron. *o*.

(2) In conjunction with the appropriate vowel signs as the initial of the following words:—

焉 *hen* (also *yen*), mod. pron. *ien*.

約 *hew*, mod. pron. *üe* or *iau*.

邑, 依, 意, 懿, *hi*, mod. pron. *i*.

陰, 麼, 飲, *him*, 殷, 印, *hin*, mod. pron. *yin*.

應, 英, *hin*, mod. pron. *ying*.

歐 *hiw*, mod. pron. *ou*.

於 *hu*, *hü*, mod. pron. *u* or *ü*.

蔚 *hue*, mod. pron. *uei* or *ü*.

郁 *hü*, mod. pron. *ü*.

雍 *hün*, mod. pron. *iung*.

This list does not disclose any logical allocation of the two signs to distinct phonetic usages. ཨ is not used as the initial of any words beginning with vowels for which separate initial forms are provided. On the other hand, those separate initial forms themselves are not used. ར is used with all the vowels. It will be observed that even in this short list there is one word, 蔚, which is spelt both with initial ཨ and initial ར, while another word, 焉, is spelt both with initial ར and initial *y*. With more material it seems reasonably clear that it would be proved even more conclusively that in the *hPhags-pa* alphabet the difference between ཨ and ར is simply one of artificial convention and not of phonetic value, apart from the usage of ར to indicate long vowels.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMUNICATIONS

FARAH-NĀMA-I-JAMĀLĪ

Only one copy of the *Farah* (or *Farrukh*) *nāma-i-Jamālī* was so far known in Or. 30 in the library of the British Museum. It is slightly incomplete at the end, as described by C. Rieu, in his Catalogue of the Persian Manuscripts, vol. ii, pp. 465-6.¹ Not long ago, Dr. Casey A. Wood, the well-known ornithologist, a professor of Stanford University, while on a tour in Kashmir, acquired another copy of this rare work, bound in one volume with the *Nuzhat-nāma-i-'Alā'ī*, and a fragment of another work in the same style. The copy contains numerous illustrations, and is almost complete, except for one short lacuna. It is dated the 4th Muḥarram, A.H. 899, i.e. the 15th October, 1493.

This transcript not only contains the last two chapters, missing in the British Museum copy, but also gives very interesting variants to the latter, in the passages relating to the date and the place of its composition.

Although Rieu in his Catalogue preferred to read the title of the work as *Farah-nāma*, following the statement of Ḥājji Khalifa (No. 9011), both copies give it in the form of *Farrukh-nāma*. The work was intended by its author to be a supplement to the famous *Nuzhat-nāma-i-'Alā'ī*, by Shāhmardān b. Abī'l-khayr,² who dedicated it to

¹ A Vienna MS. (No. 1449 in Flügel's Catalogue) contains some extracts from this work.

² The oldest and the only complete copy of this work (dated 703-1304) belongs to the Bodleian library (H. Ethé's Catalogue, No. 1480); the Gotha copy (W. Pertsch's Catalogue, No. 10) dates from about the beginning of the fifteenth century. It is a good, well-preserved, and clearly written MS., with archaic orthography. Dr. Casey Wood's MS. (now in McGill University library, Montreal) is dated Rab. I 807, Sept., 1404, ends at the fourth *maqāla* of the second *qism*, and is illustrated. The copy of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta (see my Catalogue of the old *Persian* collection, 1924, No. 1358), dates from the end of the seventeenth century, and contains only extracts and summaries of different portions of the work. The Vienna copy mentioned in Flügel's Catalogue, No. 1449, contains only a short extract.

the prince of the Banū Kākūya dynasty, 'Alā'u'd-dawla Abū Kālinjār Garshāsp b. 'Alī b. Farāmurz (who ruled from A.H. 488 to 513, or A.D. 1095-1119).

In catalogues both works are classed as encyclopaedias of "useful" or of "natural" sciences. This is misleading. The *Nuzhat-nāma* and its supplement constitute a grand *encyclopaedia of superstition* in mediaeval Persia, and generally in the mediaeval Islamic world. They give an invaluable compendium of all possible superstitions, connected with every form of the organic and inorganic world, numbers, forms of divination, dreams, and some crafts. Very often scarcely disguised survivals of pre-Muhammadan popular beliefs in Persia seem to be found. A student of Persian folklore may regard these two works as precious documents, especially in view of their strikingly unrestricted spirit, which appears quite emancipated from all the bonds of orthodox Muhammadan prejudice. The authors of the later encyclopaedias, such as *Nafā'isu'l-funūn*, the books of Mustawfī Qazwīnī, Damīrī, etc., show more critical and scientific tastes, and their works differ from the present compendium in their spirit.

Instead of the date of composition, given in Or. 30 as Ramaḍān 580 (December, 1184), or the earlier date, 560-1163, given by Ḥājjī Khalifa, the present copy has the month of Rabī'u'th-thānī 597 (January, 1201). The author, who was then less than 20 years old (in Or. 30 only 18), calls himself Abū Bakr ibn al-Muḥḥir (in Or. 30 Abū Bakr al-Muṭahhar) b. Muḥammad b. Abī'l-Qāsim b. Abī Sa'd (in Or. 30 Sa'id) al-Jamāl¹ al-Yazdī (the *nisba* al-Jamālī is not found here). The place of composition is called the village (*qurya*) Mālīḥ (Or. 30 Māyakh) in the district (*nāḥiya*) Bawān, or Bawwān (Or. 30 Tūn), in the province (*kūra*) of Iṣṭakhr (written thus in both copies, probably because it was so pronounced, i.e. Iṣṭakhr). There is no district in the province

¹ Probably instead of Jamālu 'd-dīn.

of Iṣṭakhr called Tūn (which is the name of a well-known town in Khorasan), and the reading Bawwān should be preferred. Two districts with this name are mentioned in the works of the author's contemporaries, Yāqūt (i, 751-4), and Ibn al-Balkhī (*JRAS.*, 1912, pp. 25 and 338-9, in G. Le Strange's translation).¹ One is in the *kūra* of Khūra Shāpūr, and therefore out of the question. The other (which is usually mentioned together with Marwāst, which still exists)² is most probably identical with the present *bulūk* of Bawānāt, some 50 miles north-east from Iṣṭakhr, on the way to Yazd, with which it is connected by easier roads than with Shiraz. As Yazd often formed a part of Fārs in old days, and is still so regarded by the local inhabitants, the *nisba* of the author, Yazdī, might possibly favour the identification of his district with Bawānāt, which could be regarded as a dependency of Yazd. Very few authors use the *nisba* derived from their real birthplace, but usually call themselves after the province to which their little known village belongs.

The name of the village Māliḥ is an obvious mistake. For Māyakh there are possible alternative readings, Mānj, Mānkh, etc. It is very interesting that the *Fārs-nāma-i-Nāṣirī* (p. 181) mentions in the *bulūk* of Bawānāt the village Munj, probably the same as Mung of the map of the Survey of India (1915). Mānj and Munj sound alike in pronunciation; thus it may be possible that the name of that village is still preserved.

The headings of the two chapters (*maqāla*) missing in Or. 30, are: the 15th on prayers to different planets, and the 16th on burning the incense for the propitiation of the

¹ The *Nuzhatu'l-qulūb*, composed more than a century later, may be added (see the translation, Gibb Mem. Series, p. 121).

² Cf. the *Fārs-nāma-i-Nāṣirī*, p. 301, and the Indian Survey Map mentioned above. At present the *bulūk* is much decayed and depopulated. In autumn, 1928, I was assured at Shiraz that almost all its villages were ruined or abandoned.

planets given by those praying for their aid.¹ It may be added that a collation with the *Nuzhat-nāma* shows that these chapters, as well as the 14th, are merely an abbreviation of the corresponding parts of that book (second *maqāla* of the second *qism*), to which nothing new is added.

These concluding chapters even in their headings reveal the freedom with which the authors treat the prejudices of Islamism. It is strange to read in a book by a Muhammadian these detailed prescriptions as to the figures which should be drawn (or engraved) on special rings, special dress, the incense and pose used in a prayer to a planet. It is difficult to believe that all these details are an invention of the professional magicians, and not survivals of the popular religion. The figures of planets, or rather of deities with which they were associated, seem to be inspired by some pictorial or sculptural representations. For instance, Zuhra, i.e. Venus, or Nāhīd (Anahita, Anaitis) in Persian, has three images:—

1. A woman, in a standing position, holding an apple in her hand.

2. A woman with two plaits, and with two children in her lap.

3. A naked woman wearing a chain (or necklace, *silsila*) on her neck (cf. the figure of Anahita in *Yasht*, v., 126, where the necklace is also mentioned). At her side is Murrikh (i.e. Mars, with whom she is usually associated, forming a "divine pair"), and in front of her there is a child holding a sword on the shoulder (Mustawfī Qazwīnī, in his '*Ajā'ibu 'l-makhlūqāt*', gives the same picture).

It would be perhaps useful to give here also the description of two other representations of Zuhra, which are given in a fragment of a work of the same type as the *Nuzhat-*

¹ مقالات بازدم ذکر ادعیه کواکب. مقالات شانزدهم در دخنه ورزی حاجت خواه. In the *Nuzhat-nāma*, where the heading is the same, the expression is used: در دخنه ورزی حاجت خواه.

nāma, by Ibrāhīm b. 'Abdī 'l-Jabbār al-Kātib al-Baghdādī, of whom apparently nothing is known. He wrote not later than the end of the fifteenth century, from which the manuscript dates. The figures are :—

4. A woman, riding a camel (or horse ?—*bar ushturī nishasta*, but this may be the scribe's mistake for the original *sutūr*), and playing a lute (*barbat*) leaning against her breast.

5. A woman, in a sitting position, with plaits which she holds in her left hand. She looks into a mirror which she holds in her right hand.

One cannot expect such minute details to be taken from engravings on seals only. It is interesting to mention the rites at which such rings were used. He who wore a copper ring, with or without a piece of lapis lazuli or turquoise set in, engraved with one of the above images, having special letters also on it, had to wear a fine garment made of coloured and painted cloth (with *naqsh wa šūrat*, i.e. perhaps some special paintings). He had also to wear a cap (*tāj*), and to be adorned with as many jewels and ornaments as possible. He had to be perfumed with scents such as that of the *ispargham* grass, etc. He had to behave (?) in the manner of women (*bar zī-i-zanān bar āyad*, i.e. probably imitating their dress and movements). Some special hours when the conjunctions of constellations are propitious for these rites are prescribed. The incense (*dakhna*) had to be prepared according to the special prescriptions given in detail. "When the smoke goes up he must say : O spiritualities of *Zuhrā* !" (meaningless expressions, apparently corrupted beyond recognition follow)—*yā rauḥāniyyāt-i-Zuhrā*. There is not the slightest allusion in this ceremony to any Muhammadan rites or *du'ā* expressions.

The rites of the prayers to the Sun, Moon, and other luminaries are similarly described here.

The diction of the *Farah-nāma* is remarkably simple and unpretentious, perhaps even "rustic", although it does not seem so archaic as that of the *Nuzhat-nāma*. There are

apparently no clear traces of any definite dialect, but here and there local words may be found. For instance in the *Nuzhat-nāma* in some copies (e.g. that belonging to Dr. Casey Wood and to the Asiatic Society of Bengal) the well-known word *khurūs* "cock" is consistently written as *khurūh*, so that it seems probable that this form was used in the original. The *Farah-nāma* has everywhere the usual form *khurūs*. Again, in the *Nuzhat-nāma* there are found occasionally strange forms as *mānda'ī wa khasta'ī* (مانده و خسته) instead of the usual *māndagī wa khastagī*; also *bi-jummadh* = *bi-junbad*, etc. In the *Farah-nāma* such forms are not found, at least in the present copy.

It is interesting that the author of the *Farah-nāma* devotes a special chapter (the third *faṣl* of the tenth *maqāla*) to an alphabetic list of some "Pehlevi" terms, although there are apparently no such matters dealt with in the *Nuzhat-nāma*. The list is fairly long, six large pages, but there are practically no terms which are not known in the Persian dictionaries. Only on one occasion the author adds to the word *angashba* (or *angashpa*) which means a peasant (*barzīgar*) a remark that this word belongs to the "language of Marw" (*ba-zabān-i-Marw ast*, or is it *ba zabān-i-Marwāst*?). Other "Pehlevi" terms, although all undoubtedly belonging to different local dialects, have no such remarks with them. It is difficult to find whether they all, or some of them, belonged to the local dialect which was the author's mother tongue. At present, as far as I could ascertain in Shiraz in the autumn of 1928, no special dialect was spoken at Bawānāt; the local language differed from that of the bazars of Shiraz only in some slight peculiarities in accent. It may be noted here that the rare verb *khajīdan*, to try, to strive, is here given (as in some dictionaries) in the form of *khakhīdan*, and even the negative form of the imperative mood is mentioned: *makh* (= *magūsh*).

W. IVANOW.

A FURTHER NOTE ON BĀRĀ F¹-SĀ

In a recent number of this *Journal* (1929, pp. 581-3) the writer suggested a Tibetan connexion of the second member (f¹-sā) of this name. It has since appeared that bārā also may go back to a similar source.

In Mikir the pronunciation of bārā is pārōk "Kachari, foreigner", while in Tipurā borōk occurs independently and carries now simply the sense of "man".¹

The preservation of the final (k) here gives us the needed clue, and probably indicates basic identity with Tibetan *hbrog* "wild country, uncultivated steppes", *hbrog-pa* "inhabitants of the steppes, the nomadic Tibetans". Bārā f¹-sā should probably, in consequence, be reconstructed into **hbrog bu-tsa* "descendants (sons) of the steppes".

The lack of final in the Bodo word is in complete keeping with its consistent rejection of k (g) in such position.² The preservation of the initial (b) here, while in *bu-tsa* it has become f, is perhaps interlinked with the presence of prefixed ʔ in the Tibetan original which has possibly conditioned also the case of Bodo bīr, Tibetan *h̄pur-ba*³ (perf. *phur*) "to fly", but the cause of the varying change is not yet clear, and altogether too little is yet known of the sound changes of this area to admit of any but the most tentative explanations.

¹ See Stack and Lyall, *The Mikirs*, p. 23, and G. D. Walker, *A Dictionary of the Mikir Language*, p. 124. The Tipurā form is variously given. Anderson, *A Short List of Words of the Hill Tippera Language* (Shillong, 1885) has *barag* on p. 10, while in the *LSI.*, iii, 2, p. 1, we have *bārā(k)* (there spelt "*bārā(k)*"). In the Dacca dialect of Tipurā it is *borok* (op. cit., p. 149).

² As in Bodo *dā*, *rā* six, *Gārō dok*, Tibetan *drug*; *nā* "house", *Gārō nok*; *nu* "to see", *Gārō nik*; *sā* classifier before numerals when used with human beings, *Gārō sāk*.

³ Tibetan also has *h̄pyur-ba* "to mount", "to rise up", *h̄bur-ba* "to rise up", "to sprout up", "to spring up". Cf. also 飛 Anc. *ph̄e* "to fly". For the i : u vowel relationship, see the former note on this name, p. 582.

The reconstructed name, as a whole, is of interest as indicating the persistence of a tradition of the tribe's original affiliation for at least some time after its arrival in Assam, and also in its close approach in sense to Tibetan *hbrog mi* "people of the steppes", as applied to their own nomadic element.

STUART N. WOLFENDEN.

A CORRECTION

Dr. Ruben has written to point out that I have done him an injustice in saying in the review of his book, *Die Nyāya-sūtra's*, that the term *sāmānyato dṛṣṭam* is not in the indexes. This I much regret, as it is given in the Glossar, p. 257, with a cross-reference under *dṛṣṭa* on p. 235. Perhaps I may be allowed to explain how the mistake arose. There are no less than four indexes, and preceding them is a Glossar. Index No. 1, like the Glossar, contains technical terms, but only "so weit die Stellen nicht durch das Glossar zu finden sind". But it is not enough to find the word, or to find it absent, in one index. Many occur in both, with different references in each, so that two indexes must always be consulted. There are certainly pitfalls in the multiplication of indexes.

E. J. THOMAS.

BUDDHIST LOGIC BEFORE DĪNNĀGA

Owing to distance from England I was not supplied with proofs of my article, in which, consequently, there are a few misprints and mistakes.

p. 451, l. 3: read Giuseppe.

p. 454: The *Yogācārya-bhūmi-śāstra* has been proved by Ui to be by Maitreya: *Studies in Indian Philosophy* (in Japanese), i, p. 359, and *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Band 6,

Heft 2. So, while at first Asaṅga followed his *guru's* views, he then altered his opinions.

p. 453, l. 2: The second Chinese character should be 揚.

ibid., l. 4: The fourth Chinese character should be 毗;
so also in l. 8.

p. 458, l. 23: under item (a): *gtoñ.ba*.

p. 459, under item (9): *siddha-sādhya*: corr. "when the *probandum* is already proved."

p. 461, l. 15: under (1): *dam.bca'..ba*.

p. 464, l. 24: *t'ag.rin.ba*.

p. 466, l. 10: The Chinese character must be read after
"conventional assumption."

p. 479: Even this definition of the *dyṣtānta* is in Uddyotakara;
see my article on the "Vāda-vidhi," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, vol. iv, p. 634.

p. 484, ll. 26-7: *t'al.bar*.

Instead of K'uei Chi and Shên T'ai read K'uei-chi, Shên-t'ai.

G. TUCCI.

OBITUARY

Mark Lidzbarski

By the death of Mark Lidzbarski Semitic scholarship has lost one of its most eminent representatives. Born in 1868, he was educated at Göttingen ; and he was holding the post of Professor of Oriental Philology at that university when he passed away, 13th November of last year. Little is recorded of his early life : *Wer ist's*, the German equivalent of our *Who's Who*, is scanty in the extreme. But there was recently published an anonymous book, subsequently known to be his own story of his early struggles as a Polish Jew. *Auf rauhem Wege : Jugenderinnerungen eines deutschen Professors* (Giessen), is a strikingly human document, and reveals to us the hard-working youth striving against endless difficulties, and winning his way through all.

To the world he was the man whose *Handbuch der Nordsemitischen Epigraphik* (Weimar, 1898) brought order into the mass of miscellaneous inscriptions and the ever-growing bibliography. It filled a gap in Semitic scholarship, and the critical study of Semitic epigraphy dates from that admirable work, which consisted of a handbook (of over 500 pages) and a volume of plates. The publication placed Lidzbarski in the first rank of Semitic experts ; and from that date onwards he continued to pour out invaluable contributions to Semitic epigraphy, mainly in his *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik*. Here he summarized, with critical remarks, new inscriptions and articles, writing also some veritable monographs (e.g. on the Elephantine papyri) and a number of important essays (e.g. the alphabet, Semitic abbreviated and pet names, Baal-Shamaim, etc.). He surveyed both North and South Semitic epigraphy, and Greek and Latin inscriptions of Syria and Palestine ; and the series with its complete indexes has been indispensable. Vols. i and ii covered the years 1900-2, 1903-7, and the last heft of vol. iii appeared at the close of

1915. Whether Lidzbarski had prepared any further volumes I do not know. A series of *Altsemitische Texte* with brief notes, was also projected, but of this only the first section appeared (in 1907) on Canaanite Inscriptions (i.e. Moabite, Old Hebrew, Phoenician, and Punic).

Apart from a catalogue of the Neo-Syriac MSS. in Berlin (1896) and a Neo-Syriac version of the much-travelled story of Aḥikar (1894-5), Lidzbarski's other great achievements have been in Mandaic. Here he published much needed editions of the *Book of John* (text, 1905; translation and commentary, 1915) and of the *Ginza Rabba* (1925). It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of these for the study of that ancient South Babylonian sect known as the Mandaeans (or very inappropriately as St. John's Christians). A new interest is being taken in the origin, or rather the origins, of their remarkable religion; and it is keenly debated whether it may not go back to the age of the rise of Christianity, if indeed it does not illuminate part at least of the environment in which Christianity grew up. The attitude of the Mandaean religion to John the Baptist and Jesus, its knowledge of the Old Testament, and the archaic flavour that distinguishes both the religious literature and the Aramaic dialect in which it is written, have given rise to conflicting though confident opinions. Lidzbarski, for his part, has no hesitation in ascribing the ultimate origin of the Mandaean religion to some heterodox Jewish sect which practised rites of baptism on the Jordan. For an opposing view it may suffice to refer to Dr. F. C. Burkitt in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxix, pp. 225 sqq., who points out that the original Mandaeans may have used the Syriac translation of the Old Testament, and that it is an Anti-Nicene Christianity which is attacked.

Accordingly the question whether the Mandaean literature is a key to the mysteries of early Christian development receives very different answers, and in this Notice of the death of Mark Lidzbarski I am concerned merely to remark

that Lidzbarski's field of study gave him an authority few could claim. Quite apart from the *literary* evidence for the rise of Christianity, and its sects and heresies, a considerable amount of miscellaneous evidence of direct and indirect value is afforded by the archaeology and epigraphy of Syria and Palestine. These throw an unexpected light upon the background or environment of Judaism and Christianity; and such is the variety of religious belief and cult from Edessa to Petra that our literary sources give us a quite inadequate conception of the ebb and flow of religion and theology at a period which was essentially that of the revival of the old Oriental world.

Lidzbarski had a first-hand knowledge of the contemporary material—and of the epigraphical rather than the archaeological—and while I am not concerned to ask whether his views were erroneous or exaggerated, there is no doubt that he has made permanent contributions in his epigraphical and Mandaitic work, and has opened our eyes to the wealth of material which the epigraphy and archaeology of Syria and Palestine can supply to our knowledge of a period of the first interest to Jews and Christians alike.

It remains to say that unfortunately I can speak little from my personal knowledge of Lidzbarski. My own modest little *Glossary of Aramaic Inscriptions* appeared in the same year as his great Handbuch; and when I met him for the first and only time, in one of his visits to England, shortly after, I was impressed by his overflowing good-nature and energy. We corresponded spasmodically on friendly terms, and he was always ready to answer queries and lend his invaluable aid in deciphering and explaining new and difficult inscriptions. It is much to be hoped that there will be found a successor or successors who will carry on the epigraphical labours which placed us in his debt. I close this note with the Palmyrene salutation:

לברך שמה לעלמא

S. A. C.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

OXFORD EDITIONS OF CUNEIFORM TEXTS. Vol. VI: BABYLONIAN PENITENTIAL PSALMS. By S. LANGDON, M.A.

The time was certainly ripe for a book devoted to the prayers prescribed by the Babylonian religion for the use of sick and suffering men who attributed their ills to the wrath of gods neglected or estranged, and sought by confession and ritual observances to be readmitted to favour. Many additions have been made to this kind of literature, and knowledge has advanced, since the publication of Zimmern's *Busspsalmen* in 1885. It has therefore been the author's aim to collect all these prayers and to furnish them with an introduction, translation, and commentary; but the volume contains more than this. A number of other, mostly fragmentary, texts are added, in copy only, and the book ends with the important new fragments of the Creation Epic found at Kish in recent years. It thus provides the materials for a rich, if rather varied, feast.

The introduction is mainly devoted to tracing the history of the two principal designations of these prayers, *er-šag-hun-ga* and *šu-il-la*. It appears that neither of these terms is early, and that the compositions which they denote, so far as they can be found at all in the early Sumerian, when it began to be written down under the kings of Isin and Larsa, are not used as private prayers. Indeed the latter phrase is always associated with prayers in Akkadian, not Sumerian at all, and it has recently been suggested that philological tests may establish the date of composition of these Akkadian prayers about the end of the Kassite period. That certain Sumerian prayers are called *šu-il-la* in the Assyrian list of religious works only shows that the late scribes classified according to the categories used in their own times.

What opinion may be formed of the literary value of these texts must depend, for all but the specialist, on the translation

read. Together with much that is repulsively superstitious in thought there sometimes goes a language of surprising nobility. That he has not always caught either of these traits sharply enough must be the principal criticism of Professor Langdon's versions, since a detailed mention here of all points of possible difference would take far too long. A better instance of this could hardly be found than in the constant refrain *šag-zu šag-ama-tu-ud-da-gim*, etc., which is translated "may thy heart like the heart of a child-bearing mother return to its place", which certainly does not convey much to us, until it is observed that the image is strictly physical; the god's inward parts (in particular, his liver as the seat of feeling) are considered as deranged by anger against the suppliant, who thus prays that the god may again feel inward relief, as the mother when delivered of the child. Precisely the same conception is present in the lines 8-13 on page 2, where also the translation does not convey the full meaning. Again there is a notable instance of a superficial, indeed a wrong, rendering on pp. 40, 41, in the lines 32-35 and 46, 47; the sufferer confesses, "I have eaten unwittingly what is abominable to my god, I have trodden unwittingly upon what is loathsome to my goddess". The idea is grossly material; the suppliant's presence is offensive to the god's senses. But the author's versions give no hint of this. Other instances of insufficiently strict translation could be found—p. 4, line 5, "he seeks thy place, he seeks elsewhere," not "everywhere"; p. 27 Rm. 97, 16, the text is fragmentary but the translation given can hardly be right. Some timely end must be devised for the supposed deity Maḥunga on p. 55, line 13, in whom even his creator (see note 3) can hardly believe; we need not doubt that Ebeling's copy should be restored and emended [*er*]-*šag*(!)-*hūn-ga*, etc.; p. 43, lines 35, 36, "cast not away thy servant," line 43, "great are my transgressions; tear them off like a garment"; p. 47, line 47, "put on him the glow of health"; p. 48, line 14, *mudie riksišunu* surely not, "who knowest all of them"? On p. 74 ff. is a very

interesting and rather obscure text, to the understanding of which the translation does not help much. "Necromancer" is a curious translation for *ša'ilu*, and "satyr" even more curious for *lamassu*. Some translations are obtained with so much wresting of the words that a suspicion of the text is fully justified, which only a careful revision could remove: e.g. on page 29, line 14, occur the words *ina rap-pi*, etc., for which one is surprised to see in the copy, plate xix, *ina LUGAL-pi*, a slip most difficult to explain. There are, too, some signs of haste or confusion in the composition, for a good many Corrigenda have had to be registered, particularly that of the extraordinary divorce of the paragraph on p. 101 from its place at the other end of the book. An inconsistency due perhaps to the same cause occurs between p. 44, where there is a note on the use of *KUR* = *ekallu* in the colophons, and p. 66 where the same expression is interpreted as *matu*; the point is, indeed, uncertain, but both versions should not appear in the same book.

C. J. G.

THE VENUS TABLETS OF AMMIZADUGA. By S. LANGDON, M.A., and J. K. FOTHERINGHAM, M.A. Oxford: University Press.

This is, it must be admitted, a hard book to read and even harder to review. For this no blame is due to the authors; on the contrary, no praise could be too high for their great and largely successful efforts to make an extremely difficult subject intelligible to both of the disparate classes of readers who are likely to use their work. Of the two classes, however, the Assyriologists have unquestionably the worse of it, since the astronomers can simply take the translated texts for granted, whereas the Assyriologists must strive to keep their feet upon the unfamiliar path of a discipline little congenial to the bent of their minds. That one, at least, did not abandon the unequal struggle (at least, before coming to Herr Schoch's

16 pages of Tables, which quite defeated him!) is no mean tribute to Dr. Fotheringham's gift of lucid exposition.

Here, then, are gathered together, for the first time, all the astronomical "omen-texts" concerning the movements of the planet Venus, which have their origin in observations made in the reign of Ammizaduga, a king of the First Babylonian dynasty. This most important fact is revealed by the insertion, in one of the omens, of the year-name given to the eighth year of this king, as was first detected by Father Kugler in 1912. Since this dynasty, if its date could be fixed, would give the key to the whole of Babylonian chronology, many attempts have since then been made to use these observations for obtaining for the old Babylonian period an astronomical date as securely fixed as that which the sun-eclipse of 763 B.C. gives to the later Assyrian period. The relevant texts are all late copies, including the newly discovered Kish tablet here published, and are by no means free of scribal errors in vital particulars. Their actual testimony, however, has been ascertained by the care of Professor Langdon, although it is true that his cuneiform copies still contain certain inexactitudes, which do not for the most part appear in his translations. The astronomical treatment of this material falls to Dr. Fotheringham, who has very ably summarized and criticized the whole discussion up to the year 1927, and has proceeded to set forth all the considerations which are to be taken into account; he concludes that the first year of Ammizaduga was 1921-1920 B.C.

It is obviously impossible to examine this conclusion without writing another book, even were the reviewer competent in these matters. All that can be done, therefore, is to observe two or three generalities. The first is one already noted by Schiaparelli (see p. 31 f.), the reference to the Umman-Manda. It is true that these peoples are now found to be mentioned as early as in the Hittite laws, but there is no proof that this takes them back beyond the fourteenth century before Christ (hardly the seventeenth as stated

on p. 32), and this should be a warning that perhaps not all even of the relevant part of the texts is as old as the First Dynasty; at least, there must remain a suspicion of later recasting. But the greatest difficulty resides in the observations themselves, which would, taken alone, fit various series of years at widely different periods. Consequently the choice of any one series has to be guided by a number of really extraneous considerations, such as the time of the date-harvest and other agricultural seasons as attested by the "contract"-tablets, and various tests with which Chapters IX to XII are concerned. The result, therefore, has not what is commonly regarded as a purely mathematical validity, and this must, at least in lay estimations, detract from its certainty. That this is a real weakness is sufficiently shown by the fact that Dr. Fotheringham's date, though now accepted by several scholars, does not command the assent of certain other distinguished astronomers. Beyond all this in weight, however, is the Babylonian and Assyrian historical tradition, always scanty, occasionally untrustworthy, and once or twice even inconsistent, but in spite of that yielding a system of chronology which itself reaches back to the First Dynasty of Babylon and even beyond it. Despite Professor Langdon's interesting attempt in Chapters XIII and XIV to reconcile it with the astronomical date, it does not, in fact, seem possible to bring the two results within a century of agreement, and to that extent scholars are likely to continue to differ until more conclusive evidence appears. At the distance of four thousand years the agreement is vastly more impressive than the difference.

C. J. G.

LA RELIGIONE BABILONESE-ASSIRA. By GIUSEPPE FURLANI.
Vol. I, le divinità.

The second volume of this work is to treat of the myths and religious life of the Babylonians; the whole will therefore

be extensive, if the second part is comparable in length with the first. Many readers will perhaps think that this is the least desirable quality of Dr. Furlani's book. His thirteen chapters take up 361 pages, but there is also another 70 pages of preliminary matter, mostly bibliography, and Chapter II itself is a survey of preceding modern treatises upon this subject. Chapter I, a very summary account of the geography and history of the River-lands, is not strictly necessary to the theme, and its omission would have diminished the length without much affecting the usefulness of the book; moreover, there are in this chapter several mis-statements of detail, such as the reference to a *villaggio* of Abu Shahrayn, and two dynasties of Ur (on p. 7), the rather theoretic views about the earliest inhabitants (p. 13), the date of 3600 B.C. for A-annipadda (p. 16), the designation of Arrapha as the Gutian capital (p. 22), and the hazardous assertion (p. 24) that the empire of Ur-Nammu equalled that of Sargon and Naram-Sin. To begin with these complaints may seem a queer way of recommending the author's work, and yet his exposition of the general development of the religion and his detailed treatment of the gods themselves (Ch. III to the end) are indeed to be recommended. Not only does he describe in full detail the deities, considered in those associations wherein they were generally placed by native religious thought, but he finds place for the demi-gods and demons, and has a careful chapter on the *liste e gruppi di dèi* compiled by the ancient theologians. In all this there is much to praise and hardly anything to criticize; about each god almost all the known facts are given in the text, and each god has his own notes at the end of the chapters—which indeed adds again to the length of the book, but these notes are so useful that it would be ungrateful to complain. The many imaginative epithets given to the gods in the religious literature need not, perhaps, have been so exhaustively detailed as they generally are here, for many are rather vague words of praise, often applied without much discrimination. As a whole the book is complete, trustworthy,

and useful, even if it cannot with candour be called interesting to read. An index will, it is much to be hoped, appear in the second volume.

C. J. G.

ANNUAL OF THE AMERICAN SCHOOLS OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH,
Vol. VIII (for 1926-7). New Haven: Yale University
Press.

This volume is made up by four separate papers, three of which are directly or indirectly concerned with Babylonian studies. First in place as in importance is Dr. Speiser's very interesting and convincing topographical study of Ashurnasir-pal's campaigns against the land of Zamua. In the course of his travels about the country between Kirkuk, Sulaimania, and the plain of Shehrizor the author made a careful investigation of the possible lines of march, and is able to identify with considerable assurance the chief points mentioned in the annals of these campaigns. He was fortunate enough to obtain a bird's-eye view of the whole region from an aeroplane, which convinced him of the general correctness of his conclusions; these will hardly be disputed by anyone who has not made an equally intimate acquaintance with the country. Twelve photographs and five rather rough maps illustrate his researches.

Professor R. P. Dougherty describes and pictures a few (not very important, it must be confessed) antiquities acquired by him, mostly from the neighbourhood of Warka, during his survey of S. Babylonia, and President W. J. Moulton tells the brief story of the ill-fated American Palestine Exploration Society which lasted only from 1870 till about 1877, when it came to an end through lack of support. Its short career was not, however, fruitless, for it was the predecessor of the present flourishing American Schools of Oriental Research, which are fortunately in no danger of such an inglorious fate. The last paper is that of Professor Barton,

on "The so-called Indo-Sumerian seals". Concerning these he presents nearly all that was known at the time of writing, though he is not, of course, in a position to add anything much towards their actual decipherment. He rightly points out that the hypothesis of direct connection between this script and the Sumerian is very precarious, though he perhaps undervalues the very good evidence of contact between the two civilizations. It is not by any means certain, however, that the apparent numerals are really numerals, and there is (the reviewer thinks) adequate proof that the script was read—in the impression—from right to left.

C. J. G.

ARS ASIATICA XIII. By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY. *Les Miniatures Orientales de la Collection Goloubew au Museum of Fine Arts de Boston.* 113 pp., lxxxviii plates. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1929.

2. LA MINIATURE PERSANE DU XXI^e AU XVII^e Siècle. By ARMÉNAG BEY SAKISIAN. xiii + 174 pp., 108 plates. Paris et Bruxelles: Les Editions G. van Oest, 1929.

Les Editions G. Van Oest have a well-deserved reputation for fine printing, good, though less notable reproductions, and able writing. The volumes are also, compared with similar English publications, distinctly cheap, even allowing for the fact that they require binding and the plates resetting.

The important Goloubew Collection of Persian, Turkish, and Indian paintings is well known as one of the finest in the world. It was exhibited in Paris in 1912, and thus contributed to the fashionable Parisian vogue for things Persian, of which M. Goloubew writes entertainingly in the Preface. A number of its items appear regularly (rather too regularly) in all the larger books on Persian painting. The collection has belonged since 1914 to the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston.

Formed as it was in an "époque de révélations, de découvertes et de tâtonnements", it has certain *lacunae*, the most obvious being the almost complete absence of pre-Timurid examples. There is no certain work by either Sultān Muḥammad or Mirak, and some well-known Mughal artists are likewise unrepresented. A large proportion of the paintings are Ṣafavid and Mughal, and of these schools, and of the Timurid, the collection contains some magnificent specimens. The greatest treasure of all is perhaps the "Prince with his suite in a garden" (Fig. 28), bearing Bihzād's reputed signature. The other examples attributed to Bihzād are treated with commendable caution by Dr. Coomaraswamy. Among the most famous of the Mughal examples are the sketch of the dying 'Ināyat Khān (Fig. 124), the completed painting of which is in the Bodleian, the great "Durbar of Jahāngīr" (122), the "Maulavī Rūmī" (125), and "Shāh 'Abbās and Khān i 'Ālam" (123), probably by Bishan Dās, one of the two greatest portraitists of Jahāngīr's reign.

The descriptions are of the excellence which we expect from the distinguished author; they are full of information, tersely given, and the notes on attributions are specially interesting. The inscriptions are translated. One of Dr. Coomaraswamy's longest notes, in which he gives a convincing solution of a puzzling problem, refers to Jahāngīr's painter, Āqā Rizā, whose work is almost, perhaps quite, unknown apart from the two Boston examples and a MS. of the *Anwār i Suhailī* in the British Museum. Figure 112 reproduces a sketch, apparently the original of a remarkable painting, many times copied, which has puzzled successive writers. We may perhaps supplement Dr. Coomaraswamy's note about it by a reference to the painting exhibited at South Kensington, which contains an inscription written by Shāh Jahān, stating that the artist was Jahāngīr's favourite painter, Abu'l-Ḥasan, or Nādir al-Zamān.

The catalogue is admirably furnished with indexes and there is a full bibliography.

The author of *La Miniature Persane* makes it clear, in his preface, that he is alive to the fact that his, and any other history of Persian painting, must sooner or later be superseded; for the time has not yet arrived for propounding final solutions to all the intricate problems in which the subject abounds. Exploration, and the revelation of the contents of private collections, will in time bring further assistance. Meanwhile, M. Sakisian has succeeded in contributing considerable additions to our knowledge, more especially by his descriptions and reproductions of some of the manuscripts and paintings from the fine Constantinople collections, which he has had special opportunities of studying. Moreover, he has re-examined the Oriental literary sources, and from these, notably from the sixteenth century Turkish writer 'Ālī's *Manāqib i Hunarvarān*, he has been able to extract a certain amount of biographical detail about the painters and their work, and to clear up some misapprehensions. Though some of his conclusions will certainly be contested, we are grateful to him for a helpful and suggestive book, full of facts, concisely but seldom dully written, in which the author's delight in his subject is agreeably apparent. Not quite so agreeable is the somewhat acid flavour of his references to at least one of his distinguished predecessors.

After a preliminary chapter, M. Sakisian launches his most contentious proposition, which is that there existed, in East Persia, a twelfth-century school of painting, strongly under Chinese influence, of which he believes he has found examples, illustrating the *Katilah wa-Dimnah* fables, in an album in the Yildiz Library. Of these he gives some attractive reproductions, judging from which we should imagine that the *naskhī* writing which accompanies the paintings should fix their date fairly accurately. M. Sakisian gives perhaps inadequate space to the early art-history, but on that of the Mongolian, Timurid, and Šafavid periods he has much to say. He rejects the theory of an independent "Bukhārā" school, and explains the so-called Bukhārā productions as

the work of exiled Timurid artists, perhaps attracted to the Tartar capital after the conquest of Khurāsān by the Shī'ah Ṣafavis. The central chapters on "classical" painting, and "the art of the book" at Herat, include many pages on the Bihzād problem, but most readers will probably feel as undecided as ever after reading them. On the vexed Āqā Rizā-Rizā 'Abbāsī question, M. Sakisian is convinced that these were two separate artists.

The reproductions, nearly 200 in number (two in colour), are satisfactory in quality and representative in character. Together with some old favourites, there are many striking, and some exquisitely beautiful, fresh examples. The specimens of bindings, especially, are a delight to the eye.

J. V. S. WILKINSON.

A COPTIC DICTIONARY. Compiled by W. E. CRUM, M.A., Hon. Ph.D. Berlin. Part I: ⲁ-ⲉⲓⲛⲉ. Quarto, pp. xii + 88. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1929. Price two guineas per part, or by subscription seven guineas for the whole.

The well-known and justly praised Coptic dictionary of Amadeo Peyron was published more than ninety years ago; at that time only two of the five dialects now distinguished were represented by considerable remains, the business documents and letters extant in two of the dialects were as yet undiscovered, the nature and functions of the different verbal forms were very imperfectly recognized and the decipherment of the ancestral Egyptian language was too embryonic to be utilized. Peyron's Dictionary, however, has remained the standard hitherto, and in 1921 Professor Spiegelberg only supplemented it with his valuable *Handwörterbuch*, rearranging the words in accordance with modern knowledge, adding new words and meanings, and indicating derivations from Egyptian.

The great dictionary of which we have now received the first instalment is founded on a new and exhaustive examination of practically all known material whether published or unpublished. Twenty years have been devoted to this task by Mr. Crum and his two helpers. As one of the results we see an addition of new words, at the rate, in this first instalment, of one to every five words recorded in other dictionaries: most of these are of very rare occurrence, some are of doubtful authenticity, and many are of doubtful meaning—names of plants, animals, tools, materials, etc.—but the inclusion of all was very necessary and will stimulate research. The illustration of the uses of words and phrases, as of verbs with various prepositions and adverbs, is rich indeed, and most instructive. Six close columns are occupied by ⲉⲓ “come”, and ten and a half columns by ⲃⲟⲩⲗ and its relatives; in spite of large type a column of this dictionary is a formidable matter, for in the interest of economy and compactness, every resort of ingenious compression is utilized. This conciseness impedes the reading to some extent, yet one would scarcely ask to have it changed; and room is found for abbreviated contexts with the quotations—a great boon. The Sahidic form (where one exists) is very properly chosen as the leading type of each word; Greek words are included only when completely naturalized. A useful feature is the full collection of Greek equivalents of Coptic words in translated works, especially from the Biblical books, and the inclusion of numerous Arabic equivalents. It requires an acquaintance with a rather unusual vocabulary both in Greek and in Arabic to apprehend at once their significance, for no translations of either are vouchsafed. Egyptian etymologies are omitted, being well given in Professor Spiegelberg's *Handwörterbuch*.

The work is to be completed in four more parts, which, I understand, will be substantially larger than the first. In spite of the vast mass of Coptic writings already known, new discoveries are constantly being made; a supplement will be required some day, and a bulky appendix of the Greek

words employed in Coptic writing; but Mr. Crum's magnificent Dictionary is surely destined to be the standard for all time.

F. LL. G.

LES RUINES D'EL-MISHRIFÉ AU NORD-EST DE HOMS (EMÈSE) :
PREMIÈRE CAMPAGNE DE FOUILLES À QATNA (1924). By
COUNT DU MESNIL DU BUISSON. Paris : Geuthner. 1927.
75 Fr.

This is one of the publications of the Société française des Fouilles archéologiques, and is in every way worthy of the scientifically conducted work which it describes and the important character of the results. The site is 18 kilometres north-east of Homs, and was first introduced to the notice of the archæological world by Père Ronzevalle, who published a view of it as well as some striking bronze figures and stone heads which had been found there.

Count du Mesnil's excavations have brought to light not only the gates and walls of the ancient city together with its necropolis, but also two temples, one of them being the great temple of the Sumerian goddess Nin-Egal, "Lady of the Palace," while the other seems to have been the Chapel Royal. Large quantities of pottery have been discovered as well as objects of bronze, ivory and the like, but the most important discovery has been that of cuneiform tablets, written in the official cuneiform and including inventories of the immense treasure that was stored in the temple of Nin-Egal. They have given us the name and history of the city; it turns out to have been Qatna which figures conspicuously in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence and of which Akizzi was at that time the king. The temple itself went back to the end of the third millennium B.C. About 1350 B.C. the city was destroyed by the northern enemies of Egypt and does not appear to have been inhabited again till the Neo-Babylonian period.

In the present publication, which is profusely illustrated by plans and photographs, Count du Mesnil gives an account of his first campaign. This has been followed by later ones, the last of which (in 1928) has not yet been published. The work has been carried out with scientific method and exactitude, and the description of it corresponds with the character of the work. The illustrations of the pottery are particularly valuable.

A. H. SAYCE.

LES FOUILLES EN ASIE ANTÉRIEURE À PARTIR DE 1843. By LOUIS SPELEERS. Liège : Vaillant-Carmanne. 1928.

This is a very useful work and has been written with all the completeness and intimate knowledge of the subject which we expect from Professor Speleers. The area of his survey is strictly limited ; Egypt and the Levant are excluded ; so, too, is the excavation of Greek and later sites. The history of the excavations is divided into three periods, the first being what the author calls the Heroic Age when the great figures of Layard and Rawlinson and their compeers pass before our eyes, while the second and third periods are merely the pre-war and post-war subdivisions of the later age of excavation, when modern scientific methods are employed and the excavator's chief aim is to discover the history of the past and not monuments and objects for the museums of Europe or America. As a record of discovery and reference the book is of the highest value.

A. H. S.

THE PENTATEUCH : A HISTORICAL RECORD. By W. T. PILTER. London : Marshall Brothers. 1928.

Mr. Pilter's learned and lengthy volume reminds us of the works of the older scholars like Bochart and Hyde. It is packed full of facts, of the views of other scholars, and of references, and is nothing less than a monument of labour

and research. Mr. Pilser does not profess to be a first-hand authority on either Assyriology or Egyptology, but he is a good Hebraist and the authorities he quotes are first-hand. In all cases he is careful to give his references ; I have found none that are otherwise than correct, and they bear witness to an extraordinarily large amount of reading and research. In fact, the book may be regarded as an encyclopædic mine of information on the subjects to which it relates, brought up to the date of publication. The clergy, more especially, will find it useful.

The subject-matter falls into three divisions. The first and longest deals with Abram in his relations to the Babylonian Empire as described in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. This is followed by a sort of Appendix on Abram, or rather Abraham, in Egypt and Ur. Then comes the second division of the subject : Joseph and Moses in Egypt. The third division is contained in a short chapter on certain matters connected with the story of the Israelites in the Sinaitic desert.

It is needless to say that Mr. Pilser's point of view is conservative. In fact, no one who deals with the vast amount of archæological material which has been accumulating during the last few years can take any other. For the scientific archæologist the days are past when the history of the ancient East could be left to the subjective fantasies of the *littérateur*. In the Eastern and the Greek world alike the old traditions have been verified and the existence of a widespread literary culture has been pushed back to an early date. One of the most striking results of our new knowledge is not touched upon by Mr. Pilser—the conformity of the legal regulations implied in the narrative of Genesis with the enactments of the Code of Khammurabi.

But archæology is a science and therefore progressive. Fresh discoveries are constantly obliging us to amplify or correct our earlier conclusions so far as details are concerned. Moreover the conclusions themselves are often founded on

insufficient evidence and consequently give rise to diversities of opinion. When it comes to the interpretation of the evidence the archæologist does not claim to be infallible. This is especially the case where philological considerations intervene; in so far as philology is a science its bearing upon history is necessarily restricted. Even the original seat of the Parent Indo-European family of speech—if indeed such a Parent ever existed—is disputed. And Mr. Pilster would have been well advised to have left Professor Grimme's Sinaitic interpretations alone; accidental or natural flaws in the stone or photograph are responsible for a good many of them.

As I have said, Mr. Pilster's work has been brought up to the date of publication. But already later discoveries have been crowding upon us, harbingers of others yet to come. In the field of Assyriology alone new vistas are opening out and the beginning of culture in the near East is being thrown further and further back into the past. In Palestine the excavations of Dr. Albright and Professor Kyle at Kirjath-Sepher and more especially the recent ones of Professor Garstang at Ai and Jericho have thrown light on the Israelitish invasion of Canaan and convinced two at any rate of the excavators that the Book of Joshua contains extracts from the note-book of a contemporary. Meanwhile in Egypt the discoveries of Mr. Firth at Saqqara have shown that in the age of the Third Dynasty the Egyptian script was already fully developed and that art and architecture had reached in many respects the highest level to which they ever attained. Anyone who wishes to compare our knowledge to-day of the ancient civilized world with the confident negations based upon the ignorance of forty years ago cannot do better than study Mr. Pilster's book.

A. H. S.

FOUILLES EXÉCUTÉES A MALLIA. By F. CHARPOUTIER and J. CHARBONNEAUX. Paris: Geuthner. 1928.

This is the first report of the very important excavations undertaken by MM. Charpoutier and Charbonneaux for the French School at Athens in the years 1922-4 at Mallia on the north coast of Krete. There they discovered a fairly well-preserved palace which was built in the first division of the Middle Minoan period, remodelled in the second division, and finally destroyed at the beginning of the Late Minoan age. For the first time, therefore, we have before us the picture of a Kretan palace which is contemporary with what may be termed the pre-Mykenæan epoch of Kretan history and which underwent no changes or rebuilding at a later date. For the study of Kretan architecture and archæology the discovery is naturally of exceptional value. Among the pottery have been found numerous fragments which are prototypes of the beautiful Kamares ware of M. M. II; on the other hand the Kamares ware itself is rare, while the rippled ware of M. M. III is again common, so that the excavators are probably justified in believing that the palace witnessed two occupations, one at the commencement and the other at the end of the Middle Minoan period, the site having been more or less deserted during the intervening Kamares epoch. In one of the rooms (Salle III, 8) tablets covered with hieroglyphic as well as linear inscriptions were discovered along with sealings, fragments of painted pottery and small vases, one of which has two hieroglyphs incised upon it. We hope it will not be long before the second volume containing copies of the inscriptions will appear. The present volume with its numerous illustrations and photographs, its broad margins and splendid type, is a sumptuous example of French typography.

A. H. S.

PERSONAL NAMES FROM CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS OF CAPPADOCIA. By F. J. STEPHENS. Yale University Press. 1928.

Professor Stephens has given us a useful book. Thanks in large measure to a discovery made by the peasants at Kara Eyuk (erroneously confused with Kul-Tepè) shortly before the war the number of Cappadocian tablets which we now possess is between two and three thousand and a considerable proportion of these has already been published. It was time, therefore, that an attempt should have been made to catalogue the proper names in them so far as was possible. This has been done by Professor Stephens together with an indispensable addition to the work, an analysis of the names. This implies not only an analysis of the elements contained in the Semitic names, but also the separation of the latter from names of Asianic origin. In many cases the attempt at separation can be tentative only at present and differences of opinion will be inevitable. The Asianic element *-akhsu*, for instance, is sometimes difficult to distinguish from the Semitic or Semitised *âkh-su* "his brother". Among other words terminating in *-akhsu* Professor Stephens notices *Niwakhsu* by the side of *Niwakhsu-sar* where we find as in several other names a suffix *-sar*, but he does not appear to have come across the simple *Wakhsu-sar* which occurs in one or two unpublished inscriptions and corresponds with the name of the city *Wakhsu-sa-na*, which we may compare with the *"Ἀξείνος* and *"Ἀξίος* of the Greeks. The element *Alâ*, by the way, which he seems inclined to identify with *el, ilu* "god", is the Sumerian *alâ* which the Babylonians borrowed under the form of *alû* and the Hittites used in the sense of *sedu* "the divine bull".

A. H. S.

A CENTURY OF EXPLORATION AT NINEVEH. By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON and R. W. HUTCHINSON. London: Luzac and Co. 1929. 7s. 6d.

This is a delightful book, entertaining and informative alike to the "general reader" and the scholar. Though containing only 146 pages of good-sized print it is packed with information, all given in an attractive style. The first half of the volume contains a history of the discovery and exploration of Nineveh, beginning with Rich and Layard and finishing with the author's own work there, first with Dr. King in 1904, and then on his own account in 1927-8. Next comes an intervening chapter entitled "Now-a-days" describing Mosul and the way to it as it has become since the war, a picture which it is difficult for those to realize who knew the country before the Great War. The latter half of the book deals with the history of Nineveh and the chief results of the excavations upon its site. There is a good index, and the volume is enriched with numerous plans and photographs. In fact, it is a complete and at the same time attractive presentation of the subject, and Dr. Campbell Thompson is to be congratulated upon his work.

As we read the earlier chapters the impression grows more and more upon us that there were indeed "giants in those days". And the explorers and excavators of Nineveh as well as the first decipherers of its inscriptions were all Englishmen. It is not without reason, therefore, that Dr. Campbell Thompson insists upon the fact that the site is essentially British, and that it is therefore Great Britain which should again take up the task of continuing and completing its exploration. The difficulties which beset the earlier excavators exist no longer; there are no longer Turkish officials to be bribed or Turkish fears to be allayed, and the motor-car and modern hotel have lightened the burden of travelling.

Dr. Campbell Thompson's excavations in 1927-8 had two chief results, one negative, the other positive. The ruins

of the temple of Nebo proved to be a disappointment; the tablets which had once existed in its library had disappeared. On the other hand, the palace of Assur-nazir-pal was discovered at a depth of 25 feet. The discovery was made only shortly before the expedition had to return to England and the palace, consequently, with its bas-reliefs and, possibly, store of tablets, still remains to be exhumed. Inscriptions found on the spot indicate that the palace was built on the site of one erected by Tiglath-pileser I, if, indeed, it was not the older palace itself in a renovated form. Especially interesting is one of these inscriptions which "gives in graphic, poetic style part of the history of Asshur-uballit, king of Assyria (c. 1380), and his troubles with the Kassites".

Another important discovery was that of a perfectly preserved prism of Esarhaddon which supplies the lacunæ in the previously known edition of his Annals in the account of the murder of Sennacherib and the events that followed it. Thus in the passage relating to the murder the conjectural: "To gain the kingship [my brothers slew Sennacherib their father]" turns out to have been in the original text: "To gain the kingship they rushed against each other like young steers."

There are one or two unimportant misprints, and in the note on page 114 the numeral IV should be inserted after "Cappadocian Cuneiform Tablets".

A. H. S.

THE HITTITE EMPIRE. By J. GARSTANG. London: Constable and Co. 1929.

For some years Professor Garstang's *Land of the Hittites* has been the indispensable companion of the "Hittitologist". But a new edition of it has long been called for, and in place of it we have a new work designed to be "a survey of the History, Geography and Monuments of Hittite Asia Minor and Syria". The history, however, is merely sketched in

outline, the main part of the book being devoted to Hittite geography and the Hittite monuments which are described with exhaustive detail and accompanied by numerous photographs. Professor Garstang possesses the great advantage of having travelled over Asia Minor himself, of having excavated the Hittite site of Sakje-geuzi, and of having done the only really scientific archæological work that has as yet been attempted at Boghaz Keui itself. One of the most useful portions of his former volume is retained in the shape of bibliographical indices of the monuments and of the authors who are quoted in the course of his work.

Under the head of "Hittites" Professor Garstang includes all the Asianic peoples to whom that title was given by the Babylonians, Assyrians and Hebrews, and consequently a large part of the book is occupied with an account of the monuments associated with the Hittite hieroglyphic inscriptions. On the artistic and cultural side, however, these cannot be separated from the monuments of Boghaz Keui and its libraries of cuneiform texts; the culture and civilization belonged to the same type, however much the races and languages may have differed. The Professor endeavours to distinguish to a certain extent between them by adopting Dr. Hogarth's distinction between "Hittite" and "Hattic"; I should prefer a distinction based upon archæological and historical grounds and propose to divide Hittite history into the following three periods:—

- (1) Proto-Hittite (to 2000 B.C.).
- (2) Hittite (2000–1200 B.C.).
- (3) Moscho-Hittite (1200–600 B.C.).

The ordinary classification derived from the use of metals does not apply to the Hittite world, since iron was worked in Asia Minor at a much earlier period than in other parts of the world—indeed the Cappadocian tablets (2300 B.C.) are already acquainted with *barzi-ili* "the metal of God", the Hebrew *parzil*, and the *Khatti* acquired their name from the fact that

they were "the Silver(-men)" who worked and exploited the mines of Bereketli.

Professor Garstang is certainly right in seeing an Amazon in the figure discovered at the Warrior Gate in Boghaz Keui. The breasts alone prove it. The Hittite name of the Amazon was *kharâu* (*KBO.* i, p. 72, 9, where the Assyrian equivalent is given as *sarkhattum* "heroine", the ideographic representative being *Â-SAL* "female mighty one"). The battle-axe she holds with its hinder part in the form of a hand occurs frequently in the hieroglyphic texts with the value of *kuwa(s)* "consecrated one". The Professor further points out that many of the male figures in the famous sculptures have an emasculated appearance. This is borne out by certain of the cuneiform texts which show that the *galli*-priests of classical times were no new thing in Asia Minor and Dr. Forrer's recently published *Forschungen*, i, 2, contains some instructive pages on the same or an allied subject.

One of Professor Garstang's most interesting observations is the analogies he finds between the Indian Shiva and the Hittite bull-god (Tessub of Mount Arnuwandas). It is fresh evidence for the fact that the earlier home of the Sanskrit-speaking tribes of North-Western India had migrated from Asia Minor and Mesopotamia, where we now know that the names of the chief Indian deities were still known as well as the Indian forms of the numerals in the fourteenth century before our era.

His attitude in regard to the identification of Hittite with classical or modern place-names is very cautious, but not more so than is justified by the present state of our knowledge. One of his suggestions is especially acute; Unnakhara which is coupled with Tarsa or Tarsus and Adaniya "the district of Adana" (the name still employed by the Arabic writers) must be the Ingirâ of Sennacherib long since identified with the Greek Ankhialê. But he has made a slip on p. 11, where he says that the Moschians were possibly Phrygians; we know from the classical writers that they came from the

eastern extremity of the Black Sea where Colchis was once in their territory. Even in Strabo's time the mountainous land about Kars was still known as "Moschian". It is possible that he may be right in another suggestion that Arinna, the city of the Sun-goddess, was Komana. Komana signifies "the land of Koma" or Quma and among the sacred "pools" of the Hittites was "the Pool of Quma" (*altannis Qumayannis*, *KBO.* ii, p. 60, 23). Ptolemy, however, distinguishes Phreata "The Pool" in Garsaura from Komana in Kataonia.

Professor Garstang's book is rich in facts and references. I have been unable to find any misprints in it. But "Jerabis", p. 226, should be corrected into the more correct "Jerablus" which is used elsewhere in the book, and "Phœnician", p. 310, n. 5, should be "Aramaic". The concession made in one passage to Dr. Forrer that he may conceivably be right in locating the country of Kizzuwadna on the Black Sea should be withdrawn; the tribute paid to the Hittite king by Kizzuwadna was *argamanu* "the murex purple", and there is no murex in the Black Sea.

A note may be added on the representation of a great serpent upon one of the Moscho-Hittite monuments found at Old Malatıyeh which Professor Garstang aptly compares with the Hittite legend of the great serpent Illu-yankas. Since the publication of my article on the legend additional portions of the text have been found and published in *Keilschrifturkunden aus Boghazköi*, xvii, 5, 6. The following is a translation of the fragment relating to the death of the reptile:—

(3) "So the god Inaras said to Khupa[siyas]: 'All right,' [and accordingly] (4) concealed him. And Inaras provided fo[od and drink]. (5) Thereupon the serpent Illu-yankas (6) he called up (*sarâ kallista*) from his hole, [saying:] (7) 'See, I am celebrating a feast; (8) and so for eating and drinking it is all right.' (9) Thereupon the serpent Illu-yankas [along with his wife] (10) came up; then they ate and drank.

(11) When they had drank up all the wine-jar (12) they were thoroughly drunk. (13) They (*ne*) then descended into their hole, (14) and when they were gone Khupasiyas [reappeared] (15) and the serpent Illu-yankas with a chain (16) he ensnared (*kalêlêt*). (17) The god Tessub arrived; then the serpent Illu-yankas [and his wife] (18) he slew, and the gods were with him." After this Inaras built a house of granite for Khupasiyas in the city of Taruwa. But here the tablet is unfortunately mutilated, though it would seem that the god Kuwarbis was seen coming out of the sea and making his way to Khupasiyas to whom "[the increase] of the field was given".

A. H. S.

RÂBÎ'A THE MYSTIC AND HER FELLOW-SAINTS IN ISLÂM.

By MARGARET SMITH. pp. xxv, 220. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 10s. 6d.

Dr. Margaret Smith deserves the thanks of all Orientalists for her interesting and scholarly work on the life and teaching of the Muslim saint Râbî'a and the position of women and women-saints in Islâm. Râbî'a al-'Adawiyya of Baṣra was born in A.H. 95 or 99, and died unmarried in A.H. 185/A.D. 801. Amongst her associates were 'Abd al-Wâḥid b. Zayd, d. A.D. 793, Muḥammad b. Sulaymân al-Hâshimî, d. A.H. 172, Sufyân al-Thawrî, d. A.D. 778, 'Abd al-'Azîz b. Sulaymân Abû al-Rasîbî, d. A.D. 767, and perhaps the Egyptian mystic Dhû al-Nûn, d. A.D. 856. The author gives legends associating Râbî'a with Ḥasan of Baṣra, but as Ḥasan died in A.D. 728, these legends must obviously be rejected.

More copious is the data relating to Râbî'a's share in the different stages of the Ṣūfî doctrine—Penitence, Patience, Gratitude, Hope, Holy Fear, Voluntary Poverty, Asceticism, Dependence upon God, and Love. When asked whether she hated Satan Râbî'a replied: "My love for God leaves no room for hating Satan." On another occasion Râbî'a

answered : " I have not served God from fear of Hell or love of Paradise, but only for the love of Him and desire for Him."

In the third and final portion of her work the learned author attributes the present degraded position of the Muslim woman " to Islāmic teaching which has prevailed since the second and third centuries of the Muslim era ". It is acknowledged however, that " theoretically, at least, the Muslim woman was placed on a spiritual equality with man " (*vide* Qur'ān, xxxiii, 35). This equality was attained, if not surpassed, by such women as Umm Ḥarām, d. A.H. 28 or 29, Rābi'a of Syria, d. A.H. 135, Nafīsa, d. A.H. 208, Jahan Āra (daughter of the Emperor Shah Jahān), the Bābī Qurrat al-'Ayn martyred in A.D. 1852, and by Rābi'a of Baṣra herself. The existence of the Meccan convents of Hurrīsh, Bint al-Tāj, and al-Dūrī, and the Egyptian convents of the Hostel of the Baghdādīs' and Sitt Kalīla Dawla, also attest the religious zeal and sanctity of Muslim women.

HADI HASAN.

STUDIES IN ISLĀM. By the Rev. Canon SELL. pp. 266.
Madras, 1928. 6s.

Studies in Islām contains six articles on Islamic mysticism, the Shi'ahs, the Fāṭimid Khalifate, Babiism, the Derwishes, and the Qur'ān. Much has been written on these subjects in recent years, and in re-presenting his narrative the Rev. Canon Sell has the advantage of utilizing well-established conclusions. His book, however, is full of interest and will no doubt be welcomed by those desirous of having a general knowledge of Islamic tenets and beliefs. Especially praiseworthy is the discussion of Salāmān and Absāl in the chapter on Mysticism, of Bābī customs in the chapter on Babiism, of the Sanūsiyya Order in the chapter on the Derwishes, and of the Sūratu'n-Nūrayn in the chapter on the Qur'ān. The Sūratu'n-Nūrayn (or the chapter of Two Lights, i.e. Muḥammad and 'Alī), of which the text and translation are

both given, is believed by Shi'ahs to be the chapter suppressed in the final recension of the Qur'ān, but "on the whole, the weight of evidence seems to be against the Shi'ah claim".

HADI HASAN.

TOPOGRAPHIE HISTORIQUE DE LA SYRIE ANTIQUE ET
MÉDIÉVALE. By RENÉ DUSSAUD. Large 8vo, pp. lii +
632, avec 16 Cartes. Paris: Librairie Orientaliste
Paul Geuthner, 1927. 200 frs.

This book is the result of many years of travel and research carried out by the author in what is now known as the French Mandated Territory or Syria. Already, as far back as 1895, the author has published his *Voyage en Syrie*, and ever since he has continued his investigations into the topography and geography of Syria. There is scarcely a town or hamlet, a river or mountain, which has not been visited, or which the author has not tried to identify and to place by the help of those who preceded him. He starts, in fact, very early with these identifications, since the Bible is one of the sources he quotes, especially in the chapters affecting the localities in southern Phœnicia, and in the line of demarcation between Syria and the north of Palestine, which has now been traced between England and France. The author makes use of cuneiform literature, Syrian as well as Hittite, then the classical literature, the later Arabic geographers, and the results of modern archaeology. Thousands upon thousands of names—to be more correct, between five and six thousand names—have found their place in this book, and on the fifteen separate maps inserted therein, which have all been joined together to form the sixteenth. The whole ancient history seems to be rolled out before our eyes, and the description of successive rulers over these countries. It was no mean task besides to recover the old names, either entirely obliterated by the new Turkish names given to these localities during

the last centuries, or greatly mutilated in the course of ages. Copious references are given on each page, and a rich bibliography shows the vast reading of the author. The book will prove indispensable to anyone interested in this classic land of the ancient world, the home also of the Western civilization. The author draws on the maps also the routes which traversed the country, by which that civilization flowed from east to west. The book is beautifully printed, the maps are very well executed, and the author is to be heartily congratulated on this excellent piece of work.

M. GASTER.

- 3 ENOCH OF THE HEBREW BOOK OF ENOCH. By HUGO ODEBERG. Edited and translated for the first time, with Introduction, Commentary, and Critical Notes. 8vo, pp. 192 + 179 + 74 + 36. Cambridge University Press, 1928. 42s. net.

The author of this book has found in the Bodleian Library a manuscript written in Hebrew cursive characters, dating from the sixteenth century, which contains the apocalyptic vision of the heavenly hierarchy ascribed to the High Priest Ishmael. There exists a large number of similar treatises varying in size and contents, which all bear the same title of *Sefer Hekhalot*, i.e. "The Book of the Heavenly Mansions, or, Heavenly Palaces." Some of these Ascensions are ascribed to Moses, others to Isaiah, and in the N.T. apocryphal literature, to Peter, Paul, and others. All these form one cycle, and go back unquestionably to a more ancient source of esoteric speculations. The writer of the Hebrew manuscript—which is of complex character, some portions being old, while others are of a more recent date—called it the Book of Enoch, although there is scarcely any mention made of this name, the real hero being the High Priest Ishmael. Still, this has led the author to call this book the Book of Enoch,

and as there are in existence already a first and second Book of Enoch, the latter in Slavonic, and of comparatively recent date, Mr. Odeberg has called his book "*3 Enoch*". He publishes now the text in full, with critical notes, and also an English translation with valuable annotations and parallels. The most important part of the book, however, must be sought in the long and elaborate introduction. The author displays here a consummate knowledge of the cognate mystical literature. It is a model of scholarly investigation, except in one point, the manner in which the problem of the Metatron is here treated. The heavenly being which meets Rabbi Ishmael and conducts him through all the heavenly abodes, is called Metatron. The exuberant fancy of the esoteric speculator has endowed him with all kinds of exaggerated and fantastic qualities, giving him almost a semi-divine character. Mr. Odeberg identifies Metatron with Enoch; and, impelled by what I believe to be an entirely wrong and unjustified conception, accepts every one of these attributes literally, and goes so far as to make him almost a divine hypostasis. He devotes therefore the largest part of his introduction in trying to prove it. Anyone who is acquainted with Jewish mystical speculations knows full well that between the divine godhead and all the celestial beings there lies such a gulf that even the most daring never ventured to bridge it; and to place any one of the celestial hierarchy upon a throne which could remotely resemble the divine throne has never entered the mind of any author of these apocalyptic visions. It is a pity that Mr. Odeberg should have been led astray by tendencies quite alien to his real subject, and should have thus impaired to some degree the undoubted high value of his publication.

M. GASTER.

LES ÉCHELLES DE SYRIE ET DE PALESTINE AU XVIII^e SIÈCLE. By FR. CHARLES-ROUX. 4to, pp. 224, avec 27 Planches. Paris : Libraire Orientaliste Paul Geuthner. 1928. 150 Frcs.

This book contains a minute description of the French "peaceful penetration" into Syria and Palestine during the eighteenth century, by means of the numerous factories established in these countries. The title, if literally taken, would restrict the contents of the book to the trade of the sea-ports, and many of these are mentioned, such as Tripoli, Acco, Saida, Beyrut, and Jaffa. But we find also towns mentioned, notably Aleppo and Damascus, and other places, which are far from any sea-port. We obtain here a well-documented survey of the French trade, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the assistance given to the missionaries, and especially the establishment of various Consulates in the Levant, all intended to further the same object—to safeguard French interests in these countries. The author enters into a detailed description of the relations between the French who had settled in these places, first among themselves, and then with the other inhabitants and traders. We find an interesting and important note about the Maronites, the Druzes, and the Ansaria. A special annexe at the end deals with these sects more fully. The author also refers to the curious incident of a British "corsair" capturing a French ship and bringing it into a Turkish port, and the complications which arose out of this act of "piracy". In one place only more detailed reference is made to the activity of the English in Aleppo. Between the traders and the French Consuls there seems to have been constant friction. From time to time inspectors had to descend from France to inquire into the complaints of the traders. The author has drawn his information chiefly from the archives of the Chamber of Commerce in Marseilles, which was principally concerned with the French trade in the Levant, and from some of the archives of the Ministries in Paris. The book is an important

contribution to the history of trade, and of the ways by which the West has been able to influence the East. We recognize the same method which has been continued to our very days, first the missionary, then the trader, and finally the soldier. We see, on the other hand, that much that is very doubtful in character and of little value to human civilization also has come the same way, and has not benefited the nations of the East, to which it has thus been brought. The book furthermore shows the constant solicitude of the French government for its own trade, and its endeavour to eliminate as much as possible alien competition, especially that of the English. One might wish that the English Levant, or, Turkey Trading Company, which obtained a charter already in the time of Queen Elizabeth, would find an equally exhaustive treatment by competent hands. Only a little nibbling at this vast subject has been undertaken some years ago by Dr. M. Epstein, in a small monograph. Mr. Charles-Roux has added to this book, which is beautifully printed, also twenty-seven plates, copies of old engravings depicting various scenes of the life in Turkey during the period treated in the book. We have here excellent reproductions of audiences granted by the Sultan to French ambassadors, of some old ships, of types of French merchants, of a Turkish shop, of a view of Jerusalem, pictures of Ali Bey and Hassan Pasha, the Patriarch of the Maronites, and besides a number of maps. But curiously enough, there is no list of these illustrations to be found anywhere in the book, nor is there an index. In the latter case, however, a very full description in the table of contents makes it easy to dispense with it.

M. GASTER.

KARAIMISCHE TEXTE IM DIALEKT VON TROKI. By TADEUSZ KOWALSKI. Eingeleitet, Erläutert und mit einem Karaimisch-Polnisch-Deutschen Glossar versehen. 8vo, pp. lxxix + 311. Kracow (Polish Academy of Science), 1929.

On the eastern border of Poland, near the Ukraine and Lithuania, there live now some 800 souls belonging to the Karaite sect of the Jews, settled there probably early in the twelfth or thirteenth century. They inhabit five small settlements, with their centre in Troki, and although their number is small, the Turkish language which they speak is divided up into two dialects. Professor Kowalski is now the first who has undertaken a thorough investigation into the linguistic character of this language. He has studied it for four years, and he has been able thus to acquire a complete mastery. In this volume he is publishing the result of his long and painstaking investigations into the history of these settlements, the literature of the sect, exceedingly small and poor, and above all the language. He enters into a minute description of all the grammatical features of the language. He then compares it with other Turki dialects, and he comes to the conclusions, arrived at already before, if only tentatively, by Samoilevich, viz. that it belongs to the Kipchak family, which stretches from the Altai Mountains across the southern plains of Russia to the eastern borders of Poland. Professor Kowalski, however, is able to determine much more closely the affinity between the language of the Karaites, and especially that spoken by the Troki community, and that of the Armenian community living in the neighbourhood, who speak a similar language, and above all with that of the Kumans. The dialect of Troki has preserved most of the archaic features of the language, and it proves invaluable for the better understanding of the language of the Kumans, of which hitherto only the glossary published by Geza Kuun has been preserved. In the latter we have only single words, whilst the language of the Karaites furnishes us with the full

grammar, morphology, and syntax. It is a living language, still spoken, and therefore of extreme value. Any elucidation as to the true character of the Kumans is sure to prove of extreme interest in connection with the problem of the Scythians, and also on that of the nationalities inhabiting Hungary and Rumania, from the tenth to the fourteenth century. This question lies, however, outside the investigations of Professor Kowalski. They are referred to here in order to show how these small remnants can contribute towards the solution of bigger problems. The author publishes here a number of texts, faithfully transcribed, some from printed books, and some from manuscripts, the latter being of a popular character, and he adds at the end an exhaustive vocabulary covering no less than 130 pages, with a Polish and German translation.

M. GASTER.

DAS KITĀB ŠURAT-AL-'ARD DES ABU ĠAFAR MUHAMMED IBN MŪSĀ AL-HUWĀRIZMI HERAUSGEGEBEN NACH DEM HANDSCHRIFTLICHEN UNIKUM DER BIBLIOTHÈQUE DE L'UNIVERSITÉ ET RÉGIONALE IN STRASSBURG (cod. 4247). VON HANS V. MŽIK, mit fünf Tafeln im Lichtdruck. pp. xxxi + 197. Harrassowitz, 1926.

In 1916 Dr. v. Mžik published an edition of Alkhawārizmi's Arabic version of Ptolemy's *Africa*. This was part of the same author's great geographical work, which is now supplemented by the edition of the volume mentioned above. As to the importance of this publication, there can be no two opinions. Its author lived in the first quarter of the ninth century, and is presumably the earliest Arab geographer. According to the editor's description of the MS. upon which he had to rely, his task was a most arduous one, and only one who is really competent could hope to bring the edition to a successful issue. Fortunately, he was able to fill many gaps, correct faulty readings, and restore missing or damaged passages from

Al Suhrāb's '*ajāb al-'aḳālim*', a MS. of which is in the British Museum and an edition in preparation by Dr. v. Mžik himself. In spite of this help, Al-Khowārizmi's book, with its various perplexing features such as copyist's errors and confusing abbreviations, must have put a severe strain on the editor's critical powers. To this must be added the difficulty of correctly reading a mass of cyphers, numbers, and ligatures with uncertain or missing diacritical signs. This, together with the post-classical character of the diction, is discussed in the editor's prefatory remarks. They show that the author did not write in his native language but in an acquired one, which he had some difficulty in mastering. The editor was well advised to leave the text untouched, but to insert certain signs to direct the reader's attention to irregularities. Corrections are given in the footnotes. The facsimile specimen of the MS. as well as the four maps in phototype, of which that of the Nile is particularly interesting, are instructive examples of early historical cartography. The editor deserves unstinted praise for the thoroughness, precision, and scholarship which distinguishes his work. It will secure him the genuine gratitude of all interested in the subject, while the promised German translation with the commentary will be eagerly looked forward to even outside the circles of Arabists.

H. HIRSCHFELD.

THE CAMBRIDGE HISTORY OF INDIA, Vol. III, Turks and Afghans. Edited by SIR WOLSELEY HAIG, K.C.I.E., C.S.I., C.M.G., C.B.E.

This volume of the Cambridge History will be welcomed by all students of Indian annals, as containing a critical version of the records translated in four of the eight volumes of Elliott, checked by and collated with others. A chapter on the Arab conquest of Sind opens the story of Muhammadan invasion, and is followed by eight more dealing with the

dynasties which gradually extended their rule to Delhi and into the peninsula, till the Lodis fell at Pānīpat before the victorious arms of Bābur. Next comes a series of chapters dealing with the minor kingdoms established during the period, and though the main scheme of the volume is to trace the fortunes of India from about 1200 to 1526, Sir Wolseley Haig has carried these on to more appropriate dates where necessary. The Hindu states in northern and southern India receive separate notices, and there are chapters on Burma, Ceylon, and the monuments of Muslim India. A recital of these topics is sufficient to indicate the magnitude of the undertaking, and Sir Wolseley Haig must be congratulated on its successful completion. Besides being editor of the whole he has himself written eighteen of the twenty-three chapters.

As an efficient guide to the mazes of dynastic struggle the work is admirable. It will be invaluable in the colleges of India and the studies of Europeans interested in oriental history. It should also attract the attention of students of history whose main interests lie in other fields, and who complain that they can extract neither profit nor pleasure from earlier books on the subject. Some of these will no doubt complain that a history of India should trace the varying fortunes of the people of the country as well as the exploits, virtues, and faults of foreign rulers. Vernacular literature begins in many parts of India during the period, but with the exception of the first two notable Urdu poets Amīr Khusrav and Hasan-i-Dihlavī, and the translators who worked under the rulers of Bengal and Kashmīr, hardly a reference is made. The revival of popular cults in Bengal, in Gujarāt, and in south India, is of great importance, and deserved more notice. In these matters the chapter on Burma contributed by Mr. G. E. Harvey, I.C.S., is the best in the book. Students of revenue administration will find little new, and will doubt the correctness of the suggestion at p. 161 that the orders of Fīrūz Tughluq indicate a knowledge of scientific agriculture.

The historical setting of the book would have been better if a considerable portion of chapter xx dealing with the Native States of north India had preceded the account of the conquests and administration of Muhammad bin Sām. As planned, the book is three-parts ended before it gives (except by names on Map 1) a view of India as it was when the real conquest began. Apart from this the arrangement is convenient, and the editor has been skilful in avoiding repetition as a rule, and in supplying needful cross-references from one narrative to another. More help is however needed to show the connection between the jejune account of the history of Ceylon, and that of India. Sir Wolseley Haig's own style is at times disfigured, and his narrative made obscure, by a careless use of pronouns (e.g. lines 3-6, p. 68), and an accumulation of dependent sentences (e.g. first nine lines of the account of Multan, p. 503). His most satisfying achievement is in the two chapters dealing with the Kingdom of the Deccan. The chapter on the Hindu States of southern India by Professor S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar contains a number of unnecessary repetitions, sometimes with apparent contradictions.

The exhaustive chapter by Sir John Marshall on the Monuments of Muslim India will be welcomed by many classes of student. It contains a clear and sympathetic account of the manner in which Muhammadan architects appreciated and made use of indigenous styles. They thus evolved a system which, though it remained true to the ideals of Islam, incorporated qualities of strength and grace, and produced magnificent results. From one of his assertions it may be permitted to dissent. Bengal is not now, and probably never was, distinguished for artistic crafts except in the case of weaving. More than a hundred illustrations contained in fifty-one plates illustrate this chapter, and add greatly to the value of the book. That such a profusion could be included is due to a generous contribution by Sir Dorabji Tata to the cost of production.

Additional help is given to the student by bibliographies arranged according to chapters, by a chronological table, and dynastic lists and genealogies. To the first of these the addition may be suggested of Dr. G. P. Taylor's "The Coins of the Gujarāt Saltanat," *JBBRAS.* xxi, and Dr. L. White King's "History and Coinage of Malwa," *Num. Chron.*, ser. iv, iii, pp. 356-98 and iv, pp. 62-100. The reference under Bengal to *JASB.* 1872 and 1873, should refer to Blochmann's articles in 1873, 1874, and 1875. In the text of the book more use might have been made of evidence furnished by coins. Whether, as Sir Wolseley Haig suggests, Tughluq is a tribal name or not, his coins show that Muhammad invariably described himself as "*bin* Tughluq", not as Muhammad Tughluq. The coins struck in the name of puppets like Shams-ud-dīn Kayūmars, Shihāb-ud-dīn 'Umr should have been mentioned, and the inscriptions show that the child placed on the throne when Muhammad bin Tughluq died was called (Ghiyās-ud-dīn) Mahmūd, not Muhammad. Sir Wolseley Haig does not refer to the problem offered by the coins of Zafar, son of Firūz Tughluq, which indicate that he was recognized for a short period early in 1389.

As a second edition of the book will be required before long, it is worth while to point out some minor slips. Rāmpur is no longer surrounded by a bamboo hedge (p. 20), though such hedges may still be seen in Oudh. At p. 57, Kuramān and Baniān should be read for Kirmān and Bāmiyān. Mu'izz-ud-dīn Muhammad placed a Sanskrit translation of the Kalima on his coins and used the Nāgarī character, but not Hindu legends (p. 89). "Oudh" is referred to *passim* as a tract, while in this period "Awadh" usually refers to the town now called Ajodhya. The correct rendering in note 1, p. 166, is possibly *Hammār*, the ass driver. Sir Wolseley Haig has rightly avoided foreign terms as much as possible, but the use of a word like *fief* (p. 213) or *governor* (of Sāran, p. 245) is equally to be deprecated as suggesting misleading analogies. The Bhadauriyas (p. 233) were and are a distinguished clan

of Rajputs, not a "predatory tribe". In the chapters on Muhammadan dynasties, the clans of Rajputs, where known, should be stated. At p. 237 we should have Mārahra and Sakīt for Mārghara and Suket. The identification of Bidar with the old capital of Vidarbha (p. 400) is based on legend only, and the identification of Raja Vijaya Sena is difficult. The Valabhīs of the solar line cannot have succeeded in A.D. 319 the Guptas, whose era begins only in that year. Possibly the reference is to the Western Satrap of that name who may have succeeded the Andhras about A.D. 236. The account of the Hoysalas at p. 474 is very distracting. Vinayāditya was succeeded in the governorship of Gangavādi by Ballāla I, whose territory had the same boundaries, and who was followed by Vishnuvardhana. Yet the greatest achievement of the last-named was the conquest of Gangavādi. In 1130 (p. 476) the Hoysalas were supreme over the whole area of the present Mysore State, but later on the same page we find that it was not till 1137 that the records show this. At p. 477 (lines 4-6) "Vishnuvardhana . . . did not venture to assume the royal dignity"; (lines 9-10) "he marked his accession to royal power in this year [not stated] by the performance of the royal act of '*tulā-purusha*'"; (lines 6-7, second para.) ". . . he never ventured to assume the royal title." Were the Kalachūryas of Mysore (p. 479) connected with the Kālachūris of Chedi? At p. 506 Trilochan, the other name of Jaipāl II, should be mentioned. Sangrama, destined to fall on the field of battle (p. 529), actually died of poison (p. 530). Sikandar Lodī defeated Bārbak not Husain as stated on p. 625 (cf. p. 258). In the survey of buildings of the Jaunpur school (pp. 627-8) the mosques at Etāwah and Kanauj deserved mention.

In spelling place-names, the usage of the Imperial Gazetteer has been generally followed. That usage was based on the principle of transliterating most names from the modern local vernacular spelling, but preserving the rougher forms used in English where these had obtained considerable

currency, e.g. Cawnpore. Though Sir Wolseley Haig objects to two examples of the latter class, Owsa and Kistna, they appear on his map in those forms. He also describes Fatehpur as a vulgarism, but the name is a hybrid, and Fatehpur is as well established in the vernaculars as Lancaster in English. It may be doubted whether "Bahlol" ever called himself, or was known as, "Buhlul." Some inconsistencies or errors in spelling should be noted for correction. The coins indicate that Qubācha is to be preferred to Qabācha. At p. 64 both Gurait and Kurait cannot be correct. Deogīr in many places contrasts with Devagiri at p. 630 and Deogiri in map 2 (p. 64). Budaun (*passim*) in the text is Budāon in map 4 (p. 192), and Badaun at p. 624. The name of the Mughul leader (p. 111) given as Kabk certainly contains "p" as the middle consonant, though the vocalization is doubtful (? Kupuk). Koīl (p. 193) and Koil (p. 582) should be Kol. For Kumāon (p. 213) read Kumāūn. For Kuntit (p. 237) read Kantit. Īrij (p. 253), Erij (p. 355), and Īrich (p. 625) should all be Erachh. For Tarpūliya (p. 304) read Tripauliya or Tirpauliya. Medenī (p. 318) and Medni (p. 366) should be Medini. Begarha (p. 310, and chap. xiii *passim*) contrasts with Bīgarha (p. 358). The vulgarized name Rājahmundry appears with the correct form Rājamahendri at p. 96, but also as Rājamandri at p. 473. It is confusing in a book like this to have both Rāhtor and Rāthor, Penukonda (p. 489) and Penugonda (p. 493), Tomara, Tomāra, and Tonwār, as the index maker has found. Rāī (p. 534) and Rāi (*passim*) should be Rāe or Rāy. Vīra Narāyan (p. 513) also appears as Bīr Narāyan at p. 536. If the Sanskritized form Vīra is used, the spelling should be Nārāyana. Junāgadh is used occasionally for Junāgarh. (Mahmūd) Gāvān and Gāwān both occur. *Solā khamb* (p. 636) should be *solah khamba* (or *khambh* or *khambha*) if the phrase is Hindoostānī, or *solā khāmbh* if it is Marāthī. A number of misprints have been noted. Read Bahrāich for Balrāich (p. 29, note 1), Gul for Gal (p. 152, line 7), Gīrnār for Gunar (p. 170), 23° 10' for 25° 10' (p. 170, note 2), خداوند (or خداور) for خداوز

(p. 205), Mustafā-ābād for Mustāfā-ābād (p. 306), Pavagarh for Pavagurh (p. 309), Harāotī for Harāolī (p. 356), Parmāl for Parmāb (p. 512), Kanauj for Kunauj (p. 520), "no such" for "so much" (p. 526 near end of first para.), 1332 for 1322 (p. 562), Cairene for Cairens (p. 575), Adansonias for Adamsonias (p. 618, note), and Whiteway for Whitehead (p. 649).

The index is full and appears generally accurate. Some entries would have been more helpful with more particulars of the detail noted. Entries under "Fathābād" refer to two quite separate places.

A large folding map, which is contained loose in a pocket, has evidently been prepared with no regard for its purposes to illustrate the book. It shows the present political divisions of India and even the railways, besides the whole of Tibet and part of China which are entirely outside the history. But one searches it in vain for many of the towns and battle-fields which are important in this period (e.g. Daulatābād). Seven smaller outline maps in the text are useful to show the varying extents of different kingdoms and with a better selection of place-names would have been still more valuable. Not a single map shows the position of the mountain systems of India and the text barely mentions the physical variations which profoundly affect the history of the period.

R. BURN.

Reviews of Books by Jarl Charpentier

1. KERN INSTITUTE, LEYDEN: ANNUAL BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIAN ARCHÆOLOGY FOR THE YEAR 1927. Published with the aid of the Government of Netherlands India. pp. vii + 143, pl. xii. Leyden: E. J. Brill, 1929.

The present writer had the great pleasure of reviewing, in the January issue of this *Journal*, the first volume of the excellent work on Indian Archæological Bibliography

published by the Kern Institute under the able leadership of Professor Vogel. With a rapidity which is unfortunately as unusual as welcome, this precious volume has been followed by a second one which fully equals or, if possible, even surpasses its predecessor, in the matter of completeness and careful editorship. By this as well as by numerous other useful and brilliant works the ancient University of Leyden is upholding its old position as one of the leading centres of learning of the world.

The volume opens, as is only befitting, with a paper on Mohenjo-Daro, being an extract from the well-known reports of Sir John Marshall once published in *The London Illustrated News* (January, 1928). The exact position of the old civilization of the Indus is so far not certainly known, and we wait, with increasing curiosity, for the great work promised us by Sir John Marshall himself. But of the connections of this civilization with the more westerly ones of the Nile and of Mesopotamia there can already now be no doubt whatsoever. The problem, however, of its extension towards the East and South within India herself does not seem so far to have been studied at all. To predict is always dangerous and would, in a case like this, be hazardous and even stupid. Still we cannot refrain from the remark that the discovery of an extension of this "Indus" civilization over the whole or greater parts of the Indian continent would not only be a stupendous thing in itself, but also lead to a total revision of the problems connected with the pre- and proto-history of India.

That the horse of Troy should find itself portrayed by some Græco-Buddhist artist of Peshāwar origin is rather curious, and gives a hint of the intimacy of Hellenistic connections with the North-West of India. Hindu writers who looked down upon foreign "barbarians" with a contempt scarcely to be equalled by that cherished by any foppish Athenian, have preserved nothing of what they may eventually have learnt of the traditions and myths of Greece. But if

Greek myths and legends were really depicted on Indian objects of art, we may be fairly sure that the accompanying stories also made their way eastwards. Dr. Laufer has shown us numerous examples of classical stories retold by Chinese authors.¹ And were it not for the fanciful and assimilating methods of the Hindus which strongly contrast with the somewhat dry and matter-of-fact ways of the Chinese, we would perhaps be able to discover some remains of Greek lore within the Indian disguise.

The *Annual Bibliography* brings further excellent articles on the finds at Nāgārjunikoṇḍa which may well be identical with the last earthly resort of the great Nāgārjuna; on the *Gaṅgāvatāra* at Māvalivaram; on the excavations at P'ong Tūk in Siam (from a note by M. Coedès), and on certain new discoveries in Indonesia and Iran. In this connection we are pleased to find that Professor Herzfeld has now finally accepted the old identification of Pers. *ṣatagu-* with Skt. *śatagu-*, which, in spite of the contentions of other scholars, is the only possible one. Unfortunately, the Greek form *Σατταγύδαι*, given by Herodotus (iii, 91) and others, is by no means clear. There exists, as far as we know, no Iranian word **guda-* "cow".² Nor would the Slavonic *goveđo* prove the existence of such a form.

After these introductory papers there follows the whole extensive and excellent bibliography. No praise could be too high for the exertions of Professor Vogel and his collaborators for the welfare of all their colleagues. Long live the activity of the *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* and may it always be able fully to uphold the glorious traditions of its start.

¹ Cf. the *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 198 seq., and other of Dr. Laufer's publications.

² Dr. Ipsen has repeatedly contended that the IEur. **g₂d₂u-*, **g₂d₂-* "cow" is borrowed from an old Sumerian *gu(d)*. We do not believe this, and besides that would not help us here, as the final *-d* should have disappeared in Sumerian ere the word was borrowed by the original Indo-Europeans.

2. DAS DHARMASŪTRA DER VAIKHĀNASAS. Übersetzt und mit textkritischen und erklärenden Anmerkungen versehen nebst einer Einleitung über den brahmanischen Waldeinsidler-Orden und die Vaikhānasa-Sekte von WILHELM EGGERS. pp. 92. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1929. 8.50 M.

The Sūtras of the Vaikhānasas, which are undoubtedly of the highest interest for the study of Hindu ascetical life, have hitherto attracted but slight attention from the majority of Sanskrit scholars. Apart from the thesis of the late Th. Bloch, published in 1896, and from an edition of not too high value by the late MM. T. Gaṇapati Sāstri (1913), the indefatigable energy and unparalleled acquaintance with Indian ritual texts of Professor Caland have alone penetrated the difficulties of the Vaikhānasa texts. It is thus the more welcome that a young German Sanscritist, Dr. W. Eggers, has seen his way to considerably increase our knowledge of these texts, which are important as well as not easily accessible.

Dr. Eggers has wisely refrained from giving a Sanskrit text of the *Vaikhānasa Dharmasūtra*, which, with the scanty materials now at hand, might be a somewhat hazardous undertaking, perhaps even a partial failure. Instead of that he has provided us with a complete translation followed by a critical commentary which seem to satisfy even high-raised expectations. There might possibly be some minor points on which we should differ from the learned author, but such detailed criticism can find no room here; and besides such remarks would detract nothing from the general value of the work.

The introduction, which deals chiefly with the position, initiation and life of the *vānaprastha*, is clearly written and furnishes us with materials for many fascinating problems and meditations. Of especial interest are the enumerations and classifications of the different sorts of *vānaprasthas* with which Dr. Eggers deals on p. 20 seq. In our *Dharmasūtra* (i, 7, 2), in the *Āśrama Upaniṣad*, and in *Bhāg. Pur.*, iii, 12, 43,

there are lists of four groups of wandering ascetics, all of which include the three names *audumbara*, *vālakhilya*, and *phenapa*. As the fourth name, the other two sources give *vaikhānasa*, while our text has *vairiñca*. Now the last name must mean an ascetic in some way connected with Brahmā, for *brahmā* is = *virīñci*, the derivation of that word be what it may.¹ *Vaikhānasa*, of course, is derived from *vikhanas*, which is also said to be = *brahmā*; but the unfortunate thing is that while the derivative *vaikhānasa* is a word of great age, the root-word *vikhanas* is known only from late and none too trustworthy sources. As for *phenapa*, Dr. Eggers rightly suggests it to mean "a drinker of foam"; and the Mahābhārata tells us (i, 3, 46 seq.) that Upamanyu, one of the disciples of old Dhaumya Ayoda, at one time sustained his life by licking off the foam from the mouths of sucking calves. In the following chapter (i, 8) there are enumerated further thirty-two classes of ascetics. Amongst them those who hang with their heads downwards are known in the Jātaka by the characteristic name of followers of the "bat-vow" (*valgulivrata*), and several others are known also amongst Jains and Bauddhas.

On p. 33 the author has made a rather curious mistake in telling us, from the commentary of the *Padhāna-sutta* v. 16, that those who have decided to abandon their life in battle adorn themselves with a bundle of *muñja*-grass. If he had studied the well-known paper of Pischel called "Ins Gras beissen" ² he would have found that the words:

esa muñjaṃ parihare dhir atthu idha jīvitam

have quite the opposite sense, as is already clear from the second line of the verse:

saṅgāme me mataṃ seyyo yañ ce jīve parājito.

On the same page there is an interesting passage on the "great journey" (*mahāprasthāna*). It sufficiently proves to

¹ Cf. Ludwig, *VOJ.*, xviii, 135.

² *Sitz. ber. d. Kgl. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1908, 445 seq.

us that Sāyaṇa was right in commenting upon RV. x, 95, 14 :

sudevo adya prapated anāvṛt parāvatam paramām gantavā u
he says : *athavānāvṛd anāvṛttaḥ san paramām parāvatam*
dūrād eva dūradeśam gantavai gantum mahāprasthānagamanam
kuryāt.

Misprints are rather numerous, and we are somewhat astonished to find very famous Sanskritists styled *Bournuff* and *Jakobi*. But on the whole this is a good and sound piece of work, and we wind up by wishing Dr. Eggers further success in his special field of research.

3. GESETZBUCH UND PURĀṆA. By J. J. MEYER. Indische Forschungen begründet von Alfred Hillebrandt, in zwanglosen Heften herausgegeben von Bruno Liebich, 7 Heft. pp. xiii + 112. Breslau : Verlag von M. und H. Marcus, 1929.

Quite close upon the publication of his weighty work, *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*¹—not to mention his previous monumental translation of the Kautīliya—Dr. J. J. Meyer has presented us with a new book of research dealing with the mutual interrelation between law-book and Purāṇa in old India. Let us admit at once that the book undoubtedly possesses great merits, owing to the author's wide learning and thorough acquaintance with his topic ; let us also admit that it shares with its nearest predecessor the demerit of being next to unreadable owing to its lack of proper disposition and its partly most peculiar style.

The trend of the work is throughout a polemic one. Dr. H. Losch in his thesis, *Die Yājñavalkyasmṛti, Ein Beitrag zur Quellenkunde des indischen Rechts* (1927), tried to prove that the law-book known by the name of Yājñavalkya has been pieced together from various extracts which are to be found, in an older and more correct form, in the *Agni* and

¹ Reviewed by Dr. Barnett, *JRAS.* 1928, 429 seq.

Garuḍa Purāṇas. He also showed himself totally opposed to the idea of Dr. Meyer that individual authors were at the bottom of the ancient Indian law-books and formally declared his disbelief in the main doctrines of the author of *Über das Wesen der altindischen Rechtsschriften*.

All this has evoked from Dr. Meyer a very spirited opposition. Not only does he firmly stand his ground and contest all the arguments of his opponent; he also scarcely hesitates to tell us that Dr. Losch is still somewhat unripe to give an opinion on things as important as these. Of the points in dispute we shall at once confess ourselves to be no competent judges, though it appears that the balance is somewhat in favour of Dr. Meyer, and would certainly be still more so if his arguments were couched in more readable language. But of one thing we feel fairly certain, if Dr. Losch tries to deny the magical foundation of most precepts of Indian law and interpret them according to methods of modern European jurisprudence then he is on a dangerous path. Some eminent philosophers and lawyers amongst my own countrymen have recently proved, with fair success, that magic is the real foundation of Roman as well as of modern law. Nowhere does this fact appear more clearly stated than in India; and nowhere has it been more thoroughly explained than in the previous work of Dr. J. J. Meyer.

As for the etymology of *avīci* (p. 30) consult also Johansson, *Monde Oriental*, ii, 97 seq.

4. THE GATHAS OF THE AVESTA. By POURE DAVOUD. P. D. Marker Avestan Series, vol. i. Bombay, 1927.

This is a translation into modern Persian of the Gāthās of the Avesta prepared by Aga Poure Davoud, a Persian poet and scholar who has studied in Europe as well as in India. On the merits of that translation we can pass no judgment whatsoever; the author, however, tells us that he has throughout followed the late Professor Bartholomæ's translation published in 1905. In that he has certainly done well,

for, though any translation of the Gāthās is so far a very problematic thing, the one by Bartholomæ may well earn our applause for its general soundness of method.

To this translation is affixed an introduction which has also been rendered into English by Mr. D. J. Irani. It deals with Zarathushtra and the Avesta according to the results hitherto achieved by Western scholars. To European students it can scarcely prove very useful, but may be of value to the countrymen of its author.

KARHĀḌ, being No. 11 of the series of publications brought out by the Bhārat-itihās-Sarśodhak-Maṇḍal of Poona. By Y. R. GUPTÉ. Second edition, 1929.

Karhāḍ—in the earliest inscriptions Karhakaṭ and Karhākaḍak—is a small town situated at the confluence of the rivers Krishnā and Koyanā in the Satārā district of the Bombay Presidency, which seems to have given its name to the Karhāḍa Brahman community of Bombay. Mr. Gupte's little book gives an account of the town's history from the earliest times, and of the numerous monuments, in and near it, left by Buddhists, Hindus, and Mahometans. Mr. Gupte is a Sub-Registrar of the Bombay Registration Department, trained for scientific inquiry by the Archæological Department of the Government of India, in which he served for some years. It is all to the good when native Indian officials show a scientific interest in the history of their own country, and can find time and inclination to present their conclusions to their countrymen in their own vernaculars. This little book is carefully and judiciously written, and well printed. The photographic reproductions are not very clearly done, and might be improved.

C. N. S.

HAYĀT-I-JALĪL. The Life, Teaching, and Works of 'Allāma Mīr 'Abd-ul-Jalīl Bilgrāmī. By MAULAVI SAIYID MAQBŪL AHMAD ŠAMDANĪ. 10 by 6, 482 pp. Allahabad : Ram Narayan Lal, 1929.

The writer of this bulky Urdu book, which is packed with an enormous quantity of matter, is a well-known scholar of the Farrukhabad district in the United Provinces. He must now be a very old man, as the present reviewer, who held charge of the Farrukhabad district for most of 1898 and 1899 as Collector, has a distinct recollection of him as a minor official in those bygone days.

Maulavī Maqbūl Ahmād is a scholar of the old orthodox school, gifted with a great command both of the Arabic and Persian languages and literatures and also of Islamic history and theology, with all their minor and complicated ramifications. It is to be feared that a book of this kind, replete with discursive knowledge, will make an appeal to a very limited circle of readers. Only those who besides having a competent knowledge of Urdu are versed in both Arabic and Persian can attempt to read it with any degree of ease. Such persons are becoming lamentably few even in India.

This book purports primarily to be a biography of an eighteenth century scholar, who was born at Bilgrām in the Hardoi district of Oudh, but it teems with digressions of all kinds, and apart from this the actual text of the book is of relatively small account compared with the gigantic amount of matter contained in the numerous and lengthy footnotes, which deal with all sorts of ancillary matter, biographical, historical, topographical, and literary, in a most exhaustive way. To illustrate this it may be mentioned that each one of seven consecutive pages (pp. 201-7) contains only one single line belonging to the main book, but has a footnote in small type which if translated into English would fill from two to three pages of an ordinary English book.

The author is a very thorough and accurate scholar, painstaking in matters of detail and gifted with a very retentive

memory. Points of chronology and other minor details are treated by him with great and minute care.

Maulavi Maqbūl Ahmad comes from a famous old Saiyid family, in which learning is traditional. His father was a famous scholar and helped Mr. Irvine in his well-known history of the Bangash Nawābs of Farrukhabad. It is pleasing to note that a footnote on page 11 of this book contains a very full and appreciative account of Mr. Irvine and his career (1840-1911), and his scholarly activities. The names of Irvine, Growse, Crooke, and Vincent Smith will always constitute a source of pride to the Civil Service of the old North-Western Provinces.

This lithographed book is on the whole easy to read, except in some of the Arabic quotations, especially those in verse. Both parts of the book (it consists of two parts separately paged, 273 and 209 pages respectively) have a very full list of contents, but as is usual in Urdu books of this kind, there is no index.

The production of this volume must have been a labour of love to the venerable author, and the few who are competent to read it with understanding and sympathy will derive both pleasure and instruction from it.

R. P. DEWHURST, I.C.S. (ret.).

KAMARATNA TANTRA. Edited by PANDIT HEMCHANDRA GOSWAMI TATTABHUSAN, of the Assam Civil Service (retired). 8½ by 5, 110 pp., with 20 pp., of diagrams. Shillong: Assam Government Press, 1928.

This little book consists of an Assamese version of an older Sanskrit work, accompanied by a translation into English. The original Assamese text is said to be written on oblong strips of bark and to be not less than 300 years old. The present text is taken from a copy of this original book, which is in the possession of the Na-Gosain family of North Gauhati. It consists of 129 magical formulae or recipes, many of which are grossly indecent. It is not possible to quote any of these,

but some idea of the general character and scope of these recipes may be formed by quoting No. 121, which is headed, "To make oneself invisible." The two recipes given are as follows :—

(1) "The liver of a black cat should be ground in oil, and the leaves of the China rose should be made into a paste with this oil. The Mahakali *mantra* should be repeated ten thousand times over this paste. Then a collyrium should be prepared by holding this paste over a light kindled on the wick made of the threads obtained by breaking a stalk of white lotus. A man will make himself invisible if he puts this on his eyes."

(2) "A black cat should be killed and kept buried for 25 days at a crossing of two roads. Then it should be taken out and washed in the current of a river. The bones that will be found to move upstream should be taken and ground with the bile of a mongoose."

The translator in his preface naively says : "To an ordinary eye the book will appear full of indecencies, but in the light of science everything will appear instructive and illuminating." He further remarks that the Tantras used to be despised as works on black magic and condemned as "meaningless jabber", and adds that he cannot conceal his amazement and delight on seeing that a European scholar, Sir John Woodroffe, has delivered this branch of the religious literature of India, so interesting to the student of comparative religions, from the degradation to which it was consigned. The foreword, which follows the preface, contains several references to and quotations from this same European scholar. There can be no doubt that in spite of the grotesque indecency of much of its contents, this book has some interest from a historical and anthropological point of view, since it describes methods of enchantment which were once in common use and in which there was a general belief. It is not, however, a book which can be recommended *virginibus puerisque*.

R. P. D.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN MEDIAEVAL INDIA.

By A. YŪSUF 'ALĪ, M.A., LL.M. 8½ by 5, pp. 114.

Allahabad : Indian Press, 1928.

In March, 1928, four lectures were delivered in Urdu by Mr. Yūsuf 'Alī, of the Indian Civil Service (retired), before the Hindustani Academy at Allahabad. These lectures have now been published with a list of contents, an introduction written by the Secretary of the Academy, a laudatory poem in Urdu by Saiyid Zāmin 'Alī, a bibliography of the authorities cited in the footnotes, and, what is a comparatively rare feature in Urdu books, a comprehensive index.

The subject-matter of the lectures is interesting, though they are slight and do not claim any originality. The first lecture was mainly of an introductory nature, the second dealt with the seventh century and the light thrown on it by a study of literature, art, and epigraphy, the third discussed the social conditions prevailing in the tenth and eleventh centuries, while the last lecture treated the position in the fourteenth century as revealed by the works of the Hindi poet Chand Barde, the Persian poet Amir Khusrau, and the traveller Marco Polo. Mr. Yūsuf 'Alī's interesting preface shows that he is not unwilling that his lectures should be considered from a linguistic point of view, so in this brief notice I shall confine myself to a few minor linguistic points.

The phrase (p. 3, ll. 11-12) لوگوں کے ذہن پہلے ہی سے زہر آلودہ (loḡon ke d̤h̤en p̤h̤el̤e h̤i se z̤h̤r āl̤ud̤e) seems to be a literal rendering of an English original, which would probably be meaningless or misleading to a reader unacquainted with English. آغاز (p. 9, l. 19) is a misprint for آغاز. On page 18 شبہ appears twice by error for شبہ. On the same page (ll. 5 and 10) نمائندگی and گنجائش should both have ی instead of hamza. In the sixth line we find ماہرین کی اکثریت, apparently an attempt to express "the majority of experts", but that اکثریت can be legitimately used in this sense seems doubtful. The phrase

خراج تحسین (p. 20, l. 1) for "tribute of praise" seems to me altogether too literal. نانک (p. 26, l. 6) is an obvious error for ناک (play). معاون (p. 31, l. 3) can hardly be used in the sense of a tributary river. For Shiva we find شیوچی (p. 30, l. 3) and شوچی (p. 34, l. 14), while for the adjective Shaivite we have the strange form شیو (p. 34, l. 15, and again on p. 54, l. 8). تیظم (p. 67, l. 16) is a metathesis for مضبوط. مضبوط (p. 83, l. 1) is a strange mis-spelling of مضبوط. In مقاومت (p. 92, l. 9) and in several other words (e.g. مؤرخون, p. 86, l. 6) the hamza is quite unnecessary. سمّت (p. 98, l. 10) is an unjustifiable corruption of سمیت. منگول (p. 104, l. 8) is a transliteration of the English word Mongol and should be written مغل. As a whole, admitting the difficulty of treating social and economic matter in a language to which these subjects are new, it must be conceded that these lectures are stimulating and suggestive from a linguistic point of view. The typography, though a little blurred in places, is on the whole very clear and legible.

AN OUTLINE HISTORY OF PERSIAN LITERATURE (A.D. 822-1926). By 'ABID HASAN FARIDI, M.A., Professor of Persian, St. John's College, Agra. 6½ by 4½, pp. 142. Agra: Ram Prasad and Brothers, 1928.

This is a brief epitome which contains very little that is original. The long formal dedication to a relative and the rather stilted expression of thanks to a brother of the author in the preface seem to indicate that the author takes his little brochure more seriously than a sense of proportion might have dictated. He is obviously greatly indebted to Professor Browne in compiling his summary account of a very big subject, and there is little to suggest an intimate acquaintance with the works of some even of the most important Persian writers brought under survey. From the point of accurate scholarship,

in points of detail the book is very slipshod and teems with minor blunders. We find Zahuri and Zuhuri on the same page (p. 123). Hafiz is said to have died in 1389 (p. 108), and a page later his death is said to have occurred in 1389 or 1390. Rudaki appears as Rodaki, 'Unsuri as Unsari, and Minuchihri as Manuchihri (p. 60). Ottomon appears for Ottoman (p. 49), and Noh Siphr for Nuh Sipihr (p. 29). Ruqqaat (p. 43) appears for Ruqa'ât. The author's English is in many places very eccentric, as the following few extracts will show :—

(p. 121) "Urfi was so self-conceited and self-egotist that he always sung high praises of his ancestors and never cared for the respect of others. He often treated his contemporary writers slightly in his poems."

(p. 88) "Dispense with him with the remark that Zaheer was only a cringy (*sic*) sycophant panegyrist. Indeed, he gave another but finishing touch to Qasida-writing."

(p. 87) "It was he (Nizami) who first wrote Masnavi in all the five metres ; it was he who expurgated Qasida from praise and eulogy."

Such quotations, which could be multiplied easily, will suffice to show that although this little book may be of some use for examination purposes to Indian students who offer Persian as a subject in the Indian Universities, owing to its cheapness, it can have little value in the eyes of European scholars.

R. P. D.

ON ALEXANDER'S TRACK TO THE INDUS. Personal Narrative of Explorations on the North-West Frontier of India. By Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E. $9\frac{1}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$; pp. xii + 182; 97 illustrations and 2 maps. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1929.

It is difficult to believe that any traveller has ever equalled Sir Aurel Stein in literary output, or that any scholar has travelled so far and, if the expression may be allowed, so importantly. Hardly had we received the scientific report,

Innermost Asia, on the great Third Journey, than we find ourselves presented with the preliminary and popular account of Sir Aurel's journey through Swat and Buner. In due course no doubt we shall receive the scientific report on this journey, simultaneously in all probability with the preliminary report of the next journey.

There is much to interest us in the present volume. Not only is there a full account of the present condition of one of the most interesting and remote parts of the Frontier and two admirable maps of it, but also a learned and entirely convincing discussion of the route followed by Alexander between Bactria and the Panjab.

It had, of course, been known for a long time that the two towns *Ωρα* and *Βάζιρα* and the rock of *Αορος* must have been situated in the Swat region, but Sir Aurel has not only been so clever (it is real skill not luck that is in point) as to find localities on the ground which correspond with the geographical data, but has actually found surviving local names Ude-gram, Bīr-kōṭ, and Ūṇa in connection with those localities which correspond exactly, after making the necessary phonetic adjustments, to the names in Arrian. It would be difficult to make out a more complete case and the identifications carry complete conviction.

G. L. M. CLAUSEN.

TURKESTAN DOWN TO THE MONGOL INVASION. By W. BARTHOLD. Second edition, translated from the original Russian and revised by the author with the assistance of H. A. R. GIBB, M.A. "E. J. W. Gibb Memorial" Series. New Series, V, 9 × 6½, pp. xx + 514 and one map. Published for the Trustees by Messrs. Luzac and Co., London, 1928.

Students of Oriental history and geography owe a great debt of gratitude to the Gibb Trustees for the publication of this translation of Professor Barthold's famous book.

It is true that it is not in fact a history of Turkestan in the usual sense of the word and that it does not cover the whole period down to the Mongol invasion, but merely the latter part of that period, but this does not detract from the solid merit of the book. It is in fact a summary of the information regarding the geography of Transoxania, that is the Amu Darya—Syr Darya Doab, which is contained in Moslem mediaeval authors, and a history of that country in the Moslem period down to the fourteenth century, with an introductory essay on the sources.

The difficulty of compiling such a work is manifest, and only a scholar with the author's encyclopaedic knowledge of those sources could have achieved it. At the same time, the book is a gold mine rather than a jeweller's shop, and a gold mine in which the extraction of the precious metal is often a somewhat laborious process. Russian books are notorious for their disdain of the adventitious aids which careful typography can bring to the reader in the shape of leaded cross-headings, marginal summaries paragraph by paragraph, and so on, and it is perhaps unfortunate that no use of these devices was made in the English translation. The result is that the reader has to plough through page after page of solid type unrelieved by anything except frequent footnotes and a marginal note at the beginning of each page of the Russian original, the latter, of course, invaluable in a translation of a book quoted as frequently as this one. It is, therefore, unfortunately all too easy to lose the thread of the narrative of one of the most difficult and complicated pieces of history which it would be possible to find.

There is another rather more serious defect in this work; the map is definitely a bad one, it is a purely modern map of the area on a rather small scale, with no ancient names on it and by no means all the modern ones which are mentioned in the text. The result is that the conscientious student, if he is really to follow in detail the course of the campaigns

and even to understand the geographical description of the area, is almost compelled to construct a map of his own to do so. It is a great pity that this work was not done once for all by the author, who is after all the person best qualified to do it, since it would have added enormously to the value of the work. It is also perhaps to be regretted that so little effort was made to restore the original forms of the numerous Iranian and Turkish place and personal names scattered through the book. The history and geography is presented entirely in its Persian and Arabic dress with very little effort to pierce the veil which is thus so often cast over the area. However, it would be ungracious to press minor criticisms against a book of such great and permanent value.

G. L. M. CLAUSON.

TIBET'S GREAT YOGI MILAREPA. A Biography from the Tibetan, being the Jetsün-Kahbum or biographical history of Jetsün-Milarepa, according to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. Edited with Introduction and Annotations by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. 9 × 6, pp. xx + 315, with 5 illustrations. Oxford University Press. London: Humphrey Milford. Price 16s. net.

Four years ago J. Bacot gave us his terse and vigorous French rendering of Milarepa's Life, with an illuminating and brilliant introductory essay, under the title *Le Poète Tibétain Milarépa*. Dr. Evans-Wentz's *Tibet's Great Yogī Milarepa* is different in style and in scope, as, besides a complete English translation (based on the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's) in rather studied and archaic language, it contains full explanations of and comments on the subject matter, especially on the beliefs and practices of the Kahgyūtpa (*Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa*) ascetics, of whom the eleventh century Milarepa (*Mi-la-ras-pa*) was the most famous. The two

translations, each excellent in its own way, are based on different Tibetan MSS., the publication of which would be welcome to the Tibetan student.

Either version will enable western readers to follow for themselves the simple story of a truly remarkable man, who after repentance from the evil deeds of his youth, attained by almost incredibly severe discipline to the lofty spiritual goal at which he aimed—a story ever popular among the religion-loving people of Tibet.

For the high value deservedly placed upon it in the country of its origin, we cannot do better than refer to Dawa-Samdup's well-expressed appreciation on pp. 27-8 of the introduction, some sentences of which we repeat here. "Milarepa," he writes, "is looked up to and admired by all Tibetans, of every sect and school, as the Ideal Ascetic, or Yogī, and . . . is no less esteemed as a poet and song-writer . . ." Besides its deep human interest, its humour and pathos, its blending of the ordinary events of everyday life with the supernatural in a way peculiarly attractive to the Tibetan, the original narrative is "set down in such a plain and simple style of language that any ordinary Tibetan of to-day who can read at all can read it with ease and enjoyment." In this respect it, though a classic itself, differs from the many translations from Sanscrit into Tibetan, the language of which is highly artificial and difficult even for the erudite. Perhaps this is why it has survived out of the many records about the saint, mentioned by Rechung in chapter xi.

The Jetsün-Kahbum (*Rje-tsun Bkaḥ-hbum*) is no less worthy of the attention of the western reader, who, with due allowance for its conventional miraculous and supernatural ingredients and the inevitable later additions and accretions, will find in it what is in substance an authentic record of the Saint's life, mostly in his own words, taken down by his disciple Rechung (*Ras-chun*). And no more need be said to justify the editor's selection of it for publication or to commend it to the reader hitherto unacquainted with it.

The production of this volume, the typography, the well-executed illustrations, leave nothing to be desired, and in these matters it resembles *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*. The editor's arrangement and disposition of his explanatory apparatus, too, is similar. He has aimed at and has succeeded in making the book complete in itself by reproducing liberally from his sources instead of giving bare references. He has also given considerable original material, obtained by him from Dawa-Samdup and other Buddhists and Hindus in the East, especially with regard to the obscure and elaborate treatises, with grandiloquent titles, which set forth the various practices whereby detachment may be achieved and Enlightenment won.

The editor sympathetically states the Yogī's claim that his methods are as "careful and scientific in their own realm" as those in western physical science, and warmly combats the sceptical view, common in the materialistic West, that the hermit seeker after Enlightenment is a selfish fugitive from life's responsibilities and useless to society. Here it suffices to mention that Milarepa considered his solitary meditation and austerities the means to enable him to effect the deliverance of others as well as his own. But, as in his last words he warned his disciples, "one should not be over-anxious and hasty in setting out to serve others before one hath oneself realized the Truth in its fulness; to be so, would be like the blind leading the blind," and the whole matter is bound up with the lofty Bodhisattva theory of the Mahāyāna. However, when all is said, but for the strongest and loftiest minds, asceticism and monasticism have their pitfalls as much as the "World".

In his introduction of thirteen sections and notes, the editor's enthusiasm for mysticism and esotericism is evident, though it is generally more restrained than in his previous work. His sympathy with his subject is hardly less fervent than that of Rechung, the disciple of Milarepa, who wrote the Tibetan introduction. Without such enthusiasm and

sympathy, his Buddhist and other friends in the East would certainly have been less communicative, and Dr. Evans-Wentz would have produced a less complete, a less informative, and duller book.

But, undoubtedly, a more dispassionate and critical treatment would commend itself to serious students of northern Buddhism, and comparative religion. For, to some, the editor's information and views may seem suspect owing to his partiality for the mystical, his tendency to range somewhat widely for parallels, his frequent over-emphasis and highly coloured language, which are, perhaps, due to his anxiety that the importance of his subject be not fully appreciated. However, this criticism does not affect the main part of the book, which is the actual translation, and he, who reads with discrimination, will find in the essays and notes much valuable information necessary to the understanding of the narrative. And we are anyhow grateful to Dr. Evans-Wentz for presenting to us in a worthy English guise, this most delightful of Tibetan books, which introduces us intimately to so lovable and noble a character—a book which in Tibet has more than fulfilled its author's pious hope that it may be “a feast of delight to all scholars and lovers of literature”.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

OM MANI PADME HUM. Meine China- und Tibet-expedition 1925–8. Mit 103 Abbildungen und Skizzen sowie einer Übersichtskarte. By Dr. WILHELM FILCHNER. 9 × 6, pp. ix + 352, 103 illustrations and map. Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, 1929.

This is the deeply interesting record of a journey made under appalling hardships of every kind—hunger, cold, illness, accident—and of important scientific work carried on by sheer force of will in the face of obstacles which would have cowed a less determined nature and perhaps permanently ruined a less robust frame.

Dr. Filchner, who began his career as an explorer in 1903, has already published several books on his travels in Central Asia, full of information about native life in Tibet, Mongolia, and China.

The journey of which this book tells the story was undertaken by the author to supplement his former work. While collecting as many facts as possible about the inhabitants, their religious rites, their customs and folklore, his main task was to be the taking of astronomical and geo-magnetic measurements, the mapping out of uncharted regions, and the determining of the height of his various camps and of any outstanding geographical features along his route.

His object was to link up the magnetic triangulation system of Europe and Western Asia with that of China on the one hand and of India on the other, by a chain of stations at intervals of not more than 50 kilometres (30 miles). The connecting links between the European and Western Asiatic system and that of China were Kulja, Tihwa (Urumchi), Hami, Anhsi, Ping-fan, Sining-fu, Lussar. In the last-named towns Dr. Filchner was able to link up his observations with those of the Carnegie Institute as well as with his own made twenty-five years ago.

From Lussar the author continued his journey in a southerly and south-westerly direction through Tibet, then westwards to Leh in Kashmir, his magnetic observations along this route forming a parallel to those made in the north from Kulja to Lussar.

Altogether Dr. Filchner set up about 160 magnetic stations and in addition to this achievement he has 20,000 metres of film to his credit, in which the inhabitants of these regions, their customs, costumes, religious rites, and manner of life are chronicled with that fidelity and precision only possible with the moving picture.

Besides the hardships of a most inhospitable climate, Dr. Filchner had to contend with the suspicion and distrust of the Tibetans—never quite at ease with the stranger within

their gates, and doubly distrustful of those who bring with them scientific instruments. He showed great skill in allaying the fears of the official class, while his relations with the people of the country were of the most friendly kind, enabling him to see and hear much which would not otherwise have been revealed.

It is pleasant to think that the Indian Government had a share in Dr. Filchner's success by giving him permission to enter India at a moment when Tibetan officialdom threatened to wreck his plans by peremptory orders to return. To its prestige the author attributes the amenities of the last part of his journey.

Typical one-man explorer as he is, Dr. Filchner had moments in his journey where he stood greatly in need of friends, and fate was kind and sent them. One of these—Jack Mathewson, an Australian, accompanied him on the rest of his journey from Sining-fu, a partnership from which both benefited and from which sprang a friendship to which Dr. Filchner bears affectionate and grateful testimony.

The book is abundantly illustrated, the photographs giving an excellent idea of the chief features of the country, of its inhabitants and of their manner of life.

C. MABEL RICKMERS.

SELECTIONS FROM THE INSCRIPTIONS OF PAGAN. By PE MAUNG TIN and G. H. LUCE. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, pp. xi + 185. Rangoon : British Burma Press, 1928.

Talaing was the language used in epigraphs in the time of Kyanzittha (1084–1112), whose father Anawrahta carried off from Thaton, the capital of the Talaing Kingdom, all the Buddhist monks and the entire population of that city amounting to 30,000 souls, and planted them in his own capital at Pagan. Later, from the time of Alaungsithu (1112–67), Pali began to be used, as can be seen in the inscribed stone post which that king set up at the Myazedi

pagoda south of Pagan, which stone bears on each of its four faces the same matter in Pali, Talaing, Pyu, and Burmese. Then Pali came to be used entirely, and later was superseded by the Burmese vernacular.

The fifty-four selected inscriptions which appear in this book are all in Burmese, and they record chiefly the dedication of lands and property to pagodas and monasteries. The linguistic importance of the inscriptions lies in the fact that old letters, which are now no longer used, and the old method of spelling are retained, whereas in former books the spelling has been modernized, and owing to the absence of the required type, archaic letters have been replaced by their present-day equivalents.

Some of the peculiarities that may be noted in the present inscriptions are the omission of tone marks and, in the case of some conjunct consonants, of the symbol *ya* in words in which it is now used, also the use of a symbol resembling the letter *la* for the present-day symbols *yayit* and *yapin*.

Historically, too, the inscriptions are useful, as they help to fix dates which in the Burmese *Yazawins*, or chronicles, are doubtful. Prior to the reign of Anawrahta (1044-77), as there were no inscriptions, the dates of the native accounts of Burmese history are hopelessly inaccurate, and it is only from the time of Kyanzittha onwards, that is from the latter part of the eleventh century, that by the help of inscriptions the chronology of Burmese histories becomes reliable.

The book is well printed, and Professors Pe Maung Tin and Luce deserve the thanks of all students of the Burmese language and Burmese history for the production of this useful work.

It is No. 1 of the Publications of the Department of Oriental Studies, University of Rangoon, and except for the title page is entirely in Burmese.

W. A. HERTZ.

**Books on Indo-China and Indonesia reviewed by
C. O. Blagden**

1. *ARS ASIATICA XII. LES COLLECTIONS ARCHÉOLOGIQUES DU MUSÉE NATIONAL DE BANGKOK.* Par GEORGE COEDÈS. $13\frac{3}{4} \times 10\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 117, xl plates. Paris et Bruxelles : G. van Oest, 1928.

After a brief preface, M. Coedès devotes thirty pages to an historical and general description of the Bangkok Museum and an explanatory essay on the archaeology of Siam. In the latter he stresses the fact, overlooked by some other writers on the subject, that before the thirteenth century there was no such thing as a Siamese national state, and that many different races and schools, all more or less under Indian influences, contributed to produce the art of the earlier periods. The sorting out of the various objects has, therefore, been a matter of great complexity, and in some cases there may still be room for doubt. But the author has done much in his lucid exposition to clarify the situation and lay down the broad lines of classification, so that it is now possible to trace the different influences that have been at work.

The objects selected for representation range from the sixth century, or earlier, to the fifteenth, after which the ordinary Siamese style prevailed; this is sufficiently well known and of less interest than the older forms. The plates, which are excellent, figure sculptures in stone, some bronzes, and a few specimens of ceramic art. Each is faced by a brief description of the object illustrated, giving also its probable approximate date and provenance. By an unfortunate error, which will not, however, mislead any intelligent reader, the positions and numbers of plates vi and xi have been interchanged. Otherwise the book is entirely admirable.

2. *FOREIGN COLONIAL ADMINISTRATION IN THE FAR EAST.* By SIR HESKETH BELL, G.C.M.G. $8\frac{5}{8} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 307, 1 map. London : Edward Arnold and Co., 1928. 16s. net.

This is an account of the methods of administration of the Dutch in the Eastern Archipelago and the French in Indo-China, based on personal investigation by a retired British official who has himself been Governor of several colonies. It is a very full and fair account, in which foreign methods of government are sometimes compared with our own, not by any means always to the disadvantage of the former. Indeed, there is a good deal in the book that it would be very profitable for our colonial administrators to study and perpend; and, apart from that, it contains much information about the Dutch and French possessions in the Far East that is not easily accessible elsewhere in English and is conveyed in an interesting and thoroughly readable way. The book might have been the better for a little compression, as the author occasionally repeats himself (e.g. p. 60 and p. 102), but that is a matter of very minor importance.

Like some other recent writers, Sir Hesketh Bell seems unduly perturbed at the growing influx of the Chinese into South-Eastern Asia, and even thinks it probable that they will some day supplant the existing rulers of those parts. It is true that the troubles in China have in recent years greatly stimulated Chinese emigration. But the migrants are usually young men unaccompanied by women. In Indo-China they can intermarry with native women, and are therefore largely assimilated; in British Malaya, owing to the non-existence of surplus women and the difference of religion, this is not possible on a large scale, and they therefore remain for the most part birds of passage who eventually return to China with their savings. Their movements are carefully watched by the local governments, who can be trusted to see to it that they do not become dangerous. The locally domiciled Chinese, men with a stake in the country to which they owe their prosperity, are law-abiding and loyal citizens, who must not be confused with the immigrant Chinese, among whom there are certainly turbulent and seditious elements.

3. INSCRIPTIONS DU CAMBODGE. PUBLIÉES SOUS LES AUSPICES DE L'ACADÉMIE DES INSCRIPTIONS ET BELLES-LETTRES. Tome iv, $12\frac{3}{4} \times 9\frac{1}{4}$, pp. ii and lvi plates. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1928.

The first three volumes of this collection of inscriptions were briefly noticed in our *Journal* (1928, 153-4). The present one consists entirely of plates preceded by a list of them. These inscriptions are mostly from Bâkô and Lolei. As in the case of the preceding volumes, the execution of the plates is good, and the scale is sufficiently large for practical purposes.

4. LE ROYAUME DE CHAMPA. Par M. GEORGES MASPERO. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 278, xl plates. Paris et Bruxelles : Van Oest, 1928.

This work first appeared serially in *T'oung Pao* in the years 1910-13, and is the only detailed history of Champa that exists. No native history worthy of the name has survived, if there ever was one, and the author has very skilfully pieced together all the information obtainable from Chinese and Annamese records and from the inscriptions of Champa and Camboja that bore on the subject. He has treated these sources critically and has produced a very readable narrative, with an ample supply of references in the footnotes. His first chapter gives a good account of the country and its old inhabitants, and the rest of the work contains its history from the earliest times down to the final conquest of the greater part of Champa by the Annamese in 1471; the southern fragment survived for more than two centuries longer as a vassal state. The tale is a tragic one, but it is plain that the Chams were continually inviting trouble by making unnecessary attacks on their northern neighbours.

The present is a revised edition, but the revision might have been carried further. I notice the following points :—

Mada (pp. 7, 158, 160) is not now regarded as an ethnic name; the statement (p. 38) that the *makara* is not found elsewhere than in Cham art is contrary to fact; note 2 on

this page is needlessly repeated on pp. 63-4, where a reference would have sufficed; on p. 112 the date 809 is an error for 889; p. 114, n. 8, for *mahaganistes* read *mahayanistes*; p. 115, n. 10, 8333 should be 833, as it is on p. 116, n. 4; p. 118, n. 5, for *expéddition* read *expédition*; p. 154, n. 6, the date 1166 is obviously wrong (perhaps it should be 1056); p. 172, 1274 should be 1254; p. 180, n. 2, *Ya-ceou* stands for *Ya-heou*, which is right in the text; p. 186, n. 2, for *humilithy* read *humility*; n. 5, for *jnsque* read *jusque*; p. 188, for *Gaurendrakṣmī* read *Gaurendralakṣmī* (as in n. 1); n. 4 is wrongly numbered 2; in n. 5 the first 1293 should be 1292; p. 193, 23 should be 33; and in n. 6, 1200 should be 1300; p. 194, n. 3, has no text reference (it should be at the end of l. 3); p. 196, *Su'a Thai* is a false reading (corrected as long ago as 1917 in *B.E.F.E.O.*, xvii, ii, 5); p. 228, for *buddhiste* read *bouddhiste*; p. 252, n. 6, 1269 should be 1249.

At the end of the work there is a chronological table of Cham kings and a useful index, besides the usual tables of plates (which are very good) and contents. A map would have been a great additional convenience.

5. LE THANH HOÁ. ÉTUDE GÉOGRAPHIQUE D'UNE PROVINCE ANNAMITE. Par CHARLES ROBEQUAIN. $11\frac{1}{2} \times 7\frac{1}{4}$, 2 vols., 636 pp., 33 illustrations in the text, 48 plates, 4 tables of statistics, 7 maps. Paris et Bruxelles: Van Oest, 1929.

This work, published under the auspices of the École Française d'Extrême-Orient, is a conscientious study of the northernmost province of Annam, bordering on Tongking. It deals in considerable detail with the climate, the configuration of the country, its ethnography, sociology, habitations, agriculture, trade, fisheries, industries, etc., and has a final section on the results of French influence there. The main part of the book falls into two divisions, dealing respectively with the hilly inland region and the low-lying tract bordering the coast. The latter is inhabited almost entirely by Annamese: in the former the population is

mixed, and consists largely of less civilized tribes representing the primitive stock from which the Annamese have sprung and also of a considerable branch of the Thai race, together with a sprinkling of lesser tribes. The Annamese are by far the most numerous section, and they occupy the richest lands, but the greater part of the province is sparsely and almost exclusively populated by the less advanced tribes.

The author mentions incidentally (p. 496 seq.) that the ascertainment of the numbers of the population has been matter of great difficulty for him, as French Indo-China has nothing comparable to the decennial census of India and the returns made at intervals of five years by local officials are not reliable.

The book is very interesting and it is admirably produced. The illustrations, maps, etc., are good and there is a full bibliography. The table of contents is fairly detailed, but an index would have been acceptable.

MUSIK DES ORIENTS. By ROBERT LACHMANN, Ph.D.
Jedermanns Bücherei, $7\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 136, including 12 plates and 14 musical examples. Breslau: Ferdinand Hirt. 1929. 3.50 mks.

The author of this work is already known in this country by his article on "Muhammadian Music" in the new *Grove's Dictionary of Music*, and on the Continent by his contributions to the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft* and other journals. Being both an Oriental scholar as well as a musician, his writings carry with them a certain "authority". Coupled with this, Dr. Lachmann rarely treads the well-beaten tract, and his articles invariably reveal some fresh view-point to those interested in Oriental music.

The present book does not profess to cover the whole gamut of Oriental music as some critics seem to have expected. The subjects dealt with by the author are the results of his own independent investigations into particular phases of, and problems in, Oriental music which have not hitherto received

attention. In many cases his researches offer likely solutions to awkward questions, and on the whole his treatment is always stimulating.

If Chapter I reveals dependence on others, his marshalling of data throws more light on "Instrumentalstimmungen". Chapter II essays to reduce the scale systems of the various nations concerned to a sort of "common denominator", whilst his handling of Siamese, Javanese, and Indian scales is quite original. In writing on the "Vierteltöne" (p. 48) and "Konsonanztheorien" (p. 51) the author has swept away some popular misconceptions. Chap. IV contains quite a number of new propositions, and that devoted to "Freier Rhythmus" has not hitherto been dealt with either seriously or systematically (see also p. 60, "Modelle"). In the second section on "Fester Rhythmus", the author demonstrates that there is a fundamental distinction between beating time and rhythmic polyphony. The rhythmic divisions in Indian and Arabian music are explained in a new way, and he shows that the rhythmic behaviour of all the nations concerned is exactly parallel to their melodic character. Chapter V also breaks fresh ground in many directions.

Besides plates, the book is furnished with musical examples, most of which have been taken down personally from phonographic records (a very trying task) which the author himself (for the greater part) also obtained personally from performers.

Some critics of the book appear to be more concerned with what it does not contain rather with what it does contain. M. Snelleman in the *Nieuwe Rotterdamsche Courant* is one of these. He complains that Madagascar has been omitted. Just so. One could even add the Fiji Islands! The Dutch reviewer does not appear to appreciate the aim of the book which is concerned with "Hochkulturen", i.e. with civilizations that have contributed to the art and science of music (see p. 103).

More serious is the attitude of M. Borrel in the *Revue de Musicologie* (Mai, 1929). He says that our present knowledge

of the subject is so fragmentary that it is premature to express an opinion. If we are to wait until we have complete knowledge I am afraid we will never make progress. It is only by making a survey of the ground within our reach from time to time that enables us to go forward with safety. That is precisely what Dr. Lachmann has done. M. Borrel also charges the author with attempting to explain everything in Oriental scales by a progression of fifths. It is not true. A glance at Chapter I, sect. 2, where "Quintengeneration" is clearly opposed to "Streckenteilung", proves that. Reference to pp. 25, 28, 31 and 45 will also show that M. Borrel has made quite a reckless statement. Indeed, the discussion of Dr. Lachmann in the first two chapters of his book on the tuning and scales of instruments is based on the fact that *there are several means of arriving at a series of notes*.

I do not agree with all the conclusions of Dr. Lachmann, and where we differ I hope to make the subject of a special paper. At any rate, the author has a thorough and complete knowledge of Arabian music, not only of the mediaeval treatises (Al-Kindī, etc.) but of modern practice in the Maghrib. I cannot, however, accept his name for the Maghribī mode *Iṣbahān* which he writes *Aṣba'in*, as he has done elsewhere. Barbier de Meynard (*JA.* Mai-Juin, 1865) started this word, following F. Salvador-Daniel (*La musique Arabe*). It certainly has no literary existence in Arabic treatises so far as I am aware. A similar objection could also be offered against the mode called *Dhīl*, which I feel sure is *Dīl*. This error may also be traced to Barbier de Meynard and F. Salvador-Daniel.

Apart from these trivial objections, this book is probably the most important contribution to the subject that has appeared for many years. The author deserves the highest praise, not only because he breaks fresh ground in almost every direction that he goes, but because he does it in a thorough and systematic way. It is a book which all interested in Oriental music will be compelled to read sooner or later.

HENRY GEORGE FARMER.

LA MITOLOGIA GIAPPONESE. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Being Vol. I of the series *Testi e Documenti per la Storia delle Religioni*. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. viii + 118. Bologna : N. Zanichelli, 1929.

This book consists of two parts. The first is a sketch of the origin and evolution of Shintoism, and the second gives the mythical history of the world, and especially of Japan, down to the beginning of the semi-historical period in the middle of the seventh century, as set forth in first section of the *Ko-ji-ki*. Chamberlain's translation, published in 1883 as a supplement to the *Trans. Asiatic Soc. of Japan*, is the main source. Thus a gap in Italian literature concerning religion is satisfactorily filled, and, though apparently the author has not the linguistic and other qualifications necessary for direct contact with the subject, he has consulted the best Western authorities.

LA CONFESSIONE DEI PECCATI. First Part. By RAFFAELE PETTAZZONI. Being Vol. III of the series *Storia delle Religioni*. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xiv + 355 + 1 plate. Bologna : N. Zanichelli, 1929.

Starting with the premise that confession of sins is a fundamental principle of religion, the author aims at collecting the practices associated with confession throughout the world. This is indeed a vast task; for available literature in European languages is scattered, scrappy, and often of doubtful reliability. Success depends not only on industry, but on judicious discrimination in sifting and choosing the criteria. This volume, the first of two, surveys the whole world except the Mediterranean civilizations, and the scope is far too wide for me to attempt a criticism beyond the Asiatic sections which are more or less known to me. Here the author depends on the most trustworthy writers, though, of course, treatment of so extensive a field based on Western sources cannot be truly comprehensive.

Strangely enough, the sole plate represents an Ancient

American stele. Surely other pictures have greater or at least equal claims to reproduction if the book is to be illustrated. Absence of an index is a serious defect; but perhaps that will be made good in the second volume, which will deal with Mediterranean civilizations and include Christianity.

W. P. Y.

THE UNEQUAL TREATIES: CHINA AND THE FOREIGNER.
By RODNEY GILBERT. With a foreword by H. E. MORRISS.

This work is by Mr. Rodney Gilbert, an American journalist, author of *What's Wrong with China*, who has been resident in China for many years, and who has made a special study of its people, language, and politics.

As the chief aim of this work is political, it is obvious that its contents cannot be discussed in this *Journal*, which has always refrained from dealing with political matters of a controversial nature.

The historical portion of the work is based on the *International Relations of the Chinese Empire*, by Dr. H. B. Morse, but the author is careful to point out that "Dr. Morse's book is not controversial, however, so that when arguments are founded upon material that is obviously his, he must not be held responsible for them".

J. H. S. L.

INNERMOST ASIA. Detailed Report of Explorations in Central Asia, Kan-su and Eastern Iran, carried out and described under the orders of H.M. Indian Government by Sir AUREL STEIN, K.C.I.E., Indian Archaeological Survey. Vol. I, text, pp. xxxix, 1-547; Vol. II, text, pp. xii, 549-1159; Vol. III, plates and plans, pp. xi, plates cxxxvii, plans 59; Vol. IV, maps. Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1928.

The explorations recorded in these splendid volumes, which do infinite credit to the Clarendon Press, were briefly sketched

by Sir Aurel Stein in an address to the Royal Geographical Society in 1916 ("A Third Journey of Exploration in Central Asia, 1913-16"), and they have been partly described in two later papers ("Explorations in the Lop Desert", *The Geographical Review*, January, 1920, and "Innermost Asia: Its Geography as a Factor in History", a lecture published in *The Geographical Journal*, May and June, 1925). But to readers of *Ancient Khotan* and *Serindia* it need not be stated that the matter contained in *Innermost Asia* is far more extensive and varied than could be adumbrated in such sketches. From perhaps all other explorers Sir Aurel Stein is distinguished by the fact that his journeys and surveys, adventurous and scientific as they are, are inspired also, perhaps even more profoundly, by archaeological and historical interests and by the fascinating problems connected with the contact of cultures in Central Asia. Hence, while seeking ways, new or old, over forbidding mountain passes and deserts; recording triangulations, tracing glaciers and rivers to their sources; noting the composition and stratification of mountains and the volumes of waters, the changes and inter-connections of river-beds and lake-levels; investigating the climatic conditions of desiccation and wind-erosion, and furthermore the ethnographic features of the populations and the economic and other factors affecting the growth and decay of settlements, he has again provided a wealth of new material for the studies which mainly occupy the Royal Asiatic Society. An adequate review of such a work would exceed the competence of any individual: even within the limits of history and archaeology the experts must be few who in this Report would not frequently find themselves upon unfamiliar ground. We can, therefore, only indicate shortly the character of the work and the nature of the new acquisitions to knowledge.

The whole journey, if for the moment we overlook Sistān, may be described as a second edition, with variations and extensions, of the pioneer explorations detailed in *Serindia*. But the scale of the variations and extensions is commensurate

with the whole. They start at once with a new line (viâ Chilas, Darel, Gilgit, Yasin) over the untried Darkot pass (15,380 feet) to the Pamir, continuing over other passes to Sarikol and Tashkurghan and again round the east of Mustagh-Ata to Kashgar. They include an attempt to reach the Khotan river, across some 150 miles of high sand-dunes, from Maral-bashi; a hazardous and exhausting exploration of the ancient route from Loulan to An-hsi over "Yardang" and "Mesha" deserts and the salt-encrusted bed of Lop-nor; a tracing of the famous ruined *limes*, with its hundreds of watch-towers, in long desert stretches, both west and east of Tun-huang; orographical researches in the high mountain ranges behind Su-chow and Kan-su, and the head-waters of the Kan-su, Pei-ta-ho and Su-lo-ho rivers; a desert route from Su-chow to the easternmost Tien-shan (the Qarlik-Tagh), Hami, Barkul, and Gu-chen; mountain crossings from Gu-chen to Turfan; explorations in the Turfan depression, and in the Kuruk-Tagh and the Tien-shan; and a route by the Alai valley from Kashgar to Samarkand, including a difficult divagation across high mountains to the Pamir and then again north through Roshan and Darwaz. These journeys demanded, it need hardly be said, most elaborate preparation and great powers of provision and observation in their leader, whose intuitions seem to have been almost invariably verified. But perhaps their most striking feature is the intellectual and physical vitality which enabled him at every point to make fresh observations and deductions and to fill his notebooks with exact details of measurements or observations, and to devote to anthropological examinations any few hours spared from exhausting travel and the cares of leadership. Whether on the Chinese *limes* 100 or 200 watch-towers were "cleared", we need not stop to count. But exact particulars are given in regard to these and all other structures: the fifty-nine plates of plans in Volume III are permanent fruits of an enormous labour directed by a most alert and experienced excavator.

A considerable amount of the archaeological work was supplementary in the sense that it was carried out from centres previously visited either by Sir Aurel Stein himself or by French or Russian or German expeditions. This by no means implies that new sites were not everywhere discovered, and the long lists of finds interspersed through the two volumes of text are no sign of exhausted fields. Even from the Niya sites and Mirān, so thoroughly explored in 1906-8, and from the three or four times despoiled collections at Tun-huang, a large amount of artistic and literary treasure was recovered. Possibly, however, it was the excavations in Loulan, Kharakhoto and Astāna that best satisfied Sir Aurel Stein's interests as an archaeologist. The first of these, though visited on his second expedition, was practically virgin soil; and here, on the oldest line of connection between the south and north of the desert, he realized his hope of important accessions to the knowledge of Indo-Chinese civilization during the centuries immediately preceding the Christian epoch, and also of primitive native culture in those parts. The account of the Loulan discoveries forms one of the most interesting sections in the Report: it records finds of Kharoṣṭhī documents and Chinese coins and of woven materials (used as wrappings for the dead) which are highly important for the history of designs and processes and their eastward and westward transmission. These textures have been carefully discussed by Mr. Andrews, and they can be studied in the numerous plates. Finds of worked flints and other prehistoric objects, maintained on the ground surface through wind erosion, were plentiful at Loulan. But the "thrill" of these excavations is provided by the impressive account of disinterred representatives of primitive tribes in that area, whom in the photographs we can inspect face to face without the inconvenience experienced by "the boldest of my Lop-lik diggers". Owing to difficulties of transport the "mummified representatives of the old Loulan population" were deprived of a millennium of edification in a museum:

their brief return to the light was terminated by a careful restoration to their secular *samādhs*.

In Kharakhoto the work was concerned with the much later age of the Tangut kingdom, which arose in the middle of the eleventh century A.D., the remains extending into the Mongol period. From this site on the old route from Kan-su to Mongolia the Russian explorer Colonel Kozlov had in 1908-9 obtained great spoil of books in the unknown Tangut or Si-hsia language. MSS. and xylographs in this language, with numerous pieces in Tibetan, Chinese, and Uigur, as well as coins and pottery, were brought to light by Sir Aurel Stein. The Si-hsia writing presents still an interesting puzzle. Though the meanings of many of the characters are, or can be, known, their system is still a problem; writings can be made out *pedetentim* as regards their sense, but one sign affords practically no help in deciphering another. Hence the fragment with Tibetan transliteration has not at present the importance which otherwise might attach to it. The plates in volume III well illustrate the complicated script; but the matter consists somewhat prominently of *namaskāras* to Buddhas and Bodhisattvas.

We must not linger over the finds from the Turfan area and the other sites north of the Taklamakan, though many both new and old were investigated with rich results. The Astana cemetery in particular (Kharakhjoja district) yielded abundant artistic treasures, textiles, paintings, and other, so that, considering all his operations of this kind, we must regard Sir Aurel Stein as one of the most successful, as well as high-motived, *τυμβωρύχοι* in history. The explorations in, and to the south of, the Kuruk-Tagh, at Ying-pan and Singer, and generally in the area of the Kuruk-darya and Konche-darya share the interest of Loulan as regards early culture and Chinese routes and the geographical problems connected with the old courses of the two rivers.

The reports of the work in these areas are interspersed, as indeed is the whole narration, wherever occasion invites,

with valuable historical disquisitions. Mostly using Chinese literary materials elicited by Chavannes, but, as a trial will show, with excellent fidelity, these disquisitions furnish convincing identifications of territories named in those sources, while a trained geographical insight supplies a key to the developments which the sources record. Much light is hereby shed upon the history of the Qarlik kingdoms and the Zungaria plateau, as well as upon that of Turfan. On the journey from Kashgar to Samarkand Sir Aurel Stein does not fail to confront with his actual experience the important statements of old travellers and geographers—in the first place, of course, Hiuan-Tsang and Marco Polo—and the views of their great commentators.

In Sīstān, which was reached viâ Meshed and Herat, Sir Aurel Stein made acquaintance with a region which had been the subject of his first publication (1885) as an Iranian scholar, and again on this occasion he uses the Avesta (pp. 906, 923-4). That the Helmand delta preserved important archaeological remains had been widely known from the time of Ritter; but the Macmahon Commission of 1903-5, though it led to Mr. Tate's valuable publication (*Seistan*, 1910-2), had not in print yielded much concerning pre-Islamic times. The region where the Helmand with its anciently famed tributaries terminates in lagoons and deserts was one to which the experience gained in Chinese Turkestan was applicable forthwith. The first operations were directed to structures on the Koh-i-Khwājah, which proved to go back to the Sassanian period. One of the most interesting discoveries was of fragments of wall painting, wherein both Buddhist and earlier Iranian influences are traced. A pre-Sassanian origin is propounded for ruins near Shahrīstan, while other sites are referred to late Sassanian or Islamic times. It was in the southern area, the scene of an early irrigation culture, that Sir Aurel Stein was able to recognize in the ruins of a line of wall, studded with towers, a defence against nomads, fully analogous to his Chinese *limes* and perhaps not void

of relation to Roman work of like nature on frontiers in east and west. It was also in the southern area that he discovered large quantities of flints and pottery belonging to a prehistoric "chalcolithic" culture. The archaeological exploration of Sistān is in its initial stages, and Sir Aurel draws attention to its great possibilities and central situation in relation to the new quasi-Sumerian epoch in Indian civilization which Sir John Marshall's excavations have brought to light.

For scientific and historical purposes an important feature in *Innermost Asia* is the detailed descriptions of the trouvailles by several collaborators and friends. These we must leave to speak for themselves to the different specialists, who will appreciate the careful and elaborate studies by the respective contributors. It would be invidious to name any except Mr. Andrews and Miss Lorimer, whose attention was for a long period concentrated upon the work. The collections of MSS. could not, of course, be expected to compete with the wonderful treasures yielded to the previous expedition by the hidden library of Tun-huang. But Tun-huang was still able to render up nearly 600 old Chinese Buddhist texts, and there are finds representing nearly all the languages hitherto elicited from Chinese Turkestan, i.e. Prākṛit (Kharoṣṭhī), Chinese, Sogdian, Khotanī or Saka, Tokhārī (Kuchean dialect), Tibetan, Uigur and Runic, Turkī, and Mongol, and further a good number of pieces in the interesting Si-hsia-script. If I may refer to the Tibetan, which I have had occasion to scrutinize and which are perhaps the most numerous, I may state that, while the "documents" on wood and paper, chiefly from Mazar-Tagh, are similar to those previously procured, the literary finds, MS. and xylograph, for the most part single leaves and of no very early date, include many specimens of the beautiful varieties of Tibetan cursive script, some few of which are reproduced in the plates.

The value of the admirable volumes of Plates and Plans and Maps requires no mention, except to point out that they

are abundantly reinforced among the subjects of the 505 excellent photographs (scenery, anthropology, archaeology, culture-objects, and so forth), by which the narrative is illustrated. In only one perhaps of these photographs do we notice any probable presentation of the author himself; and the references of a personal character, except in the case of a mishap which by good fortune did not prove fatal or permanently disabling, consist mainly of expressions of thanks for hospitality or other assistance or of records of efficient coöperation.

The production of this immense work, replete from end to end with precise information on so vast a variety of matters, and relating to so great spaces and times, suggests a labour comparable in its way to that of the expedition itself. But the latter was also complicated by anxieties due to the international situation in the years 1913-6, and by a new era in China, which at more than one point threatened the operations. No one could grudge to Sir Aurel Stein a grateful appreciation of the qualities required for the design and effectuation of his work and for surmounting such or other impediments, or a cordial congratulation upon the completion of both tasks.

F. W. THOMAS.

NOTES OF THE QUARTER

The People of Arabia

At a meeting of the Society on 11th June, with the Marquess of Zetland in the chair, Mr. Eldon Rutter (who lately spent a year at Mecca and Medina) gave a lantern lecture on "The Arabians", a title which he chose in preference to "The Arabs" in order to direct his remarks more particularly to the inhabitants of Jezirat el 'Arab or the Arabian Peninsula, including the Syrian Desert as far north as Tadmor or Palmyra. He said that while Arabia as thus defined was nearly as large as the whole of India there was no other resemblance:—it was one country inhabited by a single race of men standing alone in almost everything. It was in the main a wilderness of naked yellow plains the horizons of which were as unbroken as the horizons of the open sea. Like them they were broken by pinnacles of stark rock which stood up like huge bared fangs, symbolizing the eternal hunger which obtains in that sterile country.

The people were divided into two classes, according to their mode of life—the *Ahl el hadhar* or the peasants and townsmen, and *el Bedu*, the Bedouins, sometimes called *Ahl el wabar*, meaning the people of the hair-cloth tents. The townsmen, or oasis dwellers, were tillers of the soil and merchants. The Bedouins were stock-breeders, and practised a form of national sport known as *el ghazû*, which consisted of making raids on other tribes for the purpose of stealing their flocks and herds. As a broad statement it would not be too much to say that the tribes of the *Kahtân* (Yemen and Hadhramaut) were urban, and the tribes of 'Adnân (*Hijâz* and *Nejd*) were Bedu. The former did not raid in peace time, and lived in villages of stone, rush, or mud-houses, or in more or less permanent encampments.

In the comparatively fertile districts of the Yemen highlands, and parts of Hadhramaut where the people lived in

houses and did not raid, the population tended to increase. Among a comparatively peaceful people such as this, the increasing population found itself in precarious circumstances. They had lost the art of constructing reservoirs, and were therefore unable to increase the area of their cultivated land. Hence a part of the population was gradually pushed forward into 'Asîr, and north-eastward into Nejrân. Here they found themselves on a less fertile soil, and their chief pursuit could no longer be agriculture. They took to stock-raising, and their houses were less durable, being made of rushes. In the next generation or two the Yemenites would have been pushed still further away from the land of their fathers into a country where vegetation was so sparse that it would be no longer worth their while to build permanent houses, even of rushes. They would take to tents and would become pure Bedouins, wandering shepherds. As they pushed northward they came in contact with the great Bedouin tribes and raiding became their chief preoccupation, but still they must go on, and several hundred years after the time of their leaving the Yemen they were finally absorbed into the agricultural population of the border countries, Syria and Mesopotamia. They now became peasants, as their forefathers were several hundred years before in the Yemen.

The most famous Arabian of our day, Ibn Sa'ûd, the Wahhâbi king, was not the shaykh of a great Bedouin tribe. His house sprang from the Ahl el hadhar, or town stock. His great measure of success went to prove the truth of Professor Hogarth's observation that "Theocracy, not the pastoral patriarchy, is the durable and dominant form of Semitic government". By clearly stating that his system of rule was theocratic, Ibn Sa'ûd had been able to rise to the overlordship of nearly the whole of the Bedouin nation, and in fact to induce many of them to become peasants. About sixteen years ago he founded an agricultural colony at a place called El Artwiyya in the Kasîm, east of El Burayda. His motives were, firstly, to attach a body of fighting men to his service ;

secondly, to put a stop to the time-honoured practice of the inter-tribal raid, and thirdly, to bring prosperity to his country. The inducement which he held out was the only one which had ever made a lasting appeal to the Semites. He offered to point them the way to Paradise.

Ibn Sa'ûd did not profess to be a learned man himself, but he was the protector of a large company of learned men, including the descendants of the Shaykh Muhammad ibn Abd el Wahhâb. He sent several of these to the new agricultural settlement as teachers. He built a mosque there, and supplied the settlers with clothing and the other necessities of life of which they were in need. The system of settling the Bedouins on the land was extended, and learned men from the Wahhâbi capital were sent to each settlement with instructions to produce evidence from the prosperous ages of Islam, showing that it was no shame for a free son of the desert to tie himself to the soil and dig it.

These missionaries were to lay stress on the point that he who would lead a religious life must live among the Ikhwân, or religious brotherhood, so as not to be led by his associates into practices contrary to Islam. It was a sore point with many of them that they had to give up raiding, but it was explained to them that there was always the possibility of their being employed in a jihâd, or holy war, against unbelievers or polytheists. This would bring them spoil, and moreover, in the event of their death on the field, they would be admitted at once to Paradise. This was not a new religion. It was merely a revival of the great system which had led its followers to victory in many lands centuries before. There was ample historical proof, then, that they were joining a system which was capable of leading them to success.

By these means great enthusiasm was aroused in Nejd, and in a few years Ibn Sa'ûd had thousands of would-be farmers scratching in the sand for water in a hundred different areas wherever it was thought possible to find it. The settlers

learned to read and write, and to practise their religion in the orthodox manner. Moreover, the promised wars were duly provided for them. They were led successively against Ibn er-Rasheed, Prince of Hâil, and El Husayn, King of the Hijâz. They were victorious in both campaigns. These successes confirmed in them the conviction that their lives were pleasing in the sight of Allah.

It would be a mistake to think that Ibn Sa'ûd's policy of settling dwellers on the land would leave no surplus for emigration. The lands capable of cultivation were very limited, and the enormous saving of life by the suppression of raiding would probably allow the tribes to expand even though they continued to lose many of their number as settlers in Ibn Sa'ûd's settlements. It was to be hoped that no obstruction would be put in the way of this emigration. If the increasing population of the new peaceful Arabia was strictly confined within its own boundaries, there could be little doubt that the economic situation would cause either internal wars in the peninsula or another outrush of the warlike people to the northward and eastward. The lecturer suggested that the European fetish of exactly defined territorial boundaries was difficult to maintain in Arabia. Europe would watch with keen attention the progress of the policy of turning whole Bedouin tribes into peasant communities, and most people would wish Abdul Azîz success in his efforts.

Asked by Professor Margoliouth whether he could confirm the statement made by Gervaise Courtellemont that manuscripts in Himyaritic script were to be found in Mecca, Mr. Rutter said he had seen no such works.

The Arab Rulers of Zanzibar

The Sultan of Zanzibar was present at a reception given in his honour by the Royal Asiatic and Central Asian Societies at Burlington House, Piccadilly, on Monday, 1st July. After the reception Mr. Rudolph Said-Ruete, author of

Said bin Sultan, Ruler of Oman and Zanzibar, gave a lantern lecture on "The Dynasty of the Al Bu Said in Arabia and East Africa". He said that the dynasty represented there that afternoon did not originate in Zanzibar, but sprang up in Oman, more than 2,000 miles distant on the south-eastern coast of the Persian Gulf. At the opening of the sixteenth century, Zanzibar and the islands around it, Mafia and Pemba, became subject to Portuguese influence, and later they occupied Muscat and Sohar in Oman. By 1651, the Portuguese had been expelled from Oman by Sultan Bin Seif, son of Nasir bin Murshid, who began the line of the El Yaareba. The inhabitants of the East Coast of Africa were bound to Oman by affinities not only of religion, but also of race, and it was natural that they should turn to Oman for help in throwing off the yoke. Seif built what may definitely be called a navy, and with its aid he occupied the islands of the whole of the coast from Mombasa to Kilwa, and in a few years his influence extended as far as the distant island of Zanzibar. Unfortunately, much of his work was undone by the dynastic quarrels which sprang up at his death. There was no strong central power in Oman, and after Seif II, grandson of Seif bin Sultan, secured election to the Imamate, he called in the aid of the Persians to bolster up his position against his rivals. Brought in as auxiliaries, they remained as tyrants.

There was in the service of the Yaaruba as Wali of Sohar, one Ahmed bin Said, a man of unblemished, though humble, descent, and his action at this crisis made him the worthy founder of a dynasty which was destined to be one of the most powerful and respected in Arab history. As the Yaaruba had obtained power by expelling the Portuguese, so Al bu Said attained it by expelling the Persians. As the Yaaruba had shown their energy and initiative by stretching their power over East Africa, so the Al bu Said showed theirs by recovering what thirty years of strife had lost. By taking in marriage the daughter of Seif el Yaareba, Ahmed

strengthened his position with the partisans of the deposed dynasty. To cement friendly relations with the Turks and to strike a blow at the Persians who had invaded the country of the Shat al Arab, Ahmed set out for Busra with his fleet conveying 10,000 men. He forced the iron chain suspended across the river, and routed and drove out the Persians. The Danish traveller, Niebuhr, visited Muscat at this time, and was impressed by the noble qualities, the religious tolerance, and the politeness shown toward foreigners by the inhabitants. A still more famous man visited Oman in the summer of 1775, for Horatio Nelson was then a midshipman on board the *Seahorse*, which was stationed at Muscat for about two months.

Ahmed showed an energy and resolution which has since characterized his descendents, but having acquired by his heroic acts undisputed civil power over Oman, he made the mistake of attempting a decentralized form of government. He established his sons in key positions throughout Oman, giving them civil power. The results were worse than disappointing, and at his death in 1783, there was great controversy as to the succession to the Imamate. In the end, the weakest of the candidates, Ahmed's second son, Said, was made Imam. The result was not so much to give scope for internal disruption as to allow stronger men not clothed with the panoply of the Imamate to concentrate civil power in their own hands. He retained some semblance of religious control, while the country as a whole was well directed under the civil power. It grew accustomed to what had at first been a novel form of dual government until in the end the experiment of the eighteenth century became the established practice of the nineteenth.

The year 1800 was noteworthy for Oman as by Sultan's request the first resident on behalf of the East India Company was installed at Muscat, and it was in the same year that the warlike Wahabis of Central Arabia made their first appearance in Oman. After the death of Sultan in 1804,

in an attack by pirates, the rule gradually devolved on his younger son, Said, who showed that firmness of character, pertinacity of purpose, and quickness of decision which rendered him famous among Arab rulers. He was only 13 at the time of his father's death, and it was twenty years before he could be said to have his position secure against the dangers on the one hand of piracy by the Cowasim, and on the other, of the relentless puritanical fervour of the Wahabis. When he had consolidated his position at home, he was drawn to the idea of that overseas empire which his father had established. The passing of the years had separated East Africa from its Omani masters, and the reimposition of Arab power was a task not easily to be encompassed. The empire which he ultimately built up, one of the largest Arab empires which the world has ever seen, and by no means small even to modern European eyes, was the fruit of three great and many small expeditions, and of twenty years of able planning, ceaseless striving, and clever manipulation.

The two enduring monuments to his fame were the foundation of the modern town of Zanzibar, and the establishment of the clove trade. The old town of Zanzibar had practically disappeared with the overthrow of the Portuguese, and Said re-established it, not in its old situation, but in one which none but the discerning eye would have chosen. Equally unaided was his establishment of the clove trade, and equally unlooked for its success. What the clove meant to Zanzibar was now the common knowledge of all men ; its introduction was the work of one man. English influence was of no small assistance to Said, but he paid for that support in a generous and highly unselfish manner. This was the period at which, under the stimulation pre-eminently of Wilberforce and of the Clapham Sect, the English conscience was becoming alive to the abhorrent, but frequently much over-estimated effects of the slave trade. Said signed two treaties in 1839 and 1845, whereby he set himself to discountenance traffic

in slaves, and to abolish it within his dominions. It was to be remembered that this was the act of a man to whom the trade gave no religious offence, rather the reverse; of a man who had grown up to regard it as part of the ordinary course of nature, and whose greatest source of revenue it was. Nor was the opposition aroused in his subjects to be estimated lightly.

In 1837, His Highness was made an honorary member, one of the very first, of the Royal Asiatic Society, in token of its approbation of the encouragement given by him to the arts and sciences among his people, particularly to those of shipbuilding and navigation.

The situation which existed in the joint dominion of Oman and Zanzibar on the death of Said would have been as difficult as any of the past had not the presence of the British exercised a moderating influence and thrust succession troubles beneath the surface. Said himself, strong though he was, and great as was his prestige, had found the dual government no easy burden to maintain. Indeed, the friendly intervention of the English had helped him to preserve his suzerainty over Oman. He directed that his son, Thoweynee, should rule at Muscat, while another of his sons, Majid, should succeed to Zanzibar, and from his death in 1856, the two countries had been controlled by separate lines of the same dynasty.

After tracing the fortunes of Zanzibar and Muscat from the date of the division to the present day, the lecturer said that the Sultan of Zanzibar whom they were privileged to have with them that day, maintained undimmed in the sixth generation the lustre of his ancestral line. His territory was obviously destined to be of increasing importance in the affairs not only of this country, but of East Africa in general. The years which had elapsed since the end of the Great War had shown with increasing clarity that to our generation at any rate the proper study of mankind is man. They had been engaged that afternoon in the study of the

work of a generation of men which had shown each after the other in varying degrees, but with no exception, certain qualities which were confined to no race, and to which no nation could lay exclusive claim. The Al bu Said rescued their country from anarchy, welded it into such coherence as was permitted by the material they handled, opened up rich new territories to the eyes of man, and in the subsequent administration of those territories showed qualities of loyalty and friendship and a capacity for harmonious co-operation which would be no mean ornament to any dynasty, race, or period of history.

At the conclusion of the lecture, Mr. Yusuf Ali, Admiral Richmond, and Sir Lionel Haworth addressed the meeting. The Chairman, Lord Allenby, moved a hearty vote of thanks to the Sultan for honouring the Societies with his presence and to the lecturer for his able address.

The Council regret to announce the death of their distinguished Honorary Member, Sir Ernest Satow. A full obituary notice will appear in the January *Journal*.

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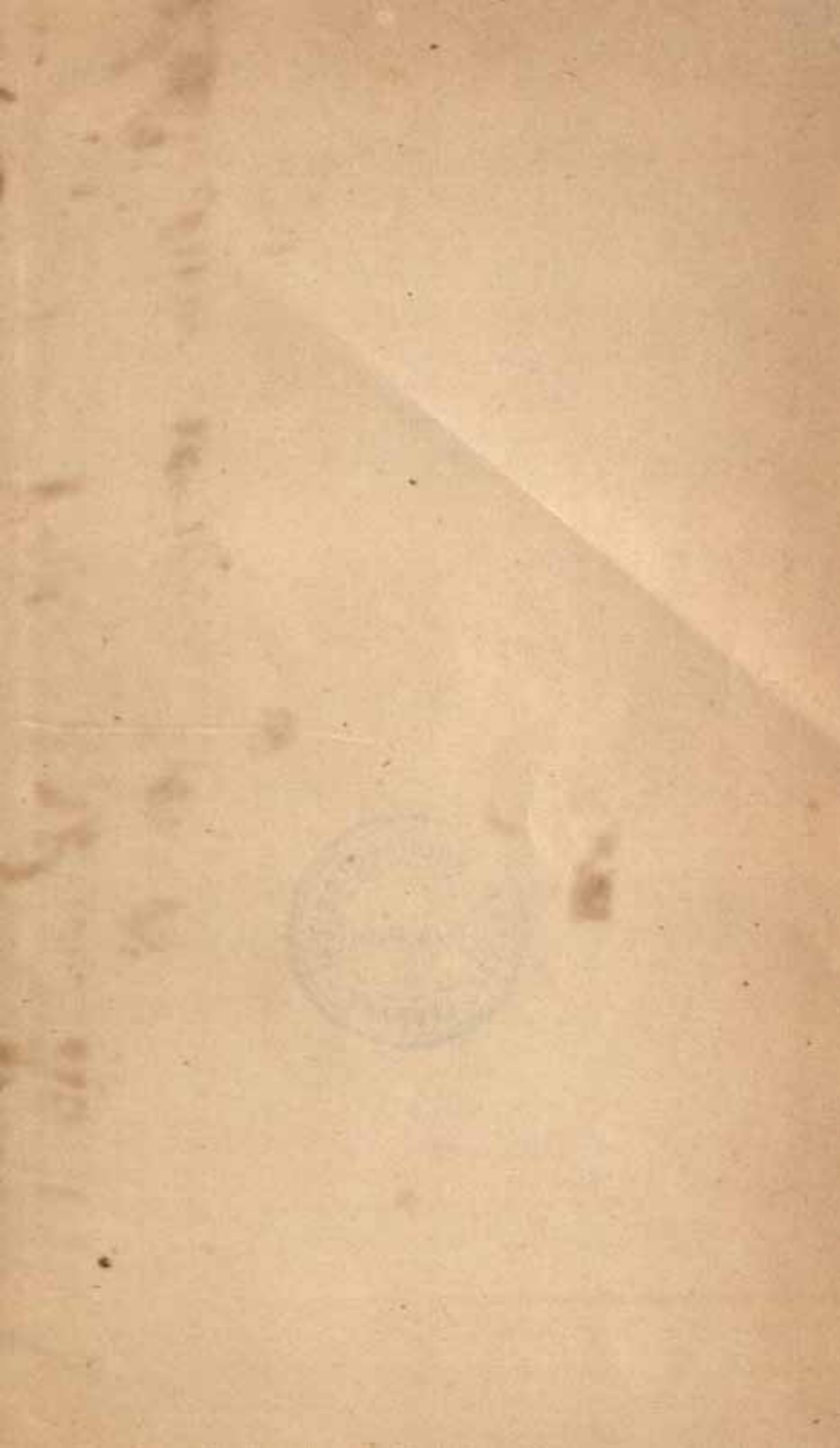
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